

Bilâl N. Şimşir

# İngiliz Belgelerinde Atatürk (1919~1938)

CİLT - 7  
1930 - 1933

# British Documents on Atatürk (1919~1938)

VOLUME - 7  
1930 - 1933

TÜRK TARİH KURUMU



**İNGİLİZ BELGELERİNDE  
ATATÜRK  
(1919-1938)**

**VII. Cilt**



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TÜRK TARİH KURUMU YAYINLARI  
XVI Dizi Sayı 15<sup>İ</sup>

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1930 - 1933

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1930 - 1933

Ed. by  
BİLÂL N. ŞİMŞİR  
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## ÖNSÖZ VE GİRİŞ

1919-1938 yıllarını kapsayacak biçimde tasarlanmış olan *İngiliz Belgelerinde Atatürk* dizisinin 1919-1922 yıllarına ait belgeleri içeren ilk dört cildi 1973-1984 yıllarında yayımlanmış, daha sonraki tarihlerde bunların yeni baskıları da yapılmış idi. Dizinin Ekim 1922-Aralık 1929 dönemini kapsayan beşinci ve altıncı ciltleri ise yirmi yıllık bir aradan sonra ancak 2005 yılında yayımlanabildi.

Kitabın bu yedinci cildi 1930-1933 dönemini kapsamakta, yani Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin yedinci, sekizinci, dokuzuncu ve onuncu yılları ile ilgili İngiliz belgelerini toplamaktadır. Bu yıllarda Türkiye artık içerde rejimini pekiştirmiş, dış ülkelerle sorunlarının çoğunu halletmiş, yepyeni ve pek saygın bir devlet olarak dünya devletleri arasında yerini almış bulunmaktadır. Yarımlarına güvenle bakan Türk halkı, Onuncu Yıl Marşı'nı söyleyerek hakkı bir gururla Cumhuriyetin kuruluşunun onuncu yaşını kutlamaktadır. Cumhuriyetin kurucusu, yeni Türkiye'nin yaratıcısı Gazi Mustafa Kemal, tebrikleri kabul etmektedir. Gelişmeler, İngiliz diplomatları, ajanları, gazetecileri tarafından yakından izlenmekte ve yorumlanmaktadır. Türkiye'deki İngiliz Büyükelçiliği bu dönemde de Türkiye hakkında yıllık raporlar hazırlamakta ve yıl içindeki gelişmelerin dokümanını, değerlendirmesini yapmaktadır. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, İngiliz gözüyle adeta mercek altında tutulmaktadır. Bu ciltte, Türkiye'deki İngiliz diplomatları tarafından kaleme alınmış dört adet Yıllık Rapor bulunmaktadır. Tam metin olarak verilen bu kapsamlı raporlar 1929, 1930 ve 1931 yıllarıyla ilgilidir. (Bkz. No. 2/1, 3/1, 58/1, 126/1)

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1929 yılına ait yıllık raporlar, ertesi yıl başlarında tamamlanıp Londra'ya sunulmuş olduğundan 1930 dosyaları arasında yer almaktadır. Bu ciltteki ilk yıllık rapor, Türkiye'deki diplomatik misyon şefleriyle ilgilidir. 1929 yılında Türkiye'de 28 yabancı diplomatik misyon şefi vardır. Bunların sekizi büyükelçi, on altısı elçi, dördü işgüderdir. ABD, Afganistan, Almanya, Fransa, İngiltere, İran, İtalya ve Sovyet Rusya, Türkiye'de büyükelçilik düzeyinde temsil edilmektedir. (Karşılıklı olarak o ülkelerde Türkiye'nin de büyükelçileri vardır). Türkiye'de elçilik düzeyinde temsil edilen 16 devlet şunlardır: Avusturya, Belçika, Bulgaristan, Çekoslovakya, Danimarka, Hollanda, Irak, İspanya, İsveç, İsviçre, Macaristan, Mısır, Polonya, Romanya, Yunanistan ve Vatikan. Dört devletin de Türkiye'de maslahatgözarları veya işgüderleri vardır: Arnavutluk, Japonya, Şili ve Yugoslavya. İngiliz Büyükelçiliği yıllık raporunda bu temsilcilerin her biri hakkında biyografik

bilgiler verilmektedir. Örneğin: Rus Büyükelçisi Souritz kimdi, ne zaman Türkiye'de göreve başlamıştır, karakteri nedir, Türklerle ve kordiplomatikle ilişkileri nasıldır vb. gibi sorulara raporda cevaplar vardır<sup>1</sup>. (Yıl içinde Arjantin de Ankara'da bir işgüderle temsil ediliyor ve Türkiye'deki diplomatik misyon seferlerinin sayısı 29'a çıkıyor.)

Japonya aslında Türkiye'de büyükelçi bulundurmaktadır, fakat 1929 başlarında Büyükelçilik işlerini bir geçici işgüder yürütmektedir. Çünkü Japon büyükelçisi ayrılmış, yerine atanan yeni büyükelçi Isaburo Yoshida henüz Türkiye'de göreve başlamamıştır. Yugoslavya da Türkiye'de elçilik düzeyinde temsil edilmektedir; ama o sırada Yugoslav Elçisi görevi başında değildir ve elçilik işlerini bir geçici işgüder üstlenmiştir. Şili ise Türkiye'de sürekli işgüderle temsil edilmektedir. Arnavutluk'a gelince, bu ülkenin o yıllarda özel bir durumu vardır: Arnavutluk Cumhurbaşkanı Ahmet Zogu'nun 1928 yılında kendisini Kral ilan ettirmesine tepki olarak, Tirana'daki Türkiye elçisi Tahir Lütfi Beş (Tokay) hemen geri çekilmişti. Ardından Türkiye'deki Arnavut elçisi de ülkesine dönmüş, elçiliği geçici işgüdere bırakmıştı (Bu durum altı yıl kadar sürmüş ve Türkiye ile Arnavutluk arasındaki diplomatik ilişkiler ancak 1934 yılında yeniden düzelmiş ve normale dönmüştü.)<sup>2</sup>.

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İngiliz Büyükelçiliğinin Türkiye hakkındaki 1929 Yıllık Raporuna göre<sup>3</sup>, o yıl Türkiye'nin iç durumu pek iç açıcı değildir. Gazi Mustafa Kemal'e özenerek Afganistan'da reformlar yapmayı denemiş olan yenilikçi Kral Amanullah Han, 1928 sonuna doğru devrilmiş, ülkedeki çağdaşlaşma hareketi daha başında boğulmuş ve Afganistan yeniden karanlığa doğru sürüklenmiş idi<sup>4</sup>. Gazi, Afganistan'daki bu gelişmelerin Türkiye'yi olumsuz etkilememesi için gerekli önlemler almış ve biraz yavaşlatarak da olsa çağdaşlaşmayı sürdürmüştür. Yeni Türk alfabesini yerleştirmek ve Türk dilini yabancı kelimelerden arındırmak için başlatılan kampanyaya devam olunmuştur. Yeni harfleri halka öğretmek üzere 1 Ocak 1929'da "Millet Mektepleri" açılmış ve yurt sahuna yayılmıştır.

Yıllık Raporda Türk-Afgan ilişkilerine özetle şöyle değiniliyor:

*"Amanullah Han'ın devrilmesi Türkiye için bir darbe oldu. Müslümanları Batılaştırmayı amaçlayan Türkiye, Afgan Kralını kayıtsız şartsız destekliyordu. Afganistan'a gönderilmiş olan Türk askeri heyeti geri döndü. Ankara'daki Afgan Büyükelçisi, İngiliz politikası aleyhinde bir bildiri yayımlayarak buradan ayrıldı ve*

<sup>1</sup> Bkz. Belge No. 2 /1: Türkiye'deki Misyon Seferi Hakkında 1929 Yıllık Raporu.

<sup>2</sup> Bu konunun ayrıntıları için bkz.: Bülül N. Şimşir, *Türkiye-Arnavutluk İlişkileri, Büyükelçilik Anıları (1985-1988)*, ASAM, Anıya Stratejik Araştırmaları Merkezi Yayınları, Ankara: 2001.

<sup>3</sup> Bkz. Belge No. 3/1: Türkiye Hakkında 1929 Yıllık Raporu.

<sup>4</sup> Bu gelişmelerin ayrıntıları için bkz. Bülül N. Şimşir, *Atatürk ve Afganistan*, ASAM, Anıya Stratejik Araştırmaları Merkezi Yayınları, Ankara: 2002.



İtalya'ya verleşmiş bulunan Amanullah Han'ın yanına gitti. Türkiye, reformları vacısalttı. Türk basını İngilizler aleyhinde bir süre yayın yaptı. **Nadir Han Afgan Kralı** olunca Türkiye, Afganistan'la tekrar normal ilişkiler kurma arzusunda olduğunu açıkladı. Ankara'daki Afgan Büyükelçiliğinin durumu hâlâ belirsizdir."

Evet, Afgan bunalımının Türkiye'ye olabilecek olumsuz etkileri savuşturulmuştur. Fakat Türkiye dışında patlak veren dünya ekonomik krizinin etkileri 1929 sonbaharında Türkiye'de de görülmeye başlanmıştır. Türk Lirasının değer kaybetmesine karşı önlemler alınmış, istikrar sürdürülmüş, bütçe dengeli tutulmuş ve Osmanlı borç taksitleri de ödenebilmiştir. O yıl bir de kuraklık Türkiye'yi vurmuş, bu yüzden iyi ürün alınmamıştır. Türkiye'nin refahı tarıma bağlıdır. Tarım ürünleri üretiminde ve ihracatında düşüş olmuş, ülkede ekonomik sıkıntılar has göstermiştir. Ekonomik kriz yüzünden Türkiye'de küçük çaplı eşkıyalık olayları, ufak tefek sınıt olayları da görülmüş, ama Şeyh Said ayaklanması gibi bir ayaklanma çıkmamıştır.

Ekonomik kriz ve kuraklık yılı olan 1929'da Türkiye'nin ekonomik ve ticari durumu İngiliz Yıllık Raporunda şöyle özetleniyor:

"İklim koşullarından başka Türk lirasının değer kaybetmesi ve Türk gümrük tarifelerinin uygulanışı da ekonomiyi ve ticareti etkiliyor. Tarımda bu yıl iyi ürün beklentileri boşa çıktı. Kurutulmuş meyve beklenen miktarda olmadı. Tütün, iklim koşulları yüzünden kalitesiz kaldı. Fındık hasadı daha da kötüydü. 20 bin ton fındık beklenirken ihraç edilebilecek kalitede sadece 3500 ton ürün elde edildi. Tarımı geliştirmek konusunda hükümet çiftçileri kooperatüfçiliğe özendiriyor. Sulama işlerine de başlanıyor. İyi ürün almak için yarı, ürünü pazarlamak da diğer yarı. Üretici, dünya arz ve talebini hesaba katmadan ürün fiyatını belirlemeye çalışıyor. Madenlerin ancak pek azı işletiliyor, büyük maden yatakları el değmemiş olarak duruyor... Sanayi geliştirmek için bazı önlemler alındıysa da bunlar yetersiz kaldı. Sanayide Türklerin tecrübesi yok. En önemli üç Türk şirketi iflâs etti. Türkler hem tecrübesiz, hem de sabırsız; çabucak zengin olmaya kalkışıp batıyorlar. Türkiye, uzun yıllardan beri gelirinden fazlasını harcayarak yaşıyor. Bunun böyle sonsuza kadar sürüp gitmeyeceğinin belirtileri görülmeye başlandı.

Türkiye, bütçesini dengeli tutuyor, borçlarını ödüyor, imzasına sadık kalıyor. Anadolu demiryollarına büyük harcamalar yapıyor, ağır yük altına da giriyor ve on yılda vergileri iki kat artırmış bulunuyor. Askeri harcamalar ise bütçenin % 35 ilâ % 45 kadarı tutuyor. Hükümet, geniş demiryolu, karayolu, liman, sulama programlarına da para ayırmak durumunda. Demiryolları yapımı sürüyor. Limanlar ve dalgakıranlar için 45 milyon, sulama projeleri için 100 milyon TL ayrıldı. Yapımı süren demiryolları için 1929-1930 bütçesinde 28 milyon TL ödenek görünüyor. 1931-32 bütçesinde demiryollarının yükü azalacak, çünkü Kayseri-Sivas, Kütahya-Balıkesir ve Ulukışla-Kayseri hatlarının yapımı bitmiş olacak. Belediyeler de bahçeler, parklar ve Gazi heykelleri için epeyce para harcıyor.

*Türkiye'de 1 Ekim 1929'da yürürlüğe giren yeni gümrük tarifeleri, İngiltere'nin Türkiye'ye ihracatını olumsuz yönde etkileyecektir. Buna bir de "Yerli Mal" kampanyası ekleniyor ki halk, milliyetçilik duygularıyla Türk mallarına yöneliyor ve Türkiye'nin ithalatında genel bir azalma görülüyor..."*

Ekonomik krizi ve kuraklık yüzünden Türkiye'nin kalkınma atılımları, yatırımları ve bu arada başkent Ankara'nın inşaat işleri biraz yavaşlamışsa da durmamıştır. 1929 yılında başkent Ankara için bir "Şehir Planlama Komitesi" kurulmuş, komite şevkle çalışmaya başlamış, çok geçmeden ekonomik kriz gelip çatmış ve çalışmaları biraz yavaşlatmış, ama yine de inşaat işleri devam etmiştir. Başkentte Türkocağı, Milli Savunma Bakanlığı, Genelkurmay Başkanlığı, Kızılay, iki banka binalarının ve bazı büyük apartmanların inşaatı 1929 yılında hemen hemen tamamlanmıştır.

1929'da Türk Silahlı Kuvvetlerinin genel durumu şöyle görünüyordu:

Kara Kuvvetlerinin mevcudu biraz artırılmış, ordunun teknik donanımında bazı yenilikler yapılmış, Doğu Anadolu'dan Batı Anadolu'ya kuvvet kaydırılmış, üç kolordunun katıldığı iki tatbikat yapılmış ve bunlar çok başarılı olmuştur. Genelkurmay Başkanlığı manevralara yabancı askeri ataşeleri de davet etmiştir.

Deniz Kuvvetlerinde de eğitime önem verilmiş, Marmara'da manevra yapılmış, "Mecidiye" ve "Hamidiye" kruvazörleri Akdeniz'e açılmıştır. "Yavuz" zırhlısı başarıyla onarılmış, İtalya'ya iki destroyer sipariş edilmiştir. İngiliz, Fransız, Alman, İtalyan, Amerikan savaş gemileri ve İsveç okul gemisi Türk sularını ziyaret etmiştir.

Hava Kuvvetleri için dört adet Smolik uçağı satın alınmış, Bréguet uçakları sipariş edilmiş, uçaklara monte edilecek makineli tüfekler alınmıştır. Hava Kuvvetlerinden bir heyet ABD'yi, 10 havacı subay da İngiltere'yi ziyaret etmiştir.

Dış politikaya gelince: Atatürk'ün barışçı dış politikası 1929'da da devam ediyor. Türkiye'nin uluslararası durumunu güçlendirici bazı somut adımlar atılıyor. Türkiye, Sovyet Rusya ile Batı Avrupa arasındaki dengeyi dikkatle koruyor.

*İngiltere*, Mütareke döneminde Türk topraklarını haksız işgalini ve Türk insanına kötülüklerini unutturmaya çalışıyor. Bu çerçevede Akdeniz'deki İngiliz Filosu ve İngiltere'nin Irak Yüksek Komiseri Sir G. Clayton, ayrı ayrı Türkiye'yi ziyaret ediyorlar. Ama Türk basını Mütareke döneminin acılarını unutamıyor. Türk-İngiliz ticaret görüşmeleri devam ediyor.

*Fransa* ile Türkiye, Suriye sınırı hakkında ve sınıra ilişkin çeşitli konularda anlaşma yapmış; protokoller, güvenlikle ilgili bir deklarasyon imzalamışlardır. Mersin-Tarsus-Adana demiryolu, Nusaybin demiryolu konularında hâlâ bazı pürüzler bulunmakla beraber, Türk-Fransız ilişkileri artık iyi bir döneme giriyor.

*İtalya*, Türkiye ile samimi olmaya çalışıyor. Amacı, ticari sızmadır. Dıştan bakınca Türk-İtalya ilişkileri dostça görünüyor. Nisanda Dışişleri Bakanı Tevfik

Ruští (Aras) Roma'ya, Kasım'da İtalya'nın eski Maliye Bakanı Volpi Ankara'ya ziyaret ediyor. Türkiye Cumhuriyet Merkez Bankası kurulması konusu görüşülüyor. Yıl sonunda Türk-İtalyan Ticaret Anlaşması imzalanıyor. Meis adasının egemenliği konusunda Lahay Adalet Divanına başvurumaya karar veriliyor.

Almanya ile Türkiye arasında ilişkiler iyidir. Dışişleri Bakanı Tefvîk Ruští (Aras) Nisan'da Berlin'i ziyaret ediyor. 16 Mayıs'ta (1929) Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ile Almanya Devleti arasında Hakem ve Uzlaşma Muahedesi ve Nihai Protokol imzalanıyor. Türkiye Cumhuriyet Merkez Bankası kurulması hazırlıklarıyla ilgili olarak Dr. Müllet Türkiye'yi ziyaret ediyor. Ankara'da Alman Büyükelçiliği binasının yapımı devam ediyor.

Sovyet Rusya ile ilişkilerde, Doğu Anadolu'daki Rus ticaret temsilcileri konusunda bazı kuşklar ve sirtüşmeler yaşıyor. Pek dışı vurulmayan bu sirtüşmelere rağmen Türk-Rus ilişkilerinin esasında bir değışiklik olmuyor. Türkiye, Rusya ile dostluğa önem veriyor ve büyük komşusuyla kavga etmek niyetinde değildir. Aralık ayında Sovyet Dışişleri Bakan Yardımcısı Karahan, Ankara'ya ziyaret ediyor. Çok önem verilen bu ziyaret sırasında Türk-Sovyet Dostluk ve Tarafsızlık Antlaşmasının süresini uzatan bir protokol imzalanıyor. Sovyetler Birliği'nden kovulan Trotsky İstanbul'a geliyor. 1929 sonunda hâlâ buradaydı. (Daha sonra Türkiye'den ayrılan Trotsky, Meksika'ya yerleşecek ve orada Stalin tarafından öldürtülecekti.).

ABD ile Türkiye arasında 1 Ekim 1929'da Ticaret ve Seyrisefain Sözleşmesi imzalanıyor.

Macaristan ile Türkiye arasında Tarafsızlık, Uzlaşma ve Hakem anlaşması imzalanıyor.

Bulgaristan ile Türkiye arasında Hakem ve Saldırmazlık Anlaşması imzalanıyor. Bulgaristan'da Türkiye ile dostluk ilişkilerine büyük önem veriliyor.

Yunanistan ile Türkiye arasındaki ilişkiler ise bir türlü düzelemiyor, nüfus mübadelesine ilişkin çeşitli sorunlar çözüm bekliyor ve hâlâ gerginlikler yaşıyor. Yunan Hükümeti, Yunanistan'daki geniş Türk emlakine el koyunca Türk hükümeti misillemede bulunuyor. Yıl içinde Türk-Yunan görüşmelerinde inişler, çıkışlar oluyor ve sonunda görüşmeler kesiliyor. Yunan Hükümeti, "Yavuz" zırhlısının onarılmasını bile kendilerine karşı bir tehdit olduğunu ileri sürüyor, buna karşılık kendi donanmasını güçlendirme yoluna gidiyor. İngiliz Büyükelçiliği, "Türkiye'de Yunanistan'la anlaşmadan yana olanlarla buna karşı olanlar var" diyor. (Aynı şey herhalde Yunanistan için de geçerlidir, orada da Türkiye ile anlaşmaya şiddetle karşı olanlar vardır.)

İran'la Türkiye arasında, 9 Nisanda, sınır güvenliğiyle ilgili bir anlaşma imzalanıyor. 25 Nisanda Başbakan İsmet Paşa (İnönü), Ankara'daki İran Büyükelçiliği binasının temelini atıyor. İran'la ilişkiler iyiye gidiyor.

Mısır Krallığı ile Türkiye Cumhuriyeti arasındaki ilişkiler ise biraz gergindir. Mısır Kralı, Kahire'deki Türk Elçisi Muhiddin Paşa'yı (Akyüz) huzura kabul için fazla bekletmiş, bunun üzerine Elçimiz sarayı terk etmiştir. İki ülke arasında anlaşma vardı, görüşülmekte olan dostluk antlaşması da imzalanmamıştır.

Buna karşılık Türkiye, ile *Hicaz (Süudi Arabistan)* ile Mekke'de dostluk antlaşması imzalıyor, *Yemen* ile de dostluk antlaşması yapmayı düşünüyor.

*İskandinav ve Batık ülkeleri* ile Türkiye arasındaki ilişkiler iyidir. Türkiye, *İsvet, Finlandiya ve Estonya* ile aynı ayı ticaret antlaşmaları imzalıyor. Danimarka ile ticaret antlaşması yerine geçici bir *modus vivendi* yapıyor.

Türkiye, *Latin Amerika* ile de ilişkilerini güçlendiriyor. *Arjantin* Ankara'da bir maslahatgüzar ile temsil ediliyor. *Brezilya*, Ankara'da elçilik açacağını açıklıyor. *Uruguay* ile Türkiye arasında Roma'da dostluk antlaşması imzalanıyor.

*Çin* ile Türkiye arasında 1929 yılında henüz diplomatik ilişki yoktur. Mançurya yüzünden Çin ile Sovyet Rusya'nın arası bozuktur. Bu nedenle, Rusya'nın dostu olan Türkiye, Çin ile normal resmî ilişki kurmakta acele etmiyor. Ama Paris'teki Çin Büyükelçiliği başkâtibi Türkiye'ye gönderiliyor ve Türk yetkililerle temaslarda bulunuyor.

1929 yılında Türkiye'nin iç ve dış durumu kısaca budur; ayrıntılar aşağıdaki belgede bulunacaktır.

4

1930 yılı, Türkiye'de ekonomik kriz yılı oldu; dünya ekonomik krizi Türkiye'de de hayati etkiledi. Osmanlı borç taksitlerinin ödenmesinde güçlükler yaşandı. Bütçenin bayındırlık ve savunma harcamalarında kısıntıya gidildi. Elmadag'dan başkente su getirmek, Ankara yakınlarında baraj kurmak, Ankara'yı ülkenin her tarafına büyük yollarla bağlamak gibi projeler durduruldu. Ülkede sıkıntılar arttı, hoşnutsuzluk yaygınlaştı. Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal, İsmet Paşa başkanlığındaki Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi hükümetine alternatif bir hükümet düşünmeye başladı. Gazi'nin teşvikiyle Ağustos'ta Serbest Fırka kuruldu. Yaz aylarında Ağrı ayaklanması, yıl sonunda Menemen gerici olayı patlak verdi.

Krize karşı tedbirler de alındı. Ocakta "Millî İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti" kuruldu ve Gazi Mustafa Kemal buna ilk üye oldu. Halka ve yönetime sıkı tasarruf çağrısı yapıldı. "Yerli Malı" kampanyası sürdürüldü, "Tasarruf haftaları" düzenlendi. Şubat'ta Türk Parasının Kıymetini Koruma Kanunu çıkarıldı. Ardından Şubat ve Nisan'da bu konuda iki kararname yayımlandı. Haziran'da Maliye uzmanı Risi'e Türk maliyesi hakkında rapor hazırlandı. Yine Haziran'da Cumhuriyet Merkez Bankası kuruldu. Eylül'de TBMM olağanüstü toplanarak Türk Parasının durumunu görüştü. İsmet Paşa Kabinesinde değişiklikler yapıldı. Gazi Mustafa Kemal, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Genel Başkanı sıfatıyla uzun yurt gezilerine çıktı ve

partisinin tasla teskilatlarını bizzat denetledi. Halk Partisine çekti düzen verilmeyle çalışıldı.

Krize rağmen kalkınma projelerinin birçoğuna devam edildi. Subatta Kayseri-Sarkisla demiryolu tamamlanarak işletmeye açıldı. 23 Nisan Bayramında Ankara'da Türk Ocakları Genel Merkezinin görkemli binasının açılışı yapıldı. 30 Ağustos Zafet Bayramının 8. yıldönümünde Ankara-Sivas demiryolu törenle açıldı. Diyarbakır-Fevzipaşa hatı Malatya'ya ulaştı. Yalova Köşkü'nün yapımı tamamlandı. Ankara'da inşaat çalışmaları devam etti. Başkentte özellikle konut inşaatına, resmi binalar inşaatına ara verilmedi; yabancı elçilik binaları yapımı da sürdürüldü.

Reformlar da sürdürüldü. Nisanda Yeni Belediyeler Kanunu çıkarıldı ve bu kanunla Türk kadınına belediye seçimlerinde seçme ve seçilme hakkı tanındı. Bu, genel seçimlerde de kadınlara seçme ve seçilme hakkı verilmesine doğru ilk adım oldu...

İngiliz Büyükelçiliğinin 1930 Yıllık Raporu'nda<sup>1</sup> Türkiye'nin iç durumu ile ekonomik ve mali durumu şöyle özetleniyor:

"Türkiye'de 1930 yılı halka ve sivil yönetime sıkı tasarruf çağrısıyla başlayıp bitti. Osmanlı borçlarının ödenemeyeceği ileri sürüldü. Kürt ayaklanması orduyu meşgul etti. Bir muhalefet partisi kurulması zihinleri karıştırmakla ve ülkede karışıklıklar çıkmasıyla sonuçlandı. Halk Partisinin kökten ıslahı gereği ortaya çıktı. Sorunlara çare bulmak amacıyla Gazi yurt gezilerine çıktı. Aralık ayında Menemen'de irtica ayaklanması oldu. Demiryolları yapımı devam etti. Mübadillerin emlak sorunu halledildi. Türk-Yunan anlaşması imzalandı...

Nisan ve Mayıs aylarında Ağrı yöresinde ayaklanma çıktı ve asiler İran'dan destek gördü. Türk hükümeti bölgeye 12-15 bin asker yığı ve uçakların da desteğiyle saldırıya geçti... Türk basını, İran hükümetini asileri silahlandırmakla suçladı ve şiddetle eleştirdi. Türk hükümeti Türk-İran sınırını düzeltilmesi için ısrar ediyor. İngiltere'nin Kürtler konusundaki tutumu da eleştirildi. İngiltere'nin Kürtçü entrikaları desteklemediği Türklere anlatıldı. Türk hükümeti, asileri Irak sınırını içinde de takip etmek istedi, ama isteği kabul edilmedi. Türk hükümeti Eylülde Kürt ayaklanmasının bastırıldığını ve Ağrı bölgesinin asilerden tamamen temizlendiğini açıkladı. Asilerin elebaşısı İhsan Nuri İran'a kaçmayı başardı. İsmet Paşa, Türkiye dışından yapılan kışkırtmaları ve Kürt aşiret reislerinin derebeylik ayrıcalıklarının kaybetmek istememelerini ayaklanmanın nedenleri olarak gösterdi ve ayaklanmayı desteklememiş olan yöre halkını övdü.

<sup>1</sup> Belge No 18/1: Türkiye Hakkında 1930 Yıllık Raporu.

<sup>2</sup> Bu konudaki başlıca İngiliz belgelerini daha önce başka bir kitabımda yayımladığım. Bkz. Bilal N. Sunar, *İngiliz Belgeleriyle Türkiye'de "Kürt Sorunu" (1924-1938)*. Serh Sait, Ağrı ve Dersim Ayaklanmaları, Dışişleri Bakanlığı Basımevi, Ankara: 1975 (İkinci Baskı: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara: 1991).



Fethi Bey'in Muhalefet Partisi: İsmet Paşa'nın katı politikasının ekonomik sıkıntılara neden olduğunu düşünen Gazi, Ağustos ayında Fethi Bey'i, laik ve cumhurbaşnvetçi bir muhalefet partisi kurmaya özendirdi. İsmet Paşa, politikasında bazı değışiklikler yaptı ve dört bakanını değıştirdi. Gazi, Eylülde Halk Partisine tam destek vermeye yöneldi ve Fethi Bey'den de desteğini çekmedi. Belediye seçimleri kampanyasında bazı karışıklıklar çıktı. Fethi Bey, Gazi ile karşı karşıya gelmemek için partisini fesh etti.

Ticari ve Ekonomik İşler: Dünyadaki krizden etkilenen Türkiye ekonomisi 1930'da kötüleşti. Tahıl, tütün, fındık ürünü iyi olduysa da, dünya fiyatlarındaki düşüş yüzünden, ekonomiyi düzeltmeye yetmedi. Kambiyo krizine karşı enerjik önlemler alındı ve Türk Lirasının paritesi zoraki olarak korundu. Merkez Bankası yasası çıkarıldı. Türkiye dış kredi almıyor. Halkın satın alma gücü ve ithalat düştü. Osmanlı borcu taksitinin ödenmesinde güçlük çıktı. Bayındırlık programında kısıntı yapıldı; bazı demiryollarının ve bazı karayollarının yapımı ertelendi. Yerli sanayi geliştirmek ve "Yerli mal" kullanılmasını özendirmek için önlemler alındı.

Türkiye'nin 1930 ithalatı son dört yılın en düşük seviyesinde kaldı. Ticaret dengesi fazlalık verdi. Sermaye kıtlığı yüzünden sanayide fazla ilerleme olmadı. İki çimento fabrikası açıldı. "Yerli Mal" kampanyası çerçevesinde Türk Sanayi Fuarı düzenlendi. Bütçe denk tutuluyor, 1930-31 bütçesinde gelir 222 milyon 992 bin, gider 222 milyon 834 bin küsur lira olarak tahmin ediliyor. 1930 tahıl üretimi bir önceki yılını % 15-20 aştı. Fındık, zeytin yağı, pamuk, afyon, tütün üretimi de fazla oldu. Ancak dünyada tütün, afyon ve fındık fiyatları düştüğü için beklenen gelir sağlanamadı..."

1930'da Türkiye'nin dış politikasına gelince: Türk-Yunan anlaşması bu yılın "en önemli" gelişmesi olarak görülüyor. Rusya, Türkiye'nin birinci dostudur. Türkiye, İngiltere, Fransa gibi Batı Avrupa devletleriyle de dosttur. İtalya, Bulgaristan, Macaristan da Türkiye'ye yakındır. Türk-İran gerginliği azalmaya başlamıştır. Türkiye, her ülke ile barış içinde olmak istemekte, dostluk antlaşmaları imzalamaktadır. 1930'da Türk-Sovyet dostluk antlaşmasının süresi uzatıldı; Türkiye-Fransa ve Yunanistan ile dostluk antlaşması imzalandı ve Uruguay ile yapılmış olan dostluk antlaşması onaylandı.

Lozan Barış Antlaşmasının eklerinden biri olan Ticaret Antlaşmasının beş yıllık süresi 1929 yılında sona ermiş ve o yıl Türkiye, çeşitli ülkelerle yeni ticaret antlaşmaları imzalamaya başlamıştır. Yeni ticaret antlaşmaları imzalanıp yürürlüğe konması çalışmaları 1930 yılında da devam etti. Bu yıl içinde Türkiye ile İngiltere, Fransa, Almanya, ABD, Romanya, Macaristan, Danimarka, İsveç, Finlandiya, Estonya ve Japonya arasında yeni ticaret antlaşmaları imzalandı ve yürürlüğe kondu. İtalya ve İran gibi bazı ülkelerle ise yeni ticaret antlaşmaları hâlâ yapılamamış ve bu ülkelerle ticari ilişkiler geçici antlaşmalarla veya birer *modus vivendi* ile yürütülüyordu.

1930 Ağrı ayaklanması yüzünden Türk-İran ilişkileri epeyce gerginleşti. Asiler İran'daki sempatisanlarından destek aldı ve bir ara İranlı general Saffar-ud-Devleh ile ilişki kurdular. İran Hükûmeti sınırı tam kontrol edemedi. Türk basınında İran aleyhinde sert yazılar çıktı, hatta kampanya açıldı. İsmet Paşa sert tedbirler alınmasından yanaydı. Gazi Paşa ise İran'la müzakereler yapılarak sınırdaki düzeltmelere gidilmesinden yanaydı. Türkiye'nin Tahran Büyükelçisi Memduh Şeket Bey (Esendal) istifa ettirildi ve yerine Hüseyin Bey (Gerde) atandı. Mustafa Kemal Paşa ile Samsun'a çıkanlardan ve Gazi'nin yakın dostlarından olan Hüseyin Bey, Türkiye-İran sınırında düzeltmeler yapılması için Tahran'da görüşmelere başladı. İki komşu ülke ilişkileri yumuşadı.

\*

1931 yılına Menemen olayının etkisiyle girildi. 1 Ocakta Başbakan İsmet Paşa, bu irtica olayına ilişkin olarak alınan tedbirler hakkında Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisine bilgi verdi. Suçluları yargılamak üzere bir Divan-ı Harp kuruldu ve başkanlığına Kotgeneral Mustafa (Muğlah) atandı. 2 Ocakta Menemen'de, ertesi gün Ankara Türkocağı'nda "Kubilay İhtifalleri" yapıldı. 10 Ocakta Ankara'da Hakimiyeti Milliye Meydanında (Ulus'ta) "Kubilay Müişiği" düzenlendi. 15 Ocakta sanıkların yargılanmasına başlandı; 2 Şubatta 37 sanık idam cezasına çarptırıldı, TBMM, 37 idam cezasından 28'ini onayladı ve ertesi gün bu mahkûmlar idam edildi.

1931'in ilk aylarında Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal, halkın nabzını tutmak amacıyla yurt gezilerine çıktı. Mudanya, Bursa, Uşak, Balıkesir, Manisa, İzmir, Afyon, Konya, Adana, Dörtöl, Malatya gibi şehirleri dolaştı. Gittiği yerlerde aydınlatıcı konuşmalar yaptı. 1 Şubatta İzmir Ticaret Odasındaki konuşmasında kooperatifçiliği özendirerek *"Kooperatif yapmak, maddî ve manevî kuvvetleri, zekâ ve maharetleri birleştirmektir"* dedi. 13 Şubatta Malatya'da demiryollarını övdü: *"...Butün vatan bir demir kitle haline gelecektir. Demiryolları memleketin tüfekten, toptan daha mühim bir emniyet silâhidir. Demiryolları Türk milletinin refah ve medeniyet yollarıdır"* diye konuştu. Gazi, 17 Şubatta Adana Türkocağı'nda yaptığı konuşmada da dil üzerinde durdu: *"Milliyetin çok bariz vasıflarından biri dildir. Türk milletindenün diyen insan her şeyden evvel ve beheimelhal Türkçe konuşmalıdır. Türkçe konuşmayan bir insan Türk harsına, camiasına mensubiyetini iddia ederse buna inanmak doğru olmaz"* dedi\*.

Gazi'nin yurt gezilerinin ardından, Nisan ayında Türkiye'de genel seçimler yapıldı, Meclis yenilendi. 20 muhalif millîetvekili Meclise girdi. Gazi üçüncü defa Cumhurbaşkanı seçildi. İsmet Paşa yeni kabineyi kurdu.

\* Memduh Şeket Esendal'ın ve Hüseyin Gerde'nin Tahran Büyükelçilikleri ve o aralarda Türkiye-İran ilişkilerindeki gelişmeler hakkında bizi Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Bizim Diplomathar*, Bâğı Yayınevi, Ankara: 1996, s. 84-102 ve 342-376.

\* Utkan Kocatürk, *Atatürk ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi Kronolojisi 1918-1938*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara: 1983, s.517-518.



İçerde sükunet sağlanınca Hükümet mali krize ve dış ilişkilere eğildi. Bütçede kesinti yapıldı; memur sayısı ve maaşlar azaltıldı. Gümrük ve Tekel Bakanlığı ile Tarım Bakanlığı kuruldu. İthalata kota kondu. Yerli mallar kullanımı ve yerli sanayi özendirildi. Para sıkıntısına rağmen milli savunma yüksek standartta tutuldu, demiryollarına ve milli eğitime para ayrıldı. İngiliz Büyükelçiliği yıllık raporunda 1931'de "Avrupa ülkeleriyle karşılaştırılınca Türkiye'de daha az sıkıntı yaşandı" deniyor ve özetle şu genel değerlendirmeler yapıyor<sup>13</sup>:

*Genel olarak:* 1931 yılında Türkiye, dışarıda ve özellikle komşularıyla barış ve dostluk, içeride kalkınmaya zarar vermeden sıkı ekonomik önlemler uygulama politikası izledi. Türkiye'nin politikası birçok bakımdan Sovyetlerin politikasına benziyor. Ama Sovyet Rusya kapitalizmi yıkmaya çalışırken, Türkiye, kapitalist ülkeleri model olarak alıyor ve onları geçmeyi amaçlıyor. Başlıca kaynağı tarım olan Türkiye, köylülerin vergi yükünü azaltı ve onları modern metotlar kullanmaya, kooperatifler kurmaya, yerli sanayi geliştirmek için de "yerli mal" tüketmeye özendirdi. Hedeflerine ulaşabilmesi için Türkiye'nin barışa ve sınırlarında güvenliğe ihtiyacı var. Güneyde (Suriye'de) Fransa'nın tutumu Türkleri sınırlendirdi. 1931'de Mustafa Kemal yeniden Cumhurbaşkanı seçildi. Gazi, etkinliğini barış için kullandı; başka ülkelere dostluk gösterdi; ABD'ye karşı dostluk arttı. Türkiye'ye üst düzey ziyaretler yapıldı. Bütçede kısıtlama yapıldı. İthalat azaltıldı. Yıl nispeten iyi geçirildi.

*Dış ilişkiler:* Türkiye ile dostluk bakımından Rusya yine birinci sıradadır. Sonra Yunanistan, Macaristan, Bulgaristan ve İtalya geliyor. Fransa ise büyük devletlerin en arkasında kalıyor. İran'la ilişkiler iyileşti. Japon Prensi Takamatsu; İngiliz Prensesi Alice ve eşi Lord Athlone; Irak Kralı Faysal; Bulgar Başbakanı Musanov; Sovyet Dışişleri Komiseri Litvinov Ankara'yı ziyaret ettiler. Türkiye Başbakanı İsmet Paşa (İnönü) da Dışişleri Bakanı Tevlik Rüşü Bey (Aras) ile birlikte Yunanistan'a ve Macaristan'a resmî ziyaret yaptı. İstanbul'da İkinci Balkan Konferansı toplandı. Türkiye'nin barışçı tutumu devam etti. Türkiye, Milletler Cemiyetine üye olmak için daha istekli göründü; Konseyde daimi üyelik için ısrar etmeyeceğini İngiltere'ye bildirdi ve yarı-daimi üyelik alabilmek için girişimlerde bulundu.

*İçişleri:* Menemen olayının gerginliği 1931 yılına taşı. Sert önlemler alındı. 28 kişi asıldı. Bu arada Cumhurbaşkanı halkın nabzını tutmak için yurdu dolaştı. Gazi'nin üç ay süren yurt gezilerinin ardından genel seçimlerin yenilenmesine karar verildi. Mecliste 30 koltuk muhalefet adaylarına ayrıldı ve 20 muhalif seçildi. Bütçede 36 milyon TL kesinti yapıldı. 1931'de ülkede iç karışıklık veya ayaklanma olmadı. İran'la sınır düzeltilmesi için görüşmeler başladı ve devam ediyor. İngiliz Büyükelçiliğinden iki görevli Doğu Anadolu'yu dolaştı. İçişleri Bakanı da o bölgeyi ziyaret etti. Rum azınlığına karşı muameleler iyileşti. Ermenilerin durumunda değişme yok. İsmet Paşa'ya karşı bir Ermeni suikastı hazırlığı ortaya çıkarıldı...

<sup>13</sup> Belge No: 126/ya ek: Türkiye Hakkında 1931 Yıllık Raporu

*Ticaret ve ekonomi:* İthalata kota kondu. Böylere ticaret dengesizliğinin azalacağı, Türk parasının istikrara kavuşacağı ve yerli sanayinin gelişeceği söylendi. 1931-32 bütçesi gelirlerinde % 16 azalma oldu. Giderlerde kısıtlamaya gidildi. Yine de dengeli bütçe yapmak zor olacak gibi görünüyör. İhracata dönük tarım ürünlerinde ivileşme, fiyatlarda ise düşme vardır. Demiryolları yapımı hızla ilerliyor. 580 kilometrelik Ankara-Kayseri-Sivas hattı tamamlandı. 380 kilometrelik Samsun-Sivas ve 220 kilometrelik Kütahya-Balıkesir hatları bitti sayılır. Ötekiler de ilerliyor. Karayolları için de ödenekler ayrıldı. Sanayi yavaş geliyor. Yatırım için yeterli sermaye olmayışı gelişmeyi yavaşlatıyor; yine de küçük fabrikalar, atölyeler kuruluyor; yerli malı üretimi ve kullanımı özendiriliyor ve bazı ürünlerin ithalatı azalıyor. Ticarete kota konması İngiltere'den yapılan ithalata ciddi darbe vurdu. Türkiye'nin ihracat gelirlerinde bu yıl (1931'de) görülen azalma, dünya fiyatlarındaki düşüşten ileri geldi...

*Deniz Kuvvetleri:* İtalya'ya sipariş edilmiş olan 2 destroyer, 3 sahil muhafaza botu ve 2 denizaltı 1931 yılında Türkiye'ye teslim edildi. 2 destroyerin daha İtalya'da yapımı sürüyordu. Türkiye, yıl içinde Yunanistan ve Rusya ile denizcilik anlaşmaları yaptı. Bazı Türk deniz subayları İngiltere, Sovyet Rusya, Fransa, İtalya ve Japonya'da staj gördü. Yıldız'daki Harp Akademisine artık deniz subayları da katılıyor.

*Kara Kuvvetleri:* Askerin üniformaları iyileşti. Bütçe yetersizliği nedeniyle büyük çaplı manevralar yapılamadı, yalnız tümen çapında manevralar yapıldı. Yüksek komutanlar arasında pek değişiklik olmadı. Salih Paşa I. Kolordu, Kenan Paşa da VII Kolordu komutanlığına atandı. Milli Savunma Bakanlığı ve Genelkurmay Başkanlığı binaları tamamlandı. Daha önce sipariş edilmiş olan toplar ve uçak savalar orduya teslim edildi. Ağır toplar sipariş edilemedi. Ordunun motorlu taşıtlara, özellikle hafif araçlara ihtiyacı var..."

1931 yılında Türkiye-Çin ve Türkiye-Litvanya Dostluk Antlaşmaları imzalandı. Türkiye'nin Bulgaristan, Danimarka, Estonya, Norveç, İsveç, İsviçre ile yapmış olduğu Ticaret Antlaşmaları yürürlüğe girdi; İspanya ile yeni Ticaret Antlaşması imzalandı; Mısır'la da ticaret anlaşması müzakereleri başladı...

\*

1931 yılı belgelerinde Türkiye'de genel seçimler, Türkiye'nin bazı ülkelerle ilişkileri konularda ilgi çekici bilgiler ve görüşler vardır. Birkaçına kısaca değinelim.

*Seçimler:* İngiliz Büyükelçiliğinin görüşüne göre, Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi'nin 1931 yılının ilk aylarında yaptığı yurt gezileri seçimlerle ilgiliydi. Cumhurbaşkanı'nın esas amacı, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisine bağlı olduğunu halka açıkça göstermek ve halkın nabzını tutmaktır. Nitekim Gazi, 3 Martta yurt gezilerinden Ankara'ya dönüşünde Halk Partisi başlarını topladı ve onlara seçimin yenilenmesi mesajını

verdi. 5 Martta Meclis, yeniden parlamento secimleri yapılması ve mebus meâsalarının 500' inin 350' inin dışlanması kararı aldı. Kutahya mebusu Recep Bey (Peker) Parti Genel Sekreteri oldu ve secim hazırlıklarına başlandı<sup>10</sup>.

Nisanda yapılan seçimin ilk turu Halk Partisinin zaferiyle sonuçlandı. 317 milletvekilini seçecek olan ikinci seçimler belirlendi. 317 adayın 287'si Gazi'nin önerdikleridir. İlk turda seçime katılma oranı % 80 kadar oldu. (Muhâlif gazeteler ise seçmenlerin sadece üçte birinin oy kullandığını yazdı)<sup>11</sup>.

24 Nisanda seçimlerin ikinci turu yapıldı. Gazi'nin önerdiği 287 mebus adaylarının hepsi seçildi. Bağımsızlara (veya muhaliflere) bırakılan 30 sandalye için ancak 20 mebus seçimi kazandı; 10 yer boş kaldı. Üç bağımsız yer ayrılmış olan Tekirdağ ve Samsun'dan hiç bağımsız seçilmedi. Bağımsız olarak adaylığını koyup da kaybedenler arasında Kazım Karabekir, Refet Paşalar da var. Eski Serbest Fırka üyeleri adaylıklarını koymadılar ve Fethi Bey (Okyar) politikadan çekildi. Seçilemeyen Hamdullah Suphi (Tanrıöver) ile Tevfik Kâmil (Koperler)'in diplomatik görevlere atanacakları anlaşıldı. Eski Tahran Büyükelçisi Memduh Şevket (Esental) ve eski Kahire Elçisi Muhittin Paşa (Akyüz) mebus seçildiler. Seçilemeyenler arasında merhum Sadullah Paşa'nın oğlu eski elçilerden Nusret Sadullah Bey de vardı<sup>12</sup>.

Yeni Meclis hakkında İngiliz Büyükelçiliği özetle şunları rapor etti:

"Dördüncü dönem TBMM 4 Mayıs'ta (1931) toplandı. İlk üç Meclisin yaptığı başlıca işlerden sonra şimdi dördüncü Meclis, Türkiye'nin ekonomik sorunlarına çare arayacak. 317 üyeli yeni Meclise 289 üye katıldı, 10 sandalye boş. Mebuslar and içeren laikliğe vurgu yaptılar ve artık Allah'ın adını anmıyorlar. Meclis Başkanlığında ve çeşitli görevlerinde pek değişiklik olmadı. Vastıf Bey (Çınar) Meclis Başkan Yardımcısı seçildi. Daha sonra Gazi Mustafa Kemal oybirliğiyle yeniden Cumhurbaşkanı seçildi. Cumhurbaşkanı Kaleden top atışlarıyla kutlandı. Meclis Başkanı Kâzım Paşa (Özalp) Çankaya'ya çıkarak haberi Gazi'ye bildirdi. Gazi hemen Meclise gelerek milletvekillerine teşekkür etti ve Cumhuriyete sadık kalacağına şeref sözü verdi. Kordiplomatüğün ve mebusların yeni Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından kabulüyle gün sona erdi. Kabinede herhangi bir değişiklik olmadı."<sup>13</sup>

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*Lord Athlone'un Ankara ziyareti:* 1931 baharında İngiliz Prensesi Alice ile eşi Lord Athlone Kudüs'e gitmişlerdi. Oradan dönüştü Türkiye'ye de uğramaya karar verdiler. Gazi bunu duyunca bu İngiliz asilzadelerini Ankara'ya davet etti. İngiltere Dışişleri Bakanlığı 31 Martta Lord Athlone'a şunları telledi:

<sup>10</sup> Belge No. 64.

<sup>11</sup> Belge No. 87.

<sup>12</sup> Belge No. 91.

<sup>13</sup> Belge No. 93.

"Türk hükümeti ziyaretinize pek değer veriyor. Cumhurbaşkanı sizi kabul edecek ve akşam yemeğinde ağırlayacak. Ziyaretiniz siyasi bakımdan yarar sağlayacak. İstanbul'da da 2-3 gün kalmamanızı diliyoruz. Cevabınızın Ankara'da maslahatgüzarı tellemesi."

Cumhurbaşkanı, İngiliz konukları onuruna bir akşam yemeği vermekle de yetinmeyecek, İngiltere Büyükelçiliğinde verilecek akşam yemeğine de katılmaya karar verdi. Gazi o güne kadar yabancı Elçiliklerdeki yemeklere katılmıyordu. İlk defa İngiltere Büyükelçiliğinde Lord Athlone ve eşi onuruna düzenlenecek akşam yemeğini onurlandıracaktı. İngiliz maslahatgüzarı Morgan bunu hemen Londra'ya müjdeledi. Foreign Office'deki görevli telgrafın üzerine not düşti: "Gazi yabancı elçiliklere gitme kuralını bozuyor" dedi<sup>14</sup>.

Lord Athlone ve eşi Prenses Alice, Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal'in konukları olarak 24 Nisanda Ankara'ya geldiler ve 26 Nisanda buradan memnun ayrıldılar. İngiliz Büyükelçisi Sir George Clerk, "Ziyaret pek başarılı geçti. Cumhurbaşkanı yabancı elçiliklerin yemeklerine katılmama kuralını da bozarak İngiltere Büyükelçiliğinde akşam yemeğine katıldı ve İngiltere'ye dostluk gösterdi" dedi. Foreign Office, "Bu ziyaretin değerli siyasal sonuçları olacak" diye ekledi<sup>15</sup>.

Ardından Büyükelçi Clerk, "Lord Athlone ve Prenses Alice'in başarılı Ankara ziyareti hakkında özetle şu değerlendirmeleri yaptı:

"Filistin ve Suriye'de dolaşan Lord, Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi tarafından Türkiye'ye davet edildi. Suriye sınırında özel görevlilerce karşılandı; Konva'dan Cumhurbaşkanı treniyle 24 Nisanda Ankara'ya geldi. Cumhurbaşkanı konuğu olarak Ankara Palas'ta ağırlandı; Gazi tarafından kabul edildi; az sonra Gazi, ziyareti iade etti; akşam Dışişleri Bakanının Lord ve heyeti onuruna verdiği yemeğe Cumhurbaşkanı da katıldı. Yemeği kordiplomatın da katıldığı resepsiyon izledi. Ertesi gün Başbakan İsmet Paşa 40 kişilik bir öğle yemeği verdi; ardından Gazi Çiftliğine bir gezi yapıldı. Akşam Büyükelçilikte bir yemek verdim ve Cumhurbaşkanı da ilk defa bu yemeğe katıldı. Lord Athlone ve yanındakiler 26 Nisanda Ankara'dan İstanbul'a hareket ettiler."<sup>16</sup>

Büyükelçinin bu raporu İngiliz Kralına ve Bakanlar Kuruluna da arz edilmiş ve Foreign Office'de çok olumlu karşılanmıştır. Büyükelçi ziyareti siyasi bakımdan şöyle değerlendiriyor:

"Lord ve Prenses Türklerin gönüllerini fethetti. Lord ve yanındakilerin Suriye dönüşü Türkiye'den geçeceklerini duyan Cumhurbaşkanı kendiliğinden onları davet etti. Onlar da ilk defa Türkiye'ye geldiler. Gazi, İngilizlerle iyi ilişki içinde

<sup>14</sup> Belge No. 79

<sup>15</sup> Belge No. 83

<sup>16</sup> Belge No. 88

<sup>17</sup> Belge No. 89

olmayı arzu ettiğini göstermek için bu ziyareti fırsat bildi. Gazi ve Türk Hükümeti, barış uğrunda İngiltere ile beraber çalışmak arzusundadırlar. Bu birinci faktördür. İkinci faktör hızla artan Rusya korkusudur. Gazi uzak görüşlüdür, ilerisini düşünmektedir. Lord Athlone'a gösterilen sıcaklığın arkasında bunlar vardır, kamsındayım. Fakat Türk Genelkurumunu, yakın geçmişteki düşmanlarına kuşkuyla bakmayı sürdürmektedir."<sup>18</sup>

Türkiye, İngiltere'ye yakınlık göstermeyi sürdürüyor. 4 Haziranda Ankara'da, İngiliz Kralının yaş günü resepsiyonu veriliyor. Bu İngiliz milli günü davetine Meclis Başkanı Kâzım Paşa, Başbakan İsmet Paşa, diğer Bakanlar, önde gelen mebuslar ve Cumhurbaşkanlığı Genel Sekreteri katılıyor<sup>19</sup>. Kısacası, Cumhurbaşkan dışında, Devletin zirvesi İngiltere Büyükelçiliğini onurlandırıyor ve İngiltere'ye dostluk gösteriyor.

Fakat Türkiye, İngiltere'den tam karşılık göremiyor. Türkiye, Milletler Cemiyeti Konseyine daimi üye veya yarı-daimi üye olmak için İngiltere'den destek isteyince İngiltere yan çiziyor. Oysa İngiltere daha önce Polonya ve İspanya'nın Milletler Cemiyeti Konseyine yarı-daimi üye seçilmelerini desteklemişti<sup>20</sup>. Sindi Türkiye aynı sevi isteyince İngiltere tutum değiştiriyor. Bu konuda Foreign Office'ten Büyükelçi Clerk'e de şu karşılık veriliyor:

"Tevfik Rüstü'ye Cenevre'de destek vermemiz mümkün değil; ama Gazi'ye veya Türk hükümetine bazı dostça açılımlarda bulunma önerinizi akılda tutacağız. Yakında çıkacak olan Çanakkale Savaşı Resmi Taciti'ni İngiliz Hükümeti adına resmen Gazi'ye takdim etmeniz O'nu hoşnut edecektir, sanırım."<sup>21</sup>

Demek ki İngiltere, Milletler Cemiyeti'nde Türkiye'nin isteğini desteklemeyecek ama, Gazi'ye Çanakkale Savaşıyla ilgili bir kitap sunarak jest yapmış olacak!

1931'de bir de İngiliz mandası altındaki Filistin'de bir İslam Konferansı toplanması sorunu ortaya çıkıyor. Gazi, bu konuda çok duyarlıdır. Önce, izni olarak Ankara'da bulunan Berlin Büyükelçisi Kemalettin Sami Paşa'yı İngiliz Büyükelçisine gönderiyor, onun aracılığıyla girişimde bulunuyor. Büyükelçi Clerk, bunu Londra'ya şöyle bildiriyor:

"Cumhurbaşkanı, yanında bulunan sırdası Berlin Büyükelçisini bana gönderdi ve İslam Konferansı konusunda Türkiye ile İngiltere'nin ortak hareket etmelerini önerdi. Gazi, kendi politikasını belirtmemiştir, ama İngiltere'in tutumunu öğrenmeden bir harekette bulunmayacağını bildiriyor."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Belge No. 90

<sup>19</sup> Belge No. 99

<sup>20</sup> Belge No. 65/1

<sup>21</sup> Belge No. 107

<sup>22</sup> Belge No. 123



Kemallettin Sami Paşa'nın ardından Dışişleri Bakanı Tefik Rüşti (Ariş) Bey de İslam Konferansı konusunu İngiliz Büyükelçisiyle görüşüyor. Büyükelçi Clerk bu görüşmeyi 1 Aralıkta şöyle rapor ediyor:

"Filistin'de toplanacak İslam Konferansı konusunda Tefik Rüşti Bey'e özette şunları bildirdim: İngiltere, konferansta politik sorunların ortaya atılmayacağını ve Türkiye'nin rahatsız edilmeyeceğini düşünmektedir. Halifelik konusu da gündeme gelmeyecektir. İngiltere, İmparatorluğunu düşünerek, Müslimanların dini işlerine karışmak istemiyor ve konferanstan uzak duracaktır..." Tefik Rüşti Bey, bildirdiklerinden hiç hoşnut kalmadı. İngiltere'nin konferanstan "uzak durma" tutumunu sorguladı. Türkiye'nin konferansı yakından izleyeceğini, meselâ şeriat konusu tartışılırsa bunu Türkiye'nin içişlerine karışma sayacağını söyledi. Konuşmasından, İngiltere'nin bu konferansı yasaklamasını beklediği anlaşıyordu. Tefik Rüşti Bey, verdiği bilgileri tabii Cumhurbaşkanı'na ve İsmet Paşa'ya arz edeceğini söyledi. Konferans aleyhinde Türkiye'de bir kampanya açılırsa, korkarım ki, İngiltere de eleştirilerden ve suçlamalardan nasibini alacak ve Türklerin İngiltere'ye gösterdiği dostluk frenlenecektir."<sup>23</sup>

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*Irak Kralı Faysal'ın Ankara ziyareti:* Atatürk'ün dış politikasında Türkiye'ye komşu ülkelerin önemli ve öncelikli bir yeri vardır. Bu bağlamda, Atatürk zamanında, Türkiye-İrak ilişkilerinde ilginç gelişmeler görülür. Üst düzey ilişkiler 1927 yılında başlar. Irak Kralı Faysal, 3 Kasım 1927 günü, Londra'da kalmakta olduğu Park Oteli'ne Türkiye Büyükelçisi Ahmet Ferit Bey'i (Tek) çaya davet eder ve onun aracılığıyla Türkiye'ye dostluk mesajı gönderir. Türkiye ile dostluk ilişkileri geliştirmek istediğini bildirir: "Maziî hatırlanmakta bir failde yoktur. Lazım olan âtiyi temin etmektir... Gayemiz aramızda hüsn-i münasebatı teyid ve teyyid etmektir..." der. Türkiye'ye ve Gazi'ye havranlığını dile getirir.

Bundan sonra Faysal'ın adını adını Atatürk'e yaklaştığı görülür. Faysal, eski Mekke Şerifi Hüseyin'in oğludur. Birinci Dünya Savaşında Osmanlı Devleti'ne ihanet edip Türk askerini arkadan vurmuştur. Atatürk, çok iyi bildiği bu acı geçmişin belki biraz küllenmesi için, Kral Faysal'a karşı önceleri biraz mesafeli davranır. Aradaki bu soğukluğa rağmen Türk-İrak ilişkileri yavaş yavaş gelişir. Atatürk, 1927 yılında ikinci defa Cumhurbaşkanı seçildiğini resmen Kral Faysal'a da bildirir. 1928 yılında Kral Faysal, Atatürk'le yakından tanışan Sabahî Naşat Bevi Ankara'ya elçi olarak atar. Ertesi yıl Tahir Lütfi Bey (Tokay) ilk Türk elçisi olarak Bağdat'a atanır.

1930 yılında Kral Faysal, Ankara'yı ziyaret etmek ve Gazi Mustafa Kemal'e saygılarını sunmak istediğini Türkiye Elçisi Tahir Lütfi'ye duyurur. Türkiye'den bir davet beklediğini belli eder. Ankara, Kral Faysal'a yine biraz mesafeli durur. Kral,

<sup>23</sup> Belge No. 124.

Türkiye'ye gelmek istiyorsa bu isteği tabii ki kabul edilecekti, ama kendisi bu isteğini açık açık bildirmeliydi. Bu arada Elçimiz, Kralı Türkiye'yi ziyarete özendirilmemeliydi. Dışişleri Bakanlığı, Cumhurbaşkanından aldığı direktifle Bağdat Elçisi Tahir Lütfi Bey'e 4 Ocak 1931 günü şu cevabı verdi:

"Kral Faysal Ankara'ya gelmek arzusunu sırf kendi tarafından izhar ederse Hükümet-i Cumhuriye'nin bu ziyaretten memnun kalacağı yolunda lisan kullanmanız tabiidir. Ancak bu hususta tarafınızdan herhangi bir şekilde teşvikatta bulunulması muvafık değildir. Eğer Kral Reisicumhur Hazretlerini ziyaret etmek ve kabul olunmak arzusunda bulunursa kendi tarafından vaki bu teklif olmak üzere keyfiyetin bildirilmesi mercudur."

Beş ay sonra Kral Faysal, Elçi Tahir Lütfi Bey'i kabul ederek Türkiye'ye gitmek istediğini açık açık bildirdi. Ankara'ya şu mesajı gönderdi:

"...İngiliz entrikalarından çok muzdaribiz. Gazi Mustafa Kemal Hazretlerinin bu husustaki siyaset ve muvaffakiyetlerinin hayranıyız. O Büyük Adam benim için ve bütün Şark için bir mukades vücuttur. Zaten siyasetimiz Türkiye siyasetinden mülhemdir. Biz bir evin ayrı ayrı odalarında sakin iki kardeşiz. Menfaatimiz müşterek ve siyasetimiz birdir. Türkiye bizim rehberimizdir. Gazi Mustafa Kemal Hazretlerinin elini öpmek ve ona karşı bipayan hürmetlerimi ve takdirlerimi takdim eylemek üzere bu sene Türkiye'ye gitmek istiyorum." dedi. Ziyaret için yaklaşık bir tarih de önerdi.

Bu mesaj üzerine Gazi, Kral Faysal'a kollarını açtı. "Kralın Türkiye'yi ziyaret etmesinden Reisicumhur Hazretlerinin pek memnun olacakları Bağdat'a" bildirildi. Atatürk'ün talimatıyla, ziyaret özenle hazırlandı. Faysal'ı memnun etmek için ne gerekiyorsa inceden inceye düşünüldü. Sonunda Kral Faysal, 6-7 Temmuz 1931 tarihlerinde Ankara'da, Atatürk'ün konduğu oldu.<sup>74</sup>

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devletinin başkenti Ankara'yı, 1928 yılında, ilk ziyaret eden yabancı Devlet Başkanı Afganistan Kralı Amanullah Han olmuştu; ikincisi 1931 yılında Irak Kralı Faysal oldu. Üçüncüsü de 1934 yılında İran Şahı Rıza Pehlevi olacaktı. Atatürk, kendi eseri olan ve Batılı Elçilerin boykot etmeye kalkıştıkları başkent Ankara'nın böyle dost Devlet Başkanları tarafından onurlandırıldığını görmekten mutlu oluyor ve mutluluğunu resmi yemek konuşmasında açıkça dile getiriyordu. Kral Faysal onuruna 6 Temmuz 1931 akşamı Ankara Palas'ta verdiği resmi akşam yemeginde Atatürk aşağıdaki konuşmayı yaptı:

<sup>74</sup> Kral Faysal'ın Atatürk'le ilişkileri ve Ankara'yı ziyareti için bkz. Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Atatürk ve Yabancı Devlet Başkanları*, Cilt II, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 2001, s. 239-275, Belge No. 278-334 ve Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Türk Irak İlişkilerinde Türkmenler*, Belge Yayınevi, Ankara, 2004, s. 79-88.



"Kral Hazretleri,

Zatı Haşmetanelerini burada, Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin merkezinde selâmlamakla bahuyarım.

Dostumuz ve komşumuz Iraklılara ve onun sevilen hükümdarına karşı çok samimi dostluk duygularıyla mütehasis bulunmaktayız. Bu hislerin Türkiye'de ne kadar kuvvetli mâkes bulduğunu, bizzat, müşahade buyuracağız. Ziyareti Haşmetaneleri, mevcut dostluk hislerini ve bağlarını şüphesiz çok kuvvetlendirecektir.

Bütün gavretlerin sulh içinde inkişafa hasreden ve komşularıyla ve dünyanın bütün milletleriyle karşılıklı samimiyet ve muşavet esasları dâhilinde iyi geçinmeği şiar edinen Cumhuriyet Hükümeti, Irak'ın gününce artan bir terakki ile huzur içinde mesut ve müreffeh olmasını alâka ile takip ve temenni etmektedir.

Milletler arasındaki bağların ve alikaların inkişafında pek mühim olan ve tarihin seyrinde daima tesirini gösteren coğrafi, iktisadi amillerden başka, bugünkü karşılıklı menfaatleri de Irak ile Türkiye'yi birbirine yaklaştırmakta ve daha çok dost yapmaktadır. Bu görüş ve anlayışta müsterek olduğumuz kanaatımı ifademe müsaadelemni rica ederim.

Bu samimi kanaat ve hisler içinde sözlerimi bitürürken, huzurlarıyla hepimize sevinçler veren mühterem misafirümüz Haşmetli Kral Hazretlerinin şahsı saadetlerini ve dost Iraklıların refah ve ikbalini temennî ederim."<sup>22</sup>

Aynı ziyafette Kral Faysal, Atatürk'ün konuşmasına şöyle cevap verdi:

"Reisicumhur Hazretleri,

Zatı Riyasetpenahilerinin gerek şahsım, gerek milletim hakkında izhar buyurdıkları samimi hissiyat ve hakiki muhabbete ve komşu ve kardeş Türk milletinin güzel merkezinde bulunduğum hüsnü kabule karşı derin teşekkürlerle mütehasis olduğuma ümmad buyurularımı rica ederim.

Oteden beri kalben arzu eylediğim sulh ve terakki sahâsında her gün atmakta olduğun mühim ve şayanı takdir hatveleri hakiki bir alâka ve memnuniyetle takip ediyor ve muvaffakiyetle neticelenmekte olduğunu görmekte derin bir sevinç hissediyoruz. Zatı Riyasetpenahilerinin şimdi dinlediğimiz belîğ sözlerinde buyurdıkları gibi, birçok sebepler ve amiller dolayısıyla her iki milletin gününce daha dost ve daha samimi olmalarının pek tabii ve hatta zarurî olduğu kanaatinde Zatı Devletleriyle tamamilen müsterekim. Bu hakikati beyan etmekle bütün milletimin hissiyatına tercüman olduğuma eminim.

<sup>22</sup> DBA-Irak, Hattı K. 2/1 & Şinşur, Atatürk ve Yabancı Devlet Başkanları II, s. 265-266, No. 321

*Sözlerime muhavet vermeden evvel işbu mütasavver ziyaretini kuşveden lüle çıkardığımdan dolayı pek ziyade mesum olduğumu beyan etmek isterim. Her vakit hatırlımda derin ve sevinçli bu ıntiba bırakacak olan işbu hüsnü kabule karşı derin tesekkürlerimi tekrar ve aynı zamanda Reisicumhuru Hazretlerinin şahsî saadetini ve dost Türk milletinin teah ve muvaffakiyetini temenni eylerim.*"<sup>75</sup>

Kral Faysal'ın ziyareti sonunda aşağıdaki resmî tebliğ yayımlandı:

### Türkiye-İrak Resmî Tebliği

(Ankara, 8 Temmuz 1931)

İrak Kralı Hazretlerinin Ankara'yı serfendiren ziyaretleri esnasında Türkiye Reisicumhuru Hazretleriyle aralarında müteaddit ve çok samimî mülâkatlar olmuştur.

İrak Reisi Vüzerası Nuri Sait Paşa Hazretleriyle Maliye Veziri Rüstem Haydar Beyefendi de Ankara'yı teşrif etmişlerdir.

Bu iki Irak Devlet recaiü ile Basvekil İsmet Paşa Hazretleri ve Hariciye Vekili Tevfik Rüşü, Dahiliye Vekili Sükrü Kaya ve İktisat Vekili Mustafa Serel Beyefendiler arasında vuku bulan temas ve mülâkatlarda iki memleketin iktisadi münasebetleri ve tarafeyü tebaasının diğerinin ülkesinde ikamet serairi hakkında fikir testisi yapılmış, Türkiye ile Irak arasında İkamet ve Ticaret mukavelesuamesi akdi için hemen müzakerelere girilmesi hususunda itilak hasıl olmuştur.

Hududun emniyet ve asayişini temin hususunda alınan tedbirlerin samimiyyede tatbik edildiği ve iyi neticelei verdiği iki tarafca memnuniyetle müşahede edilmiştir. Hududun iki tarafında yekdiğeri aleyhine harekete ve teşebbüse müsaade etmemek esasının dikkatle ve sebatla takibi teyit edilmiştir<sup>76</sup>.

İrak Başbakanı ve Maliye Bakanının da Kral Faysal'a refakat etmeleri, Ankara'da yapılan Türk-İrak görüşmelerine muhteva kazandırmıştır. Görüşmelerde, Taraflar için çok önemli olan ortak sınırın güvenliği konusu etraflıca ele alınmış ve ayrıca iki komşu ülke arasında yeni bazı anlaşmalar yapılmasına karar verilmiştir.

Kral Faysal'ın Ankara ziyaretiyle Türk-İrak dostluğu oldukça ileri bir düzeye çıkmıştır. Daha geniş bir bakışla, bu ziyaret, Birinci Dünya Savaşında Osmanlı Devletine ihanet etmiş olan Araplarla Türklerin barışması anlamına geldiği de söylenebilir.

<sup>75</sup> *Anımlarım Milli Dev Polindası (Cumhuriyet Dönemine ait 100 Belge 1923-1938)*, Kültür Bakanlığı, Ankara, 1981, Cilt II, Belge 25 & Sınıfı, *Anımlar ve Yahancı Devlet Başkaları II*, s. 206, No 322.

<sup>76</sup> DBA-İrak Harici R. 2/1 & Sınıfı, *Anımlar ve Yahancı Devlet Başkaları II*, s. 207, No 324.

Kral Faysal'ın ziyaretini komisunda İngiliz Büyükelçisi Clerk, 8 Temmuz günü Londra'ya şunları rapor etti:

"Irak Kralı Faysal Ankara'ya resmi bir ziyaret yaptı. İstasyonda Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından karşılandı. Kral, Gazi ile şahsen temas kurmak istemiş, onun üzerine ziyaret hazırlanmış. Görüşmelerde Türk tarafı başlıca şu üç noktayı gündeme getirmiş: Ticaret ve İkamet Sözleşmesi, sınır olayları ve petrol hissesi. Ziyaretten iki taraf da memnun kaldı. Fransız Büyükelçisine bilgi verdim. Hem Gazi, hem Kral bana dostluk gösterdiler. Kral, bu akşam İstanbul'a hareket etti ve Dolmabahçe Sarayında kalacak. İstanbul'da Kral onuruna bir akşam yemeği vereceğim."<sup>18</sup>

Büyükelçi Clerk, ziyaretle ilgili olarak 14 Temmuzda şu ek bilgileri verdi.

"Irak Kralı Faysal bugün Türkiye'den Viyana'ya ve Bern'e hareket etti. Başbakan Nuri Paşa da dün Bağdat'a hareket etmişti. Kral İstanbul'da, gayri resmi olarak, ama Gazi'nin konduğu sıfatıyla Dolmabahçe Sarayında kaldı ve gençlik yıllarını aradı. Yalnız akşam yemeğinde benimle, öğle yemeğinde de Mısır elçisiyle beraber oldu. Kral ziyaretten memnun kaldı. Somut olarak Irak, 400.000 Sterlin tutarındaki petrol gelitinin onda birini Türkiye'ye vermeyi kabul etti."<sup>19</sup>

Yine 14 Temmuz günü Büyükelçi Clerk, Londra'ya özetle şunları yazdı:

"Irak Kralı benimle uzun uzun konuştu. Anlattığına göre: Mayıs ayında Şeyh Mahmud'un tesliminden sonra bu ziyaret mümkün olmuş. Gazi, Ruslardan düş kırıklığına uğradığını Krala itiraf etmiş; Fransızlara güvenmediğini, İngiltere ile ilişkilerin hızla geliştiğini söylemiş. Gazi'nin, Türkiye, Irak, İran, Afganistan (ve ileride Suriye ve Türkiye'nin kuzey-doğusundaki küçük Sovyet cumhuriyetleri) arasında ittifak değilse bile yakın ilişkiler kurma emeli beslediğini sanıyorum. Gazi, Faysal'ın ziyaretiyle bu yönde bir adım atmıştır. Faysal, Gazi ile görüşmesinden etkilenmiştir. Gazi'nin düşündüğü bloklaşmaya karşı İngiltere'nin tutumu ne olmalı? Henüz erken ise de İngiltere bunu Yakın Doğu'da barış ve istikrar bakımından olumlu karşılayabilir."<sup>20</sup>

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**Fransa ile ilişkiler:** Gazi, Irak Kralı'na, "Fransızlara güvenmediğini" söylemiş. 1931 yılında Türkiye, haklı olarak, Fransa'ya kuşkuyla bakmaktadır. İngiliz Büyükelçisi, 2 Kasım günü Dışişleri Bakanı Tefik Rüşü (Aras) ile yaptığı bir görüşmeyi rapor ederken Türkiye'nin neden Fransa'dan kuşkulandığını ve kaygılandığını anlatmaktadır. Özetle şunları yazmaktadır:

"Tefik Rüşü Bey beni saat sekizde (20.00'de) kabul etti. Telaşlıydı. Nedeni, Fransa'nın Suriye tahıtları Kral Faysal'a önermesiniymiş. Bakan, Fransa'nın Suriye

<sup>18</sup> Belge No: 100.

<sup>19</sup> Belge No: 102.

<sup>20</sup> Belge No: 103.

politikasından endişeli, çünkü Fransa'nın Suriye'ye bağımsızlık vermediğini, orada kalmak niyetinde olduğunu, Kral Faysal'ın da Fransız politikasının masası olacağını düşünüyor; oysa İngiltere Irak'a bağımsızlık vermiştir. Türkiye, her ülkeyle dost olmak ve barış içinde geçinmek istiyor. Fakat Fransa, Küçük Antant'a katılanmış olan Türkiye'yi bağışlamıyor. Türkiye, Yakın Doğuda Versaille'nin "pandanusu" olmak niyetinde değildir.... Bakan, bir saatten fazla konuştu. Doğrudan bir talepte bulunmadı, ama İngiltere'den bir güvence bekliyor gibiydi. Fakat Fransa'nın Suriye politikasından Türkiye'nin duyduğu korku ve kaygıları bütünüyle gidermek kolay olmayacaktır. Teflik Rüstü Bey'in korku ve kaygılarının temelinde Paris Bankası'nın (Banque de Paris) politikası yatmaktadır. Bu banka ve Osmanlı Bankası, Türkiye'nin yabancıların mali kontrolü altına girmemeye ne kadar kararlı olduğunu pek kavrayamamaktadır. Fransız meslektaşım bu konuda bana tek kelime söylemedi."<sup>31</sup>

Türkiye, Fransız Bankası "Banque de Paris"nin ve sermayesinin yarısı Fransızlara ait olan Osmanlı Bankasının Türkiye'yi hâlâ mali boyunduruğu altına alına emeli gütmelerinden kaygılıdır; Fransa'nın Suriye politikasından dolayı da kaygılıdır. Fakat dahası da var. Fransa, hâlâ Türkiye'yi parçalama emellerinden kurtulamamıştır. Aşağıdaki iki gizli belge çarpıcı ve düşündürücüdür.

İngiltere'nin Paris Büyükelçisi Tyrrell, 1 Ağustos 1931 günü Londra'ya şunları bildiriyor:

*"(Fransa Dışişleri Bakanı) Berthelot, Başbakan Laval'ın İtalya ile ilişkileri düzeltmek için gidip Mussolini ile görüşmek istediğini; bu amaçla kendisinin (Berthelot'nun) Laval'a yeni bir proje sunduğunu söyledi. Proje, İtalya'yı Kuzey Afrika'da imtiyazlar peşinde koştuktan ve Fransa ile tartışmaktan vazgeçirip başka tarafa yönlendirmeyi amaçlıyor. Bu çerçevede Fransa, İtalya'nın Anadolu üzerindeki emellerini sempatiyle karşılamaya hazırdır ve Mustafa Kemal'in de uzum yaşamayacağı kamsındadır. Fransa, Yugoslavya'ya ise İtalya ile birlikte üçlü antlaşma yapmayı önercektir. Yugoslavya'ya Adriyatik üzerindeki emellerinden ve İtalya ile rekabet etmekten vazgeçmesini, buna karşılık Bulgaristan ile işbirliği yaparak gözlerini İstanbul'a dikmesini söyleyecektir. Bu son öneri tabii 'Türk İmparatorluğu'nun' (Türkiye'nin) dağılmasına bağlıdır. Berthelot bu projenin Laval tarafından olumlu karşılanacağını ummaktadır..."*<sup>32</sup>

Demek ki Fransa, Anadolu'yu parçalamak amacıyla bir gizli proje hazırlamıştır. Fransa Başbakanı Roma'ya gidip bunu İtalya Başbakanı Mussolini'ye elden sunacaktır. Bu proje üzerinde İngilizler de kafa yormaktadır. İngiltere'nin Roma Büyükelçisi Murray, bu konudaki görüşlerini Londra'ya şöyle bildiriyor:

<sup>31</sup> Belge No. 123

<sup>32</sup> Belge No. 104

"Berthelot'un, Mustafa Kemal yakında ölünce İtalya'nın Anadolu'da İtalyan mandası kurması düşüncesi, iki faraziyeye dayanıyor: (1) Mustafa Kemal'in yakında ölmesi kaçınılmazdır; (2) Mustafa Kemal olmayınca Türk Devleti ayakta kalamayacaktır. Bu faraziyelerin ne kadar doğru olduğunu bilemem. Her halükârda bu düşünceleri Rusya'nın takınacağı tutumunu hesaba katmamaktadır. Yugoslavya'nın Adriyatik'teki emellerinden vazgeçirilerek Bulgarlarla birlikte İstanbul'u işgal etmesine izin verilmesine gelince, bu da inanılmaz bir şeydir. Mustafa Kemal'in yakında ölür ve Türkiye dağılırsa İstanbul sorunu hemen gündeme gelir, ama bu sorunun Yugoslav-Bulgar kombinasyonu ile çözülebileceğini düşünemem..."<sup>33</sup>

Batılı devletlerin Lozan Barış Antlaşmasından sonra da kendi aralarında Anadolu'nun sömürgeleştirilmesini konuşmaları, Fransa Dışişleri Bakanının bu yolda bir proje hazırlaması doğrusu hayret vericidir. Atatürk sanki bu gizli konuşmaları sezmiş gibidir. Fransa'nın ve İngiltere'nin çirkin sömürgecilliğini onların yüzüne vurmuştur. 1931 yılı Cumhuriyet bayramı davetinde Gazi, İngiliz ve Fransız askeri ataşelerine, "ölkeleriniz dünyanın yarısından çoğunu fethetmekle insanlığa karşı hareket etmektedir" demiştir. Konuşmayı çeviren Fethi Bey, sesini alçaltarak, İngiliz atasemiliteri Binbaşı O'Leary'ye, "bu sözleri hepten unutursanız umarım" demiştir<sup>34</sup>.

Fransa'nın Türkiye hakkındaki bu kötü niyeti altı ay kadar sonra basına da sızmıştır.

Fransız "Le Temps" gazetesi, 4 Haziran 1932 tarihli sayısında, İtalya Anadolu'da kendisine bir yer ararsa bunun Fransa tarafından da iyi karşılanacağı yolunda bir makale yayınladı. Bu yazı Ankara'da tepkiyle karşılandı. Yunus Nadi, yazıya cevap verdi; İngiltere'nin Irak'a yaptığı gibi Fransa'nın da Suriye'ye bağımsızlık vermesini telkin etmiştir. İngiliz Büyükelçisi, "... Fransız meslektaşım "Temps" daki makalenin Fransız hükümetinin görüşünü yansıtmadığını söyleyecektir sanırım; ama bu gibi yayınlar Fransız meslektaşımın Ankara'daki işlerini kolaylaştırmıyor" diyordu<sup>35</sup>.

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1931 yılında Türkiye'nin Balkan ülkeleriyle ilişkilerinde gelişmeler görüldü. Ekim ayında Başbakan İsmet Paşa, Dışişleri Bakanı Tefik Rüşü Beş ile birlikte Atina'ya resmî bir ziyaret yaptı. İngiltere'nin Atina Elçisi Ramsey, bu ziyaret konusunda özetle şunları söyledi:

"Türkiye Başbakanı ve Dışişleri Bakanının Atina ziyareti samimiyet ve iyi niyet içinde geçti. "Ege" vapuruyla gelen konuklar Pire'de törenle karşılandılar; iki başbakan dostça öpüştüler. Tatsız bir olay çıkmadı. Atina şehri 1820'den beri ilk

<sup>33</sup> Belge No. 105.

<sup>34</sup> Belge No. 120.

<sup>35</sup> Belge No. 140.

defa Türk bayraklarıyla donatıldı. Büyük bir kalabalık yol boyunca Türk konukları alkışladı. İsmet Paşa, Mustafa Kemal'in özel bir mesajını Yunan Cumhurbaşkanı Zaimis'e sundu. Akşamki resmi yemekte Venizelos, Gazi'nin ve konukların sağlığına ve Türk-Yunan dostluğuna kadeh kaldırdı; Türkiye ile Yunanistan'ın eskiden birbirleriyle düşman olan diğer ülkelere örnek olacak bir uzlaşma gerçekleştirdiklerini, kurdukları dostlukla dünya barışına hizmet ettiklerini söyledi. İsmet Paşa verdiği cevapta, Yunanistan ve Türkiye'nin kurdukları eserin sağlam olduğunu, çünkü iki ülkenin çıkar bütünlüğüne dayandığını, coğrafya ve ekonomi başlıca faktörler olarak kaldıkça bu eserin de ayakta kalacağını söyledi. Türk-Yunan Dostluk Antlaşmasının onay belgeleri resmen teati edildi. Yayımlanan basın bildirisinde iki ülkenin birbirlerinin azınlıklarına iyi davranacakları, mübadillerin ziyaretlerine izin verecekleri belirtilmektedir. Bütün program tatsız bir olay çıkmadan uygulandı, Venizelos ve Yunan Hükümeti ziyaretin başarıyla sonuçlanmış olmasından dolayı birbirlerini kutladılar. Yunan tarafı elinden geleni yaptı. İsmet Paşa, buradaki dostluk atmosferinden pek etkilendiğini bana söyledi..."<sup>91</sup>

19 Ekimde İstanbul'da İkinci Balkan Konferansı toplandı, buna Balkan ülkelerinden ve Türkiye'den 200 delege katıldı. Balkan Konferansı öncesinde İngiltere'nin Ankara Büyükelçisi Clerk Londra'ya şunları bildiriyor:

"Yunus Nadi'nin yazdığına göre, Gazi, üç yıl önce Türkiye ile Balkan ülkeleri arasında bir antant düşündüğünü, çünkü Balkan halklarının kökenlerinin aynı olduğunu söylemiştir. Türkler, Osmanlılardan çok önce Türkistan'dan Rusya'ya ve oradan Balkanlara sızmışlar ve Avrupa üzerinden Anadolu'ya gelmişlerdir. Din, Balkan halklarının ortak kökenini kasartmıştır. Ortak kökenden gelen, yakın zamana kadar birlikte yaşamış olan Balkan halkları gelecekte de neden birlikte, ahenk içinde yaşanabilirler? Türkiye bir Avrupa devletidir ama önce bir Balkan devletidir. Bu düşüncelerini Yunus Nadi'ye açıklamış olan Gazi, Balkan halkları arasında bir antant kurmayı yüce bir görev saydığını belirtmiştir. Bu yazılanların Gazi'nin gerçek duygularını yansıttığı kanısındayım."<sup>92</sup>

İkinci Balkan Konferansı sonunda, 1931 yılında, Türk-Arnavut ilişkilerinde de aniden düzeline görüldü. Konuyu biraz açalım: Arnavutluk Cumhurbaşkanı Ahmet Zogu'nun Eylül 1928'de Kralığını ilân etmesi üzerine bozulan Türk-Arnavut ilişkileri 1931 yılında kopma noktasına gelmişti. Türkiye, Tırana'da bir işgüder (veya maslahatgüzar) bırakmış, elçiliği kapatmamıştı. Ama Arnavutlar Türk işgüderiyle resmi ilişkileri kesmişlerdi. İşgüderimiz hiçbir yere çağırılmıyor, davet edilmiyor, hiçbir resmi göreviyle görüşemiyor ve sadece bir gözlemci gibi Tırana'da oturuyordu. İşgüderin birisi dönünce yerine yenisi gönderiliyordu.

<sup>91</sup> Belge No: 108.

<sup>92</sup> Belge No: 112.



Türk-Arnavut ilişkileri böyle dondurulmuş olarak sürüp giderken, bir ara Besa adlı gazete tarafından kısıktılan Arnavutlar, "Kırdımızı tanımayan bir devletin temsilcisini ülkemizde istemiyoruz" diye Türkiye Elçiliğine yürüdüler. Elçilik binasını yakıp yıkmaya tehdidinde bulundu. İsgüder adeta bunaldı. Ankara'ya dönmeyi, Elçiliği kapatmayı düşündü. Ankara bunu kabul etmedi. İsgüdere sabırlı olması talimatı verdi. İsgüderimiz Arnavut hükümetiyle görüşmeyecek, konuşmavacak, Arnavutların taşkınlıklarına, kısıktımlarına karşılık vermeyecek, sabırla görev başında kalacaktı. Tirana Elçiliğimiz "kitapta veri olmayan bir müessese" durumunda görünüyordu. Bazı yabancı diplomatlar bu durumu "tuhaf" (diöle) buluyor, dedikodu yapıyor ve Arnavutluk'ta Türk sempatisinin ve saygınlığının böylece kuruyacağını umuyorlardı. İsgüder, bu durumun ulusal çıkarlarımıza yararlı değil zararlı olacağını düşünüyor ve ısrarla "Elçiliğin ilgasının daha مناسب olacağını" söylüyordu. İlişkiler kopmuş kopacak gibiydi.

Türk-Arnavut ilişkilerinin kopma noktasına gelip dayandığı bir anda Gazi devreye girdi ve ilişkileri yeniden normale çevirdi. 19 Ekim 1931 günü İstanbul'da İkinci Balkan Konferansı toplanmıştı. Arnavutluk da bu konferansa katılmıştı. Delegeleler son oturum için Ankara'ya geldiler ve 26 Ekim günü Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) tarafından kabul edildiler. Aynı gün Gazi, konferansa katılan bütün Balkan Devletleri Başkanlarına birer telgraf çekti ve bu arada Arnavut Kralı Ahmet Zogu'ya da şu telgrafı gönderdi:

*"İkinci Balkan Konferansı azasını bugün Ankara'da kabul etmekle hakiki bir memnuniyet hissettim. Arnavut milli teşekküllerinin müctemi mümessilleri tarafından hakkımda ve Türk milleti hakkında izhar olunan temenniyattan pek mütehasis oldum.*

*Bu vesile ile Zat-ı Haşmetanelerinin saadeti hali ve asil Arnavutluk milletinin refahı için en samimi temenniyatta bulunurken yalnız kendi hissiyatımı değil, bütün Türk milletinin hissiyatını da ifade etmekte olduğumu zannediyorum."*

Türkiye Cumhurbaşkanının bu telgrafı Arnavutluk'ta bayram sevinci yarattı ve aradaki buzları hemen eritti. Türkiye ile Arnavutluk arasında üç yıldır süregelen "soğuk savaş" dönemi bir çırpıda kapandı. Tirana'daki İsgüderimiz, "Büyük Reiscumhurunuzun telgrafları Arnavutluğu hakikaten samimi bir sürür (sevinç) ve şükran heyecanı içinde bıraktı. Yeni vaziyetin hudusu şeklindeki incelik ve zerafete herkes hayran kaldı" diyorlu.

Türk İsgüderi birdenbire Tirana'da günün adamı oldu. Bir gün önce kimseyle resmen görüşemez, konuşamaz ve hiçbir yere çıkamaz iken, şimdi her yere çağırılıyor, etrafını dost yüzler çeviriyor ve Kral Zogu tarafından da kabul ediliyordu. İsgüder, 6 Aralık 1931 günü Ankara'ya şunları telledi:



"Dün Kral tarafından suret-i hususiyede kabul edildim. Beliğ bir Türkçe ile ve istisnai surette yanında kimse olmayarak ve harikulade bir samimiyetle şunları söyledi:

*Türkiye'ye bizi rapteden bağlar mukaddestir. Onlara asla dokunulamaz. Birçok şeylerimizi Türkiye'ye medyunuz (borçluyuz). Sui tefelühümün nihayet bulmasından mesudum. Binuhaye hürmet ettiğim Gazi Hazretleri memleketi ilhya hususunda insana hayret veren bir dehâ göstermişlerdir. Bizim yapmaya çalıştığımız onunki yanında hiçtir. Sizi ecnebi diplomat olarak görmüyorum. Hariciye Nezareti ile halledemediğiniz ehemmiyetsiz bir iş için bile (olsa) derhal bana geliniz."*<sup>28</sup>

Böylece, 1931 yılında Türkiye ile Arnavutluk arasında yeniden dostluk ilişkileri başladı. İngiliz Büyükelçiliği, "Gazi, diyor, İkinci Balkan Konferansı dolayısıyla Arnavut Kralına da bir telgraf gönderdi ve "Majesteleri" diye hitap etti. Böylece Türkiye, Arnavutluk monarşisini tanımış oldu, ama iki ülke arasındaki ilişkiler henüz olması gereken düzeye gelmedi."<sup>29</sup>

Yılın son ayında Bulgar Başbakanı Muşanov Ankara'yı ziyaret etti. Ziyaret 5 Aralıkta sona erdi. Muşanov'un Ankara'da kaldığı dört gün içinde kordiplomatığın katıldığı iki resepsiyon verildi. Gazi, konuk Başbakanı kabul etti. İngiliz Büyükelçiliği raporunda şu değerlendirme yapıyor:

"Ziyaret pek sıcak geçti. Türkler içten dostluk gösterdiler. Gazi'nin dostluğu da savaş öncesi hatıralarına dayanıyor. Ziyaret iki ülke arasındaki dostluk ilişkilerini koruyup güçlendirmek amacı taşımıştır. Resmî yemek konuşmalarında da iki ülke halklarının dostluğuna parmak basılmıştır. İsmet Paşa, Bulgaristan'da binlerce Türk'ün Bulgarlarla dostça ve kardeşçe yaşadığını söylemiştir. Türk basını Bulgar halkını öven yayınlar yapmıştır."<sup>30</sup>

\*

Ekim 1931'de Sovyet Dışişleri Komiseri Litvinov, Tefik Rüşdü Bey'in ziyaretini iade etmek için Ankara'ya geldi. İngiliz diplomatları bu ziyareti de yakından ve eleştirci bir gözle izlediler. İngiltere'nin Moskova Büyükelçiliği, "Litvinov herhalde Türkiye'yi Milletler Cemiyeti'ne girmekten, kapitalist ülkelerle mali anlaşmalar yapmaktan caydırınmaya çalışacaktır" diyordu<sup>31</sup>.

Ankara'daki İngiliz Büyükelçisi Clerk, 28 Ekim günlü raporunda : "Litvinov, 27 Ekimde Ankara'ya geldi; 30 Ekime kadar burada kalacak ve 29 Ekim törenlerinde hazır bulunacak. Ziyaretin, dostluk bağlarını geliştirmekten başka bir amacı yok.

<sup>28</sup> Şınar, *Türkiye-Arnavutluk İlişkileri...*, s.21-23.

<sup>29</sup> Belge No. 126/1: Türkiye Hakkında 1931 Yıllık Raporu

<sup>30</sup> Belge No. 125

<sup>31</sup> Belge No. 114.

Litvinov, Türk basınına verdiği demecde, Türkiye ile dostluğun Sovyet politikasının temel taşı olduğunu söyledi. Arada bazı sınırlamalara rağmen Türk-Rus dostluğu eskisi gibi devam ediyor" diye yazıyordu<sup>12</sup>.

Büyükelçi Clerk 1 Kasım'da da kısaca şunları ekliyordu:

"Türk basını, Litvinov'un ziyaretinin iki ülke arasındaki köklü dostluğu pekiştirmek amacı taşıdığını, dostluğunun Yakın Doğu'da barış faktörü olduğunu yazıyor. Teflik Rüştü Bey, bu ziyaret sırasında, 1925 Dostluk ve Tarafsızlık Antlaşmasının süresinin uzatılacağını söyledi. Litvinov, Türk-Sovyet dostluğunun iki ülke halklarının yüreklerine kök salmış olduğunu söyledi; yeni yapılmış olan Ticaret anlaşmasına ve ekonomik işbirliğine değindi. 30 Ekim'de Ankara'dan ayrılan Litvinov, Sovyet Hükümeti adına İsmet Paşa'ya yapılan daveti yineledi."<sup>13</sup>

"Litvinov ve eşi Ankara'da 29 Ekim kutlamalarında şeref konukları olarak hazır bulundular. Kordiplomatğin Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından kabulünden sonra resmi geçit töreni yapıldı. Yenilik olarak dağ topları ve uçaksavar silahları geçirildi. İzçiler geçen yıllara göre daha kalabalıktı. *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, bu gösterilerden Litvinov'un pek hoşnut kaldığını yazdı... Ankara Palas'taki akşam yemeğinde Bay ve Bayan Litvinov ve kordiplomatik davetliydi. Yemeğin ardından Halk Partisi bir balo verdi. Bayan Litvinov balodaki Türk hanımların sık kıyafetlerinden pek etkilendi. Gazi, İngiliz ve Fransız askeri ataşelerine, 'ülkeleriniz dünyanın yarısından çoğunu fethetmekle insanlığa karşı hareket etmektedir' demiştir. Konuşmayı çeviren Fethi Bey, sesini alçaltarak, Binbaş O'Leary'ye, 'bu sözleri hepten umutursunuz umarım' demiş."<sup>14</sup>

İngiliz Büyükelçisi, verdiği bu bilgilerin ardından şu yorumları yapıyor:

"Lord Athlone'un Ankara ziyaretinden sonra Sovyet Dışişleri Komiserinin bu ziyareti yapması Moskova için gerekli olmuştur. Ziyaret heyecansız geçmiştir. Litvinov, Türkiye'nin Milletler Cemiyeti'yle flört etmesini hoş karşılamamış; Türklerin cevabı da onu tatmin etmemiştir. Litvinov'un bu ziyaretten pek memnun kalmadığı söyleniyor."<sup>15</sup>

Litvinov'un Ankara ziyareti sırasında 17 Aralık 1925 tarihli Türk-Sovyet Dostluk ve Tarafsızlık Antlaşması ile buna bağlı üç protokolün süreleri bitiş tarihinden itibaren beş yıl süreyle uzatıldı.

•

1932 yılında Kur'an, ezan, hutbe Türkçeleştiriliyor. 22 Ocakta İstanbul'da Yerebatan Camii'nde ilk kez Türkçe Kur'an, Hafız Yaşar (Okur) tarafından

<sup>12</sup> Belge No. 115.

<sup>13</sup> Belge No. 117.

<sup>14</sup> Belge No. 120.

<sup>15</sup> Belge No. 119.

okunuyor. Bir hafta sonra 29 Ocakta Sultanahmet Camii'nde de Türkçe Kur'an okunuyor. 5 Şubatta Süleymaniye Camii'nde ilk Türkçe hutbe okunuyor...

Bu önemli yenilik hareketi İngiliz diplomatlarının da dikkatini çekiyor. İngiliz Büyükelçisi George Clerk, 5 Şubatta Londra'ya şunları yazıyor:

"Bu Ramazanda birçok camide Kuran Türkçe okundu. Bu yenilik İslam dini konusunda Türkiye'de resmi tutumu gösteriyor. Hükümet, dindar halk kitlelerini yeni rejime çekmeyi, Türk milliyetçiliğiyle birlikte dine modern bir görünüş vermeyi amaçlıyor, denilebilir."<sup>61</sup>

3 Şubata rastlayan Kadir Gecesinde Ayasofya Camii'nde ilk defa Kur'anın Türkçe okunmasını İngiliz Büyükelçiliği İkinci Kâtibi Bramwell de izliyor ve izlenimlerini özetle şöyle rapor ediyor:

"3 Şubatta Ayasofya Camii'nde Kadir Gecesini izledim. Bu yılki gece geleneksel eski Kadir Gecelerinden farklıydı. Camide tahminen 20-30.000 kişi toplanmıştı. Kuran ve Mevlut okunurken müminler istedikleri gibi hareket ediyorlardı. Kalkıp dolaşanlar, çömelip oturanlar, bağdaş kuranlar, Kible'den başka tarafa bakanlar, hafız okurken konuşanlar bile vardı. Ayasofya'da Kur'an ilk defa Türkçe okunuyordu ve birçok insan merakla buraya toplanmıştı. Gazi'nin de geleceği söylentisi çıkmıştı ama O gelmemişti."<sup>62</sup>

Büyükelçi Clerk bu raporu Londra'ya gönderirken kendi görüşünü de ekliyor: "Kur'anın Türkçe olarak okunmasıyla dindarlık yaygınlaştırılıyor izlenimim doğrulanıyor" diyor.

İbadetin Türkçeleştirilmesi hareketi ertesi yıl da devam ediyor. İngiliz Büyükelçiliği, "ibadetten Arapçayı kaldırma gayretinin" 1933'te yer yer tepkilerle karşılaştığını rapor ediyordu.

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Yine 1932 yılında Türk Dil Kurumu kuruldu. İlk adı "Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti" idi. Bu yolda ilk adım Harf Devrimini günlerinde "Dil Encümeni" nin oluşturulmasıyla atılmış, fakat bunun arkası gelmemişti. 11 Temmuz 1932 günü Türk Tarih Kongresi sona ererken, verilen şölende Gazi Mustafa Kemal "dil işlerini düşünme zamanı gelmiştir" diyerek bir dernek kurulmasını istedi. Daha sonra Türk Dil Kurumu adını alacak olan bu dernek, ilk kurultayını 26 Eylül 1932'de yaptı.

İngiliz Büyükelçiliği gelişmeleri izliyor. 29 Ağustosta, yakında İstanbul'da bir Dil Kongresi toplanacağını haber veriyor ve ekliyor: "Gazi son zamanlarda dil üzerine zihin yoruyor, araştırmalar yapıyor. Eski Türk kültürü Avrupa uygarlığının

<sup>61</sup> Belge No. 128.

<sup>62</sup> Belge No. 129/1

anası sayıldığına göre Türk dili de Avrupa dillerinin anası sayılıyor ve ona göre teoriler üretiliyor. Gazi dil ve tarih konularına kendisini kaptırmış mali ve ekonomik sorunları ihmal ediyor.”<sup>28</sup>

İlk Türk Dil Kurultayı da İngiliz Büyükelçisi Clerk tarafından şöyle özetleniyor:

“İlk Türk Dil Kurultayı 26 Eylülde Dolmabahçe sarayında açıldı. Cumhurbaşkanı yalnız açılışta değil, oturumlarda da hazır bulundu ve başlatıldığı dil reformuna yakın ilgisini gösterdi. Kordiplomatik davet edilmemişti; fakat Sovyet Büyükelçisi gibi bazı meslektaşımız Kurultayda hazır bulundu. Katıksız Türkçenin temsilcileri olarak bazı köylüler de oradaydı. TBMM Başkanı Kazım Paşa (Özalp) Kurultay başkanlığına seçildi. Milli Eğitim Bakanı, Kurultayın tavsiyelerini uygulamak için gerekli önlemleri alacaklarını söyledi. 6-7 bin yıllık Türk uygarlığından söz edildi. Agop Martayan adlı esrarengiz bir Ermeni profesör de Türkçenin Sümer dilıyla ilişkilerine değinen bir konuşma yaptı. Konuşmacılar İsa'dan binlerce yıl önce Türklerin bütün uygar ülkelere hükmettiklerini ileri sürdüler. Hüseyin Cahit (Yalçın) ise hata edildiğini ileri sürdü. Türkçenin etimolojini incelemeyi bilginlere bırakmak gerektiğini, Türk dilini Arap ve Fars kurallarından temizlemenin doğal olduğunu, ancak yabancı kelimelerin tarihi zaruretlere dolayısıyla Türkçeye girdiğini savundu. Son iki oturumda Türk Dil Kurulu tüzüğü onaylandı ve Dil Kurultayının iki yılda bir toplanmasına karar verildi. Kurultayın ardından Milli Eğitim Bakanı üniversiteyi, Halk Evi'ni, eğitim kurumlarını dolaştı ve dil devrimi için çalışmalarını istedi. Halk dilinden kelimeler derlemeleri için 12-15 bin kadar öğretmen görevlendirildiği haber veriliyor.”<sup>29</sup>

\*

Demiryolu programı 1932 yılında da sürdürülüyor, 1 Şubat'ta Malatya-Fırat demiryolu işletmeye açılıyor, 23 Nisan'da Kütahya-Balıkesir, 30 Kasım'da da Ulukışla-Niğde hatları işletmeye açılıyor. Ve bu başarılar, Türkiye'nin ekonomik ve mali bağımsızlığı titizlikle korunarak sağlanıyor. Türkiye kendi yağıyla kavruluyor. İngiliz Büyükelçisi Clerk 11 Nisan 1932 tarihli raporunda bu önemli konuya şöyle parmak basıyor:

“Türkiye'nin mali bağımsızlığını şu veya bu şekilde kontrol altına almayı amaçlayan bir kredi anlaşmasına Türk Hükümetinin hiçbir zaman imza atmayacağı görüşünde olduğumu yazılarında hep arz etmişim. Bu ülke kendi imkânlarıyla yaşayabilir, çünkü halkının büyük çoğunluğu kanaatkârdır. ‘bir lokmaya, bir hırkaya bu deyebilir’ kanısındaydım. Fakat son olarak izinden döndüğümde burada moralin çok düşük olduğunu gördüm. Türk hükümetinin mali bakımdan çaresizlik içinde, Gazi ile İsmet Paşa arasındaki gerginliğin de kopma noktasında olduğu söyleniyor. Dış kredi bulamazsa Türkiye'nin yakında çökeceği ileri

<sup>28</sup> Belge No. 145.

<sup>29</sup> Belge No. 149.

şınılıyordu. Tevfik Rıstı Bey, mali sıkıntı içinde olduklarını gizlemedi; ama Milli Sayınma harcamalarını öte bir kıyarak bütçeyi dengeleyebileceklerini söyledi. Dış borçlarını ertelenmişler. Dış borç almak için ise bekleyecekler. *Milliyet* de bütçeyi dengelemek için borç alınmayacağını yazıyor. Türkiye, bağımsızlığından fedakârlık ederek borç almak niyetinde değil. Osmanlı borçları konusunda pratik bir çözüme ulaşılacaktır, sanıyorum. 31 Mayıs'ta sona erecek 1931-32 bütçesi 40 milyon TL kadar açık verecek. Bunun 20milyonu geçen yılın tasarrufundan karşılanacak, varısa da Bakanlık bütçeleri kıyılarak karşılanacak. Böylece bu yıl atlanacak.<sup>131</sup>

9 Eylülde İş Bankası Genel Müdürü Celâl Bey (Bayar), İktisat Vekilğine atanıyor. İngiliz Büyükelçisi, "Söylendiğine göre Celâl Bey", diyor, "devletçiliğin karşısında özel sektörü savunduğundan, görüşlerini uygulamayı denemesi için Ekonomi Bakanı yapılmıştır. Bu atama, İstanbul'daki sanayi ve ekonomi çevrelerinde memnuniyetle karşılanmıştır."<sup>132</sup>

Büyükelçi Clerk, bu yazdıklarına daha sonra şunları ekliyor:

"Eski İktisat Vekili Mustafa Şeref Bey'den görüşlüydü, müzakerelerde yabancılara zorluk çıkarıyor, Türk ekonomisinin sorunlarına da çare bulamıyordu. Gazi, Celâl Bey'in şikâyetlerinin haklı olduğu kanısına vardı ve Bakan değiştirildi. Bu tahmin doğruysa Gazi ile İsmet Paşa arasındaki anlaşmazlık açığa çıkıyor denilebilir."<sup>133</sup>

Gazi, Celâl Bey'in (Bayar) İktisat Vekili olarak göreve başlaması dolayısıyla kendisine çektiği telgrafa, "Bütün dünyada olduğu gibi memleketimizde de en başta bulunan mühim işimiz, iktisat işidir" diyor<sup>134</sup>.

Gazi 1 Kasım 1932 günü TBMM toplantı yalını açarken yaptığı konuşmada diyor ki:

*"Beynelmûlel siyasi ve iktisadî buhranlardan, beşeriyetin dışınmakta olduğu sıkıntı ve acı devam etmektedir...*

*Bütün milletlerin güçlükde göğüs germeğe uğraştığı zorlukla içinde milletimiz büyük canlılık, hükümetimiz yüksek isabet göstermektedir...*

*Her zaman göz önünde bulundurulduğumuz ana işlere, ara vermeden devam etmeğe mecburuz.*

*Demiryolu programının tatbikına devam edeceğiz"*

<sup>131</sup> Belge No. 132.

<sup>132</sup> Belge No. 147.

<sup>133</sup> Belge No. 148.

<sup>134</sup> Utkan Kocaman, *Atatürk ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi Kronolojisi*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 1985, s. 537.

Milletvekilleri bu son cümleyi özellikle alkışlıyor. Ekonomik ve mali zorluklara rağmen demiryolu programına ara verilmiyor.

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Dış politikaya gelince; Atatürk zamanında komşu ülkelerle ilişkilerde çok önem veren Türkiye, 1930-31 yıllarında Balkan konsullarıyla dostluk ilişkileri kurup geliştirmişti; 1932'de dikkatini doğuya çevirerek komşu İran ile de ilişkilerini düzeltti. 1932 yılı içinde İran ile beş anlaşma yapıldı. Bunların ilki ve en önemlisi *Türkiye ile İran Hüdud Hatlarının Tasviline Dair İtilafname* idi. Bu çetin konu Hüseyin Bey'in (Gerede) 1930'da Tahran'a Büyükelçi atanmasından beri gündemdeydi ve bir yıl boyunca Büyükelçimiz ile İran Dışişleri Bakanı arasında müzakere edilip son aşamaya getirilmişti. Dışişleri Bakanı Tevfik Rüştü Bey'in (Aras) İran'a yaptığı ziyaret sırasında 23 Ocak 1932 günü Tahran'da imzalandı<sup>54</sup>. Onay belgeleri Tahran'da teati edilen anlaşma 5 Aralık 1932'de yürürlüğe girdi. Yine 23 Ocak 1932 günü *Türkiye ile İran Arasında Uzlaşma, Adli Tesviye ve Hakem Muahedenamesi* imzalandı. Bu anlaşma 5 Kasım 1932'de yürürlüğe girdi<sup>55</sup>.

İngiltere'nin Tahran Elçisi Hoare, 27 Ocak 1932 günü Londra'ya şunları rapor ediyor:

"Türkiye Dışişleri Bakanı Tevfik Rüştü Bey (Aras), İzmir Mebusu Celâl Bey (Bavar) ile birlikte 18 Ocak günü Tahran'a geldi. 24 Ocakta yayınlanan bildiride, iki ülke arasında sınır düzeltilmesi için anlaşma sağlandığı; ikamet, ticaret ve suçluların geri verilmesi anlaşmaları için müzakerelere başlanmasına karar verildiği belirtilmektedir. Ziyaret çok başarılı geçmiş, geçmişten gelen güvensizlik ve şüpheler giderilmiştir..."<sup>56</sup>

Anlaşmaların imzalanmasıyla Türkiye ile İran arasında dostluk rüzgârları esmeye başladı. Atatürk ile İran Şahı Rıza Pehlevî arasında da dostça ilişkilerin geliştiği görüldü. Atatürk, 1932 yılına kadar Şahın tahta çıkış yıldönümünü kutluyordu; anlaşmaların imzalanmasının ardından şahın doğum gününü de kutlamaya başladı. Şahın doğum günü 15 Martı; Atatürk 14 Mart 1932 günü Şaha şu sıcak telgrafi gönderdi:

"Zatı Şahanelerinin yevm-i velâdetlerinin sene-i devriyesi münasebetiyle samimi ve biraderane hislerimi ve tebriklerimi büyük hazz ile taktim eder ve Zatı

<sup>54</sup> Ayrıntılar için bkz.: Ridvanbeyoğlu Hüseyin Gerede, *Siyasi Hâatların I - İran 1930-1934*, İstanbul: 1952, s. 189-214. Anlaşma için bkz.: Resmi Gazete, 28 Haziran 1932, No. 2132; Düstur, III, 13, 673 (531).

<sup>55</sup> Resmi Gazete, 23 Haziran 1932, No. 2132 ve Düstur, III, 13, 687 (537).

<sup>56</sup> Belge No. 127.



*Şahanelerinin şahsi saadetleri ve dost İran Milletinin refahı hakkındaki kalbi temennilerini arz ederim.*"<sup>57</sup>

İran Dışişleri Bakanı Fırtıngı Han, Tevfik Rüştü Bey'in ziyaretini iade etmek ve Türkiye-İran ilişkilerini daha da geliştirmek amacıyla 1932 Ekim ayı sonunda Ankara'ya ziyaret etti, 29 Ekim Cumhuriyet Bayramı törenlerinde hazır bulundu. 5 Kasım 1932 günü Türkiye ile İran arasında Ankara'da üç anlaşma daha imzalandı. Bu anlaşmalar şunlardır:

*Türkiye-İran Dostluk Muahedenesi:* Bu anlaşma, 28 Aralık 1933 tarihli, 2375 sayılı kanunla onaylandı. Onay belgelerinin Tahran'da ratifikasyonundan on beş gün sonra, 2 Aralık 1934'te yürürlüğe girdi<sup>58</sup>.

*Türkiye-İran Emniyet, Bitaraflık ve İktisadi Emek Beraberliği Muahedenesi:* Bu anlaşma da 10 Haziran 1935 tarihli, 2776 sayılı kanunla onaylandı. Onay belgelerinin Tahran'da ratifi edildiği 14 Temmuz 1935 tarihinde yürürlüğe girdi<sup>59</sup>.

Sonuncu anlaşma da *Türkiye ile İran Arasında Suçluların İadesi Hakkında Modus Vivendi* idi.

Bu anlaşmalarla Türkiye ile İran arasında bir dostluk dönemi başladı. Bu dönem 1934 yılında İran Şahının Türkiye ziyaretıyla doruğa çıkacak ve 1937 yılında Saadabat Paktına varacaktı.

\*

1932 yılında Türkiye-İran ilişkileri böyle olumlu yönde gelişirken, Türkiye ile Mısır arasında ise bir "Fes Olayı" patlak veriyor ve ilişkiler gerginleşiyor. Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin dokuzuncu yıldönümü dolayısıyla Ankara Palas'ta Atatürk'ün verdiği resmi akşam yemeğine ve yemeği izleyen baloya Ankara'daki Mısır Elçisi Hamza Bey'in fes ile gelmesi ciddi bir olaya sebep oluyor. Kısaca değinelim.

Hamza Bey, Atatürk'ün şapka devriminden beş yıl sonra Türkiye'de göreve başlamıştı. Fes, Türkiye'de beş yıldır yasaktı. Ankara'da artık kimse fes giymiyordu. Yalnız Mısır Elçisi, ortahalklarda, törenlerde fesle görünmeye özen gösteriyordu. Türkiye'nin başkentinde "Fesli tek kişi" idi. Dikkatleri üzerine çekiyordu. Fes onun için sanki Mısır milliyetçiliğinin, Mısır egemenliğinin bir simgesiydi. Hamza Bey, yıllar yılı fes giydikten sonra yeni yeni şapkaya alışmaya başlayan Türk insanının duygularını hiç hesaba katmıyordu. O günlerin Ankara'sında fes giymek, Türklerin duygularını incitmez miydi? Fes, bir çeşit kışkırtma gibi görülmez miydi? Mısır

<sup>57</sup> Bâdi N. Şimşir, *Atatürk ve Yabancı Devlet Başkanları*, Cilt II: Daumaskara-İran, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 2001, s. 472, No. 602. Şah, Atatürk'e şöyle teşekkür etti: "Veladet havvanı ve ailesiyle Zan Devletleri tarafından ular buyanulan tebrikler ve muhabbetkar hislerden dolayı birçok nezefli şöhretini ve müteakalat temennilerini arz ederim" (ibid.)

<sup>58</sup> Resmi Gazete, 8 Ocak 1934, No. 2599, Düstur, III, 15, 134 (88)

<sup>59</sup> Resmi Gazete, 15 Haziran 1935, No. 3029, Düstur, III, 16, 1400 (961)

Elçisi hiç alıntı etmiyor, kara püsküllü yüksek Mısır fesini Ankara sokaklarında ve salonlarında havrak gibi sergileyip duruyordu. Bu davranışıyla Atatürk'ün sapka devrimine karşı sessiz bir direniş niyetini açığa vuruyor gibiydi. Ama kimse Mısır Elçisinin fesine bir şey söyleyemiyordu. Bu durum iki yıl sürdü ve...

Tarih, 29 Ekim 1932, Cumhuriyet Bayramı. Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) kutlamaları kabul ediyor. Ankara'daki yabancı misyon şefleri sırasıyla Gazi'nin elini sıkıyorlar. Bu arada Mısır Elçisi Abdülmelik Hamza Bey, fesli olarak törene geliyor ve Cumhurbaşkanıyı kutluyor.

Kutlamalardan sonra geçit töreni izleniyor. Tören, Ulus'ta, o zamanki Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi önünde yapılıyor. Yabancı elçiler de törendedirler. Mısır Elçisi, geçit törenini de fesli olarak izliyor.

Akşam, Atatürk, Ankara Palas'ta, iki yüz kişilik resmi bir yemek veriyor. Askeri sivil ileri gelen Türklerin yanı sıra Ankara'daki yabancı elçiler de davetli. Yemeği, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisinin vereceği balo izleyerek, Mısır Elçisi, akşamki yemeğe de fesli olarak gelmiş ve yemek boyunca masada fesle oturmuş. Yemekten sonra baloya geçilmiş.

Ne olmuşsa işte o zaman, yemekten baloya geçerken olmuş. Yemekte hazır bulunan Fransız Büyükelçisi Kont de Chambrun, olayı şöyle anlatıyor:

*"Ulusal Bayram omuruna, padişahların som altın tabaklarında, hükümet üyelerine ve kordiplomatige verilen yıllık yemeği bitiriyorduk...İki yüz kişilik davetliler arasında Mısır Elçisinin kırmızı fesî gösterişle sırtıyordu. Cumhurbaşkanı, arada bir, sezdirmeden, fese alaycı bir göz atıyordu. Zavallı meslektaşım (Hamza Bey) bunun farkına varmadı. Ama Gazi, masadan kalkınca Mısırlının yanından geçti ve geçerken, bir kedi mırıltısını andıran usulca bir sesle kendisine bir şeyler söyledi, onun omzunu okşadı. Kendisini kucaklıyor sanmıştım ki, bir de ne göreyim, bir garson, fesî gümüş bir tepside, hızlı adımlarla götürüyordu. Tepsinin ardından bakakaldık!"*

İngiliz Büyükelçisi Sir George Clerk'a göre, Atatürk, Mısır Elçisinin yanından geçerken, "Kraliçeye söyleyiniz, ben, Mustafa Kemal, size bu akşam fesinizi çıkarmanız talimatını verdim" demişti.

Bizim Dışişleri Bakanı Dr. Tevfik Rüştü'nün versiyonu ise şöyledi:

*"...Reisicumhur Hazretleri...yemekten sonra yanından geçerken, Mısır Elçisine teveccühkâr bazı ifadatta bulunmuşlar ve fesini çıkararak rahat edebilmesine müsaade buyurduklarını söylemişlerdir. Sefir, bir an için tereddüt ettikten sonra, fesini bizzat çıkarmış, bunun üzerine Reisicumhur Hazretleri kendisini yüzünden öpmişlerdir."*

Mısır Dışişleri Bakanı Yahya Paşa ise olayı şöyle hikâye ediyor:

"Gazi, yemekten sonra Mısır Elçisine kesin bir dille fesini çıkarmasını söylemiştir. Uniformalı olan elçi, bu isteği yerine getirememiş, bunun üzerine Cumhurbaşkanı, fesi çıkarması için bir uşağa emri vermiştir. O zaman ve artık fes giymemesi için Kral Fuad'a yazması yolunda Cumhurbaşkanı'nın açık ısrarı karşısında Hamza Bey, fesini kendi çıkarmayı uygun görmüştür. Bu beklemedik müdahale karşısında sarılan elçi, salonu terk etmek zorunda kalmıştır..."

Söyle ya da böyle, sonuç olarak, Mısır Elçisi Hamza Bey'in fesi çıkartılmış, Bunun üzerine elçi baloyu terk etmiş. Ertesi gün, Dışişleri Bakanı Tevfik Rüştü Bey, elçiyle görüşmüş, onu yatırtmaya çalışmış...

Olay orada kalmış, basına sızmamıştı. Derken, aradan on gün geçtikten sonra, *Daily Herald* adlı İngiliz gazetesi, 11 Kasım günü ilk bombayı patlatıyor: "*Bir fes diplomatik fırtına koparacak*" diye başlık atıyor ve olayı epeyce çarpıtarak okuyucularına duyuruyor. Aynı gün öğleden sonra, *Evening Standard* adlı bir başka Londra gazetesi, kışkırtıcı bir dille olayın üzerine gidiyor: "*Bir fes yüzünden Türkiye ile Mısır arasında kavgı çıkıyor*" diyor. Mustafa Kemal'in "kırmızı paçavra görmüş bir boğa gibi " Mısırlı'nın kırmızı fesine saldırdığını, Mısır'ın öfkesinin anlaşıldığını vs. yazıyor. İngiliz Reuter Ajansı, hiç vakit kaybetmeden haberi Kahire'ye teliyor... Cin şaşeden çıkmıştır artık.

Mısır muhalefet organları alıyor sazi eline Türkiye'ye ve Mısır Hükümetine ver yansın ediyor. Fes Mısır'ın ulusal başlığıymuş. Elçinin fesini çıkartmak Mısır'a hakaretmış. Türkiye Mısır'dan özür dilemeliymiş ve özür Ankara'da değil Kahire'de dilenmeliymiş. Bu işi Hükümet temizlemeliymiş. Mısır Hükümeti acaba ne yapıyormuş?... Kahire'nin İsmail Paşa hükümeti de muhalefetten geri kalmıyor: Dışişleri Bakanı Yahya Paşa, Türkiye İsgüderi Şevki Altan'ı çağırıyor ve "*Bizden özür dilenmesi gerektiği kamusundadır*" diyor. Ardından, 20 Kasım günü ilk Mısır notası Türkiye'ye veriliyor. Mısır, "*böyle bir olayın ileride tekrarlanmayacağı konusunda (Türkiye'den) güvence*" istiyor.

Mısır'da Atatürk Türkiye'si'ne gıpta ile bakan, Türkiye'deki reformlara özenen aydın gençler de vardı. Bunlar, "Fes ne zamandan beri Mısır'ın ulusal başlığıdır? Mısır'ın sıcağına fes gibi bir serpuş hiç uygun düşer miydi? Firavunlar fes mi giyordu sanki?" diye soruyorlardı. Ama sayıları az olan bu "Mısırlı Kemalistlerin" sesleri, Türkiye aleyhtarı yaygara içinde boğulup gidiyordu.

Mısır'da Türkiye aleyhtarı kampanya sürüp giderken Türk basını Aralık başına kadar sabırla sustu. Sonunda 5 Aralık günü *Milliyet* gazetesi patladı: "*Mısır'da bir takım münafıklar mesele çıkardılar*" diye başlık attı. Türk gazeteleri gittikçe sertleştiler, Mısır hükümetini hedef aldılar. 12 Aralık günlü *Milliyet*'in başlığı şuydu:

"*Mısır politikacıları tahrif, tezwir ve entrika yolunu tuttular... Biz, kardeş Mısır milletinin değil, entrikacı ve politikacı müzehirlerin düşmanıyız...*"

Bu arada Türkiye, Mısır notasına cevap verdi. Ankara'da hazırlanan nota 18 Aralık günü Kahire'de Mısır Hükümetine sunuldu. Notada, "son derece dostane olan bir fiilin manasının" Mısır'da çarpıtılmış, istismar edilmiş olduğu ve iki ülkenin ilişkileri üzerinde "bulutlu yaratma tehlikesi gösterildiği" belirtiliyor ve şöyle deniyordu:

"Millî serpuşun tasınması meselesine gelince, her devletin muvafık bulduğu üniformayı kabulde bittabi serbest olduğunu ve keza her devletin kendi protokolünü de...tanzim etemesi tabii olduğunu ilâveye lüzum yoktur."

Türk notasının Kahire'ye gönderildiği günlerde, İngiliz gazeteleri, "Mustafa Kemal asla özür dilemez" diye yazmışlardı. Bunun üzerine Mısır basını yeniden ayağa kalkmıştı. Özür dilenmezse Türkiye ile diplomatik ilişkilerin hemen kesilmesini istiyorlardı.

Tam bu sırada Kahire'deki İngiliz Yüksek Komiseri Sir Percy Loraine devreye girdi. Olayın dostça bir çözüme bağlanması için Mısır Hükümeti üzerinde etkili oldu. Berde Ankara'da büyükelçilik yapacak olan Loraine, Türkiye'ye verilecek ikinci Mısır notasının yumuşak biçimde kaleme alınmasında doğrudan rol oynadı.

İkinci Mısır notası 26 Aralık günü Türkiye'ye verildi. Notada, "Mısır Hükümeti, Türk protokolü ile Mısır'ın fesli üniformasının çatışmayacağı inancını" belirtiyordu. Bu nota Türk Hükümetini hoşnut etti. Böylece olay kapanmış oldu<sup>(1)</sup>.

"Fes Olayı"nı kışkırtan da yatıştıran da İngilizler olmuştur. İngiliz basın olayı alevlendirmiş, İngiliz diplomatları ise yatıştırmıştır. Bu bakımdan konuyu araştırırken İngiliz diplomatik belgelerini de incelemek yerinde olur.

Bu ciltte "Fes Olayı" hakkında bir düzine kadar İngiliz diplomatik belgesi vardır<sup>(2)</sup>.

\*

1932'de, Türk-Mısır ilişkileri olaylı geçerken, bir diğer Arap ülkesi olan Suudi Arabistan ile Türkiye arasındaki ilişkilerde ise olumlu gelişmeler görüldü. O zamanlar Hicaz, Necit ve Muhakkatı adını taşıyan Suudi Arabistan Kralının oğlu Prens Faysal, Haziran 1932'de Türkiye'yi ziyaret etmiş, Ankara'da Türk Hükümetinin konluğu olmuş ve Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal tarafından kabul edilmiştir.

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, 1926 yılından beri Cidde'de bir siyasi temsilci veya daimi maslahatgüzar bulunduruyordu. 1926-1932 yıllarında arka arkaya dört daimi

<sup>(1)</sup> Ayrıntılar ve belgeler için bkz. Bilâl N. Şimşir, "Fes Olayı: Türkiye-Mısır İlişkilerinden Bir Sayfa (1932-1933)", Belleteri, C. XLVIII, Sayı 189-190 (Ocak-Nisan 1984) dan ayrı basım, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1985.

<sup>(2)</sup> Bkz. Belge Nos.: 152, 154, 155, 157, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164 ve 165.

maslahatgüzar veya siyasi temsilci Cidde'de Türkiye'yi temsil etmişlerdi: Süleyman Şevket Bey (1926-1927), Abdülgani Seni (Yurdman) Bey (1927-1930), Ahmet Lütfullah Bey (1931-1932) ve Celâl (Arat) Bey (1932-1936)...

Gazi Mustafa Kemal, ikinci defa Cumhurbaşkanı seçildiğini 21 Kasım 1927 tarihli bir nâme ile Hicaz, Necid ve Mülhakatı Meliki Abdulaziz al Suud Hazretlerine bildirmiş idi<sup>12</sup>. Kral Abdulaziz al Suud da, 11 Nisan 1932 tarihli bir güven mektubu ile oğlu Prens Faysal'ı diplomatik temsilci olarak Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Gazi Mustafa Kemal'e gönderdi. Kral mektubunda, Türkiye ile dostluk ilişkilerini güçlendirip pekiştirmeyi arzu ettiğini, bu amaçla oğlu Prens Faysal'ı diplomatik temsilci olarak Türkiye Cumhuriyeti nezdine göndermeyi uygun gördüğünü bildiriyor ve iyi dileklerde bulunuyordu.<sup>13</sup>

Prens Faysal, 8 Haziranda İstanbul'a geldi. Birkaç gün burada kaldıktan sonra, 12 Haziran sabahı özel vagonla Ankara'ya indi ve istasyonunda törenle karşılandı. Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal saat 15'te konuk prensi kabul etti ve onun şerefine bir akşam yemeği verdi. Yemekte sıracak konuşmalar yapıldı. Gazi şöyle konuştu:

*"Emir Hazretleri,*

*Zau Fehimanelerini, Ankara'da Hükümet merkezimizde selâmlamakla hakiki bir memnuniyet hissediyorum. Bana bu memnuniyet vesilesini veren ziyaretî seniyeleri, münasebetlerini, samimiyet ve karşılıklı itimat esasları üzerine kurmuş bulunan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ile Hicaz, Necid ve Mülhakatı Devleti arasındaki bağları daha ziyade kuvvetlendirtecektir, buna kanaatim vardır...*

*Haşmetli Melik Abdulaziz Âsıud Hazretlerinin kudretli iradeleri ve idareleri altında muhterem Hicaz, Necid ve Mülhakatı halkının girmiş olduğu yeni tekâmül hayatında az zamanda çok yol kazanmasını halisane temenni ederim...Türk Milleti, Devletiniz ve Milletiniz için, devrin icaplarına göğüs gererek, ciddi mesaide büyük muvaffakiyetler kazanmasını bütün samimiyetiyle arzu etmektedir...*

*Haşmetli Melik Hazretleri ile yüksek hanedanının saadeti ve Devletinizin ikbal ve tealisi hakkındaki kalbi temennilerimi bu vesile ile de ifade etmek isterim; bunun bende hasıl ettiği zevk büyüktür."*<sup>14</sup>

Prens Faysal, üç gün Ankara'da kaldı. Bu arada Karıkkale silah fabrikasını da ziyaret etti. Gazi tarafından, Prens Faysal'a Türk yapımı tüfekler hediye edildi. Prens, 15 Haziran akşamı özel vagonla Ankara'dan ayrıldı. Aynı gün şu resmi tebliğ yayımlandı:

<sup>12</sup> Bu nâmenin veya mektubun tam metni için bkz. Bilâl N. Şimsir, Atatürk ve Yabancı Devlet Başkanları: Cilt II, s. 200, No. 223.

<sup>13</sup> Bu belgenin Fransızca tam metni için bkz. Ibid., s. 200-201, No. 224.

<sup>14</sup> Konuşmanın tam metni ve Prens Faysal'ın cevabı: Ibid., s. 201-202, No. 225 ve 226.

"Ankara: 15 - (A.A) Resmi Tebliğ: Muhterem misafirimiz Hicaz ve Necid ve Muhihakı Kralı Abdülaziz Âsımud Hazretlerinin mahdumları emir Faysal Hazretleriyle Hicaz Hariciye Vekili Fuat Hamza Beyefendi Reiscumhur Hazretleri tarafından kabul buyurulmuşlardır. Muşarunileyh Emir Hazretleri ve Fuat Hamza Beyefendi ile Başvekil Paşa hazretleri ve Hariciye Vekili Beyefendi aralarında mülakatlar olmuştur. Bütün bu mükalemeler çok samimi bir hava içinde cereyan etmiştir. Karşılıklı itimat hislerinden ilham alan bu temaslarda Yakın Şarkta sulhun muhafaza ve takviyesi, sulh ve müsalemet içinde inkişaf etmekte bulunan iki tarafın menfaatlerine ve halisane arzularına tamamen uygun olduğu tebarüz etmiştir. Bundan maada iki tarafı gerek doğrudan doğruya ve gerek bilvasıta alakadar eden bilimum meseleler ile iki hükümetin münasebetlerine teallük eyleyen bütün işlerde tam ve mutlak bir görüş ve düşünüş birliği mevcut olduğu müşahede olunmuştur. Emir Faysal Hazretlerinin Ankara'yı ziyaretleriyle büsbütün kuvvet bulan bu samimiyet havasının her iki devlet münasebatında idamesine ve sıkı temaların muhafazasına karar verilmiştir."<sup>65</sup>

Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal, yine 15 Haziran tarihli çok dostane bir mektupla Hicaz Kralı Abdül Aziz'e teşekkür etti. Prens Faysal da 24 Aralık 1932 günü Cidde'de, Türkiye Daimi Maslahatgüzarı Celal (Arat) Bey onuruna bir ziyafet verdi ve Gazi'ye ve Türk Hükümetine teşekkürlerini iletti<sup>66</sup>.

Ankara'daki İngiliz Büyükelçisi Clerk, Prens Faysal'ın Ankara ziyareti üzerine Londra'ya özetle şunları yazdı:

"Hicaz Kralının oğlu Emir Faysal 8 Haziranda İstanbul'a geldi. Birkaç gün burada kaldıktan sonra 12-15 Haziran günlerinde Ankara'da Türk hükümetinin misafiri oldu. Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından kabul edildi ve onuruna bir akşam yemeği verildi. Resmi tebliğde, yapılan dostça görüşmelerden, görüşler arasındaki ahenkten ve bu ziyaretin Yakın Doğu barışını güçlendirdiğinden söz ediliyor. Emir Faysal'a Türkiye'nin askeri kaynakları ve imkânları da gösterildi. 'Türkiye, Osmanlı imparatorluğundan ayrılan Müslüman ülkelerin tam bağımsız olmalarını istiyor ve "manda" rejimlerinden hoşlanmıyor.' Ziyaret dolayısıyla Türk basını bu temayı işledi ve Hicaz ve Necid'i övdü."<sup>67</sup>

\*

Türkiye, 1932 yılında Milletler Cemiyetine üye oldu. 9 Temmuzda Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, "*Türkiye'nin Milletler Cemiyetine İltihakının Tasdik Edildiği Hakkında Heyet-i Umumiye Kararı*"nı kabul etti. Karar 12 Temmuz 1932 tarihli, 2148 sayılı *Resmî Gazete*'de yayınlandı. (*Düstur*, III tertip, Cilt 13, s. 1231 (951) ). Böylece Türkiye'nin Milletler Cemiyetine üyeliği kesinleşti.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., s. 204, No. 228.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., s. 204-207, No. 229 ve 230.

<sup>67</sup> Belge No. 141.



"Ankara: 15 - (A.A) Resmi Tebliğ: Muhterem misafirimiz Hicaz ve Necir ve Mülhakatı Kralı Abdülaziz Âsımd Hazretlerinin mahdumları emir Faysal Hazretleriyle Hicaz Hariciye Vekili Fuat Hamza Beyefendi Reisicumhur Hazretleri tarafından kabul buyurulmuşlardır. Müsarüfîyle Emir Hazretleri ve Fuat Hamza Beyefendi ile Başvekil Paşa hazretleri ve Hariciye Vekili Beyefendi aralarında mülakatlar olmuştur. Bütün bu mikalemeler çok samimi bir hava içinde cereyan etmiştir. Karşılıklı itimat hislerinden ilham alan bu temaslarda Yakın Şarkta sulhun muhafaza ve takviyesi, sulh ve müsalemet içinde inkişaf etmekte bulunan iki tarafın menfaatlerine ve halisane arzularına tamamen uygun olduğu tebarüz etmiştir. Bundan maada iki tarafı gerek doğrudan doğruya ve gerek bilvasıta alakadar eden bilumum meseleler ile iki hükümetin münasebetlerine teallük eyleyen bütün işlerde tam ve mutlak bir görüş ve düşünüş birliği mevcut olduğu müşahade olunmuştur. Emir Faysal Hazretlerinin Ankara'yı ziyaretleriyle bûshûtün kuvvet bulan bu samimiyet havasını her iki devlet münasebatında idamesine ve sıkı temaslara muhafazasına karar verilmiştir."<sup>65</sup>

Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal, yine 15 Haziran tarihli çok dostane bir mektupla Hicaz Kralı Abdül Aziz'e teşekkür etti. Prens Faysal da 24 Aralık 1932 günü Cidde'de, Türkiye Daimi Maslahatgüzarı Celal (Arat) Bey onuruna bir ziyafet verdi ve Gazi'ye ve Türk Hükümetine teşekkürlerini iletti<sup>66</sup>.

Ankara'daki İngiliz Büyükelçisi Clerk, Prens Faysal'ın Ankara ziyareti üzerine Londra'ya özetle şunları yazdı:

"Hicaz Kralının oğlu Emir Faysal 8 Haziranda İstanbul'a geldi. Birkaç gün burada kaldıktan sonra 12-15 Haziran günlerinde Ankara'da Türk hükümetinin misafiri oldu. Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından kabul edildi ve onuruna bir akşam yemeği verildi. Resmi tebliğde, yapılan dostça görüşmelerden, görüşler arasındaki ahenkten ve bu ziyaretin Yakın Doğu barışını güçlendirdiğinden söz ediliyor. Emir Faysal'a Türkiye'nin askeri kaynakları ve imkânları da gösterildi. 'Türkiye, Osmanlı imparatorluğundan ayrılan Müslüman ülkelerin tam bağımsız olmalarını istiyor ve "manda" rejimlerinden hoşlanmıyor.' Ziyaret dolayısıyla Türk basını bu temayı işledi ve Hicaz ve Necid'i övdü."<sup>67</sup>

Türkiye, 1932 yılında Milletler Cemiyetine üye oldu. 9 Temmuzda Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, "*Türkiye'nin Milletler Cemiyetine İltihakının Tasdik Edildiği Hakkında Heyet-i Umumiye Kararı*"nı kabul etti. Karar 12 Temmuz 1932 tarihli, 2148 sayılı *Resmî Gazete*'de yayımlandı. (*Düstur*, III terüf, Cilt 13, s. 1231 (951) ). Böylece Türkiye'nin Milletler Cemiyetine üyeliği kesinleşti.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, s. 204, No. 228.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, s. 204-207, No. 229 ve 230.

<sup>67</sup> Belge No. 141

Türkiye, Milletler Cemiyeti Konseyine yarı-daimi üye sıfatıyla katılmak istiyordu. Bu konuda İngiltere'den destek istedi, üst üste girişimlerde bulundu. Ancak İngiltere, Türkiye'yi desteklemekten vazı geçti. Oysa aynı İngiltere daha önce İspanya ve Polonya'nın yarı-daimi üvelğini desteklemişti.

Türkiye'nin Milletler Cemiyetine yarı-daimi üye olarak kabul edilmesine destek vermemiş olan İngiltere, bu yüzden Türkiye'nin gücenmesinden de çekindi. Bir jest yapıp Türkiye'nin ve özellikle Gazi Mustafa Kemal'in gönülünü almayı düşündü. O sırada İngiltere'de yeni yayınlanmış olan "*Çanakkale Savaşı'nın Resmi Tarihi*" adlı kitabı Gazi'ye takdim etmeye karar verildi. Bu konudaki yazışmalar da bu ciltte yer almaktadır.<sup>16</sup>

Güzelleştirilen kitaba güzel bir de ithaf yazısı konuyor "*Büyük General, Asil Düşman ve Cömert Dost Türkiye Cumhurbaşkanı Sayın Gazi Mustafa Kemal Hazretlerine Majesteleri Hükümeti Tarafından Takdim Edilmiştir*" deniyor. Büyükelçi Clerk, 21 Mayıs 1932 günü yüksek huzura çıkarak kitabı elden Gazi'ye sunuyor. Gazi, pek duygulanıyor, bu nazik düşüncesinden dolayı İngiliz Hükümetine teşekkürlerini iletiyor ve Çanakkale Savaşı konusunda şu yolda konuşuyor:

"Gelibolu Yarımadası'nda 19. Tümen komutanıydım ve tümenime talim yaptırıyordum. Bir gün, Conkbayırı tarafında bir bölüğe talim yaptırırken tek başıma o tepeye çıkmıştım. Bıden Türk askerlerinin Arıburnu'ndan bana doğru geldiklerini gördüm. 'Düşman geliyor' dediler. Cephaneleri kalmadığını söylediler. Süngü takıp yere yatmalarını emrettim. Ne olduğunu anlamamayan İngiliz (ANZAC) birliği de aynı anda yere yattı. Conkbayırı muharebeleri böyle başladı..."<sup>17</sup>

28 Mayıs günü Dışışleri Bakan Vekili Şükrü Kaya, İngiliz Büyükelçisine bir mektup yazıyor: "İngiltere Hükümeti adına Gazi'ye takdim etmiş olduğumuz kitaptaki ithaf yazısı, yalnız bu centilmenlik değil, aynı zamanda bir dostluk örneği olarak hem Gazi'yi hem de Türk Hükümetini pek duygulandırmıştır. Majeste Kral'a Gazi'nin en hararetili teşekkürlerini iletenizi rica ederim" diyor<sup>18</sup>.

1932'de "*Çanakkale Savaşının Resmi Tarihi*" adlı İngiliz kitabı Türkiye'de böyle hoşnutsuluk yaratırken, "*Bozkurt*" adlı bir başka İngiliz kitabı da büyük hoşnutsuzluk ve tepki yaratıyor. Tam adı "*BOZKURT Mustafa Kemal. Bir Diktatörün Mahrem Enüdü*" (GREY WOLF Mustafa Kemal. An Intimate Study of a Dictator) olan kitap, H. C. Armstrong tarafından kaleme alınmış, Londra'da Arthur Barker Ltd tarafından Ekim 1932'de yayınlanmış ve hemen çok satan kitaplar arasına girmiş, hemen her ay yeniden basılmaya başlanmıştı.

<sup>16</sup> Belge No. 129 bis, 130, 131, 133, 136, 137 ve 138.

<sup>17</sup> Belge No. 136/1.

<sup>18</sup> Belge No. 138/1.

İngiliz Maslahatgüzarı Morgan, 10 Aralık günü Londra'ya tatsız haberi şöyle iletiyor:

"Gazi," diyor, *Bozkurt* kitabına sinirlenmiş. *Akşam* gazetesinde cevap verilecektmiş. Fes olayında ise Türkiye bir samur oğlu buldu: Londra basınına ve Reuter'e saldırıyor. Basınımız ve Armstrong, İngiltere'nin adını kötüye çıkarıyorlar."<sup>71</sup>

Morgan, yıl sonunda Dışişleri Müsteşarı Numan Bey'e (Menemenciğlu) uyarımlarını bildiriyor, Londra'ya bir öneri de sunarak şikâyet yazıyor:

"Numan Bey'e (Menemenciğlu) bir İngiliz vatandaşının "*Bozkurt*" adlı bir kitap yazmış olmasına üzüldüğümü söyledim. Türk vatandaşlarının da çok sevdikleri Gazi'ye yapılan saldırıdan üzüntü duydukları cevabını verdi ve fakat bizden bir şey istemedi. Konu Türkiye'de güncelliğini koruyor. Acaba biz kendiliğimizden Gazi'yi öven makaleler yazdıramaz mıyız? *Indépendance Belge* gazetesi Türkleri aleyhinde yayın yapınca eski Belçika elçisi de gazeteye Türkleri hoşnut edecek bir demec vermişti."<sup>72</sup>

Konu ertesi yıla taşıyor ve İngiliz gazetelerinde Türkiye lehinde yazılar görülmeye başlanıyor. İngiliz Maslahatgüzarı Morgan, 18 Mart 1933 günü, "Türk basını "*Bozkurt*" kitabının yazarı Armstrong'a yeniden saldırdı. Buna karşılık *Daily Herald* gazetesinde "Avrupa'nın hasta adamı canlanıyor" başlıklı yazı hoşnutluk yarattı" diyordu<sup>73</sup>.

1932'de Türk-İngiliz ilişkilerine değinirken şu notu da düşelim: O yılın Haziran ayında Türkiye'nin Londra Büyükelçisi Ahmet Ferit Bey (Tek) Varşova Büyükelçiliğine nakledildi ve yerine Mehmet Münir Bey (Erteğin) atandı<sup>74</sup>.

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Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal, 15 Ocak 1933'te yurt gezilerine çıkıyor. İki hafta içinde Eskişehir, Bursa, Balıkesir, Kütahya, Konya, Adana, Gaziantep, Mersin, Antalya, İzmir yörelerini dolaşıyor. İngiliz Büyükelçisi, "Gazi ve önde gelen bazı kimseler, yerel makamların çalışmalarını tefiş amacıyla yurt gezilerine çıkıyorlar", diyor. "Başbakan İsmet Paşa da Afyon, Isparta, Antalya ve ilçelerini

<sup>71</sup> Belge No: 156.

<sup>72</sup> Belge No: 166.

<sup>73</sup> Belge No: 182.

<sup>74</sup> Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal'den İngiltere Kralı Beşinci George'a yazılan ve Büyükelçi Ahmet Ferit Bey'in Londra'daki görevinin sona erdiğini, yerine Mehmet Münir Bey'in atandığını bildiren mektupların tam metinleri için bkz. Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Atatürk ve Yabancı Devlet Başkanları*, Cilt II..., 302-304, No: 376 ve 377. Ahmet Ferit Bey hakkında Beşinci George'dan Türkiye Cumhurbaşkanına yazılan mektup: *Ibid.*, s. 305, No: 378.

dolaşıyor TBMM Başkanı Kâzım (Özalp) Paşa'nın aynı gezi programı var" diye ekliyor<sup>70</sup>.

Gazi, Şubat ayında da teftiş gezilerini sürdürüyor: 4 Şubatta İzmir'den Afyon'a geliyor. Oradan İsmet Paşa ile beraber Bilecik'e doğru hareket ediyor ve 5 Şubatta Bilecik'ten otomobille Bursa'ya geliyor; ertesi gün de Mudanya'ya ve oradan İstanbul'a gidiyor ve 27 Şubatta Ankara'ya dönüyor.

Gazi'nin teftiş gezisinde olduğu bir sırada, 1 Şubat günü Bursa'da bir olay patlak veriyor. Ezan ve kametin Türkçe okunmasına karşı çıkan bazı gericiler, Ulu Camii'de namazdan çıkan halkı kışkırtarak Valilik önünde gösteri yapıyorlar. Bunu duyan Gazi, gezi programını değiştirerek Bursa'ya dönüyor. Olay yerine yetmiş güvenlik kuvvetleri, nümayişe önayak olanları tutukluyor. Ardından ihmalî görülen idare memurlarına isten el çekiliyor.

Olay, İngiliz basınına yansıyor. Öteden beri Türkiye'ye karşı tutumuyla bilinen *Daily Telegraph* gazetesi, 6 Şubat günü "*Türkiye'de dinî ayaklanma, "Allah" yerine "Tanrı" diye başlık atıyor. "Gazi'nin dilden ve dinden Arapça kelimeleri temizleme çabasına karşı Bursa'da başkaldırı oldu. Bu olaya çok önem veren Gazi, daha önce Bursa'yı ziyaret etmiş ve başka taraflara gitmiş olduğu halde Bursa'ya geri döndü," diye yazıyor. Aynı gazete ertesi gün, "Türkçe ibadete öfke, Ayaklanma yayılıyor" başlığını kullanıyor. "Mustafa Kemal'in ibadetten Arapçayı kaldırma gayreti İzmir'de tepkiyle karşılandı" diyor. *Daily Telegraph*, 8 Şubatta da Türkiye'de "*Allah* kelimesine sayay açıldı" başlığını atarak yayınlarını sürdürüyor<sup>71</sup>.*

Londra'nın ağır başlı olarak tanınan *Times* gazetesi de önce "*Kuran'ın Türkçe okunması Bursa'da protesto edildi*" diye haber geçiriyor. Bir gün sonra, "*Kuran'ın Türkçe okunması hükümet emri*" başlığıyla şunları yazıyor: "Gazi, Kuran'ın Türkçe okunmasını Ulu Camii'de protesto edilmesini Bursa'ya dönüp araştırdı. Bu konuda hükümet emri alınması yüzünden anlaşmazlık çıktığı anlaşıldı. Sırdı ibadetin Türkçe yapılması bütün camilere emredildi" diyor<sup>72</sup>.

Gazi Mustafa Kemal, Bursa olayı hakkında, 6 Şubat günü Anadolu Ajansı aracılığıyla kamuoyuna resmi bir bildiri yayınlıyor: "...Hadiseye dikkatimizi bilhassa çevirmemizin sebebi, dinî siyasete ve herhangi bir tahrike vesile etmeğe asla müsahaha etmeyeceğimizin bir daha anlaşılmasıdır. Meselenin mahiyeti esasen din değil, dildir. Kat'i olarak bilinmelidir ki Türk milletinin millî dili ve millî benliği bütün hayatında hâkim ve esas kalacaktır." diyor.

<sup>70</sup> Belge No 172

<sup>71</sup> Belge No. 173, 174 ve 177.

<sup>72</sup> Belge No. 175 ve 176

İngiliz diplomatları bu konudaki gelişmeleri vakıfından izlemiş ve rapor etmişlerdir. Ciltte varını düzine resmî belge vardır.<sup>28</sup> Büyükelçi Clerk, 17 Şubat günü özetle sınırları yazıyor:

"Türkçe ezan ve kıamet komşusunda sertleşme var. Bazı din adamları istifa etti. Bursa'da Topal Halil adında biri ezanı Arapça okutmuş. Namazın ardından Arapça ezan isteyen kalabalık bir grup önce Evkaf Dairesine, sonra Valiliğe gitmiş. Polis kalabalığı dağıtmış ve bazıları tutuklanmış. Olaya önem veren Cumhurbaşkanı Bursa'ya giderek bizzat tahkikat yapmış. Ardından uyarı niteliğinde sert bir bildiri yayımlanmıştır. Cahil gerileler Cumhuriyet adaletinden kurtulamayacaklar demistir. Bursa muftusu azledildi. Gelişmeler ayrıca arz edilecektir. Basın, yurdun hemen her tarafından gönderilen teziye bağışlık telgrafları yayınlamaktadır. Hükümet de kısmen hatalıdır diyebilen yok. 1931'deki Menemen infazlarının tekrarlanmayacağı umulmaktadır."<sup>29</sup>

İngiliz Büyükelçiliği 30 Martta da, "Bursa olayı sanıkları Çorum'da vargılandı. Bes hoca birer yıl hapse mahkum edildi. Olay artık kapanıyor. Bu arada bütün ülkede Arapça ibadetin verimi Türkçe ibadet aldı," diyordu<sup>30</sup>.

\*

1933 yılı Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 10. Yıldızı. Bu yıldönümü Türkiye için önemlidir, yabancı ülkeler ve dış basın için de ilgi çekicidir. Çünkü o yıllarda Türkiye, Doğu'da, Batı emperyalizmine karşı çetin bir Bağımsızlık Savaşı vermiş ve bu savastan zaferle çıkmış tek bağımsız ülke durumundadır. Yakın bir gelecekte yer yüzünde mantar gibi birçok bağımsız devlet fışkıracaktır; ama 1930'larda Doğu yarım küresinde Türkiye tek örnektir. Bu bakımdan Batı'nın da Doğu'nun da gözleri Türkiye üzerindedir. On yılda yeni Türkiye'nin nereden nereye geldiği ve nereye gittiği, nasıl geliştiği merak konusudur.

Türkiye, 10. Yıl kutlamalarına iyi hazırlandı. Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi 11 Haziranda "*Cumhuriyet İlanının Onuncu Yıldönümünün Kutlama Kanunu*" nu (sayı: 2291) kabul etti. Yurt çapında hazırlıklar başladı. On yılda Cumhuriyetin Türk ulusuna neler kazandırdığını vurgulayan çarpıcı afişler basıldı, yayınlar yapıldı, piyesler, şiirler yazıldı, marşlar bestelendi. Şair Faruk Nafiz (Çamlıbel) ile Behcet Kemal (Çağlar)'ın yazdığı ve Cemal Reşit (Rey)'in bestelediği Onuncu Yıl Marşı çok sevilen, titulu ve o günlerden beri coşkuyla söylenen bir marş oldu..

Büyük Ulusal Bayramı Kutlama hazırlıkları devam ederken, yıl içinde gelişmeler de hiç durmadı. Demiryolu programı başarıyla yürüdü. Nisanda Samsun-Çarşamba demiryolu işletmeye açıldı. Mayıs'ta İstanbul Darülfünunu yerine çağdaş bir Üniversite kurulmasını öngören yasa çıkarıldı. Haziranda Simerbank'ın

<sup>28</sup> Belge No: 171, 178, 179, 180, 181, 183, 191.

<sup>29</sup> Belge No. 179.

<sup>30</sup> Belge No. 185.

ve Halk Bankası'nın kuruluş yasaları yürürlüğe kondu. "Ankara Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü Kanunu" çıkarıldı ki bu Enstitü ilerde Ziraat ve Veteriner Fakülteleri olacak ve Ankara Üniversitesine bağlanacaktı. Maarif Vekâleti, Üniversitede bir İnkılâp Enstitüsü açılmasına karar verdi. Kadınlara köy idari heyetleri için seçme ve seçilme tanındı...

Dış politikada da gelişmeler görülür. Mısır ile Türkiye arasındaki "Fes olayı" kapanır. Gazi, Kızılay'ın düzenlediği Yeni Yıl balosuna katılır ve orada Mısır elçisi Hamza Bey ile dostça konuşur. İngiliz maslahatgüzarı Morgan, "Artık Fes olayı" kapanmış demektir" diye rapor eder<sup>81</sup>.

Cumhurbaşkanı, 26 Martta Mısır Elçiliğinde düzenlenen Kralın yaş günü davetine katılır. İngiliz maslahatgüzarı bu defa şunları yazar:

"Gazi'nin beklenmedik biçimde Mısır elçiliğindeki davete katılması, hem fes olayının nazikçe onarılması hem de Mısır'a karşı dostluk gösterisidir. Gece yarısında davete gelen Cumhurbaşkanı sabah saat 8'e kadar orada kalmıştır."<sup>82</sup>

Ağustos'ta eski Fransız Başbakanı Edouard Herriot, Türkiye'yi ziyaret eder. Ankara'da Cumhurbaşkanı ile görüşür ve Türkiye'den ayrılırken verdiği demeçte, "Gazi'nin eseri, çeşitleri içindeki yekpareliği ile sayan-ı hayrettir" der<sup>83</sup>.

Balkanların bir barış bölgesi olması için sürdürülen diplomatik çabalar Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin onuncu yılında yoğunlaşır. Mayıs'ta Dışişleri Bakanı Tevfik Rüşü (Aras) Cenevre'de Yugoslav Dışişleri Bakanıyla görüşür ve iki ülke arasında bir dostluk ve saldırmazlık antlaşması yapılması için ortam hazırlanır. Yunanistan ile de görüşmeler sürdürülür. 11 Eylülde (1933) Yunan Başbakanı Çaldaris ile Dışişleri Bakanı Maksimos Ankara'ya gelirler, Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi tarafından kabul edilirler ve 14 Eylülde Ankara'da Türk-Yunan Dostluk Antlaşması imzalanır. 21 Eylülde Başbakan İsmet Paşa (İnönü), Sofya'da Bulgar Kralı Boris ile görüşür. Gerçi Bulgaristan, kurulacak olan Balkan Paktı'na yanaşmaz ama, Türk-Bulgar Dostluk ve Tarafsızlık Antlaşmasının beş yıl daha uzatılması sağlanır; bu konuda 24 Eylülde bir protokol imzalanır.

26 Eylülde Venizelos İstanbul'da Gazi Mustafa Kemal ile önemli bir görüşme yapar. O tarihte Venizelos iktidarda değildi ama Yunan ana muhalefet lideri olarak önemli rol oynuyordu ve ikidara adaydı. Bu görüşmeden bir hafta sonra, 4 Ekimde yine İstanbul'da Türkiye Cumhurbaşkanı ile Yugoslav Kralı Alexandre arasında bir görüşme yapılır. Dışişleri Bakanı Tevfik Rüşü Bey her iki görüşmede hazır bulunur

<sup>81</sup> Belge No. 168.

<sup>82</sup> Belge No. 186.

<sup>83</sup> Turgut Özakman, Atatürk, Kuruluş Sarayı ve Cumhuriyet Kronolojisi, Bilgi Yayıncı, Ankara, 1999, s.240.



ve not tutar. Balkan Pakı tarihyle ilgili bu görüşmelerin tutanaklarını daha önce Dışişleri Bakanlığı arşivlerinden çıkarıp yayınlamıştı<sup>84</sup>.

İngiltere Dışişleri Bakanlığı, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Onuncu yıldönümünü vaklasırken bir not hazırlıyor ve İngiltere'nin Ankara'ya bir kutlama mesajı göndermesini istiyor, geçmişten bir örnek de veriyor: İngiliz Kralı, 1928 yılında Polonya Cumhuriyeti'nin onuncu yılını kutlamış. Foreign Office, şimdi Türkiye'yi de kutlamak gerektiğini söylüyor: "Sovyet Rusya ve belki başka ülkeler Ankara'ya özel kutlama heyetleri; Fransa ve diğer devletler de kutlama mesajları göndereceklerdir. Bu durumda İngiltere'nin mesaj göndermemesi yadırganarak not edilecektir. Mesaj göndermek iyi olur" diyor<sup>85</sup>.

28 Ekim günü İngiltere Dışişleri Bakanı John Simon, Türkiye Dışişleri Bakanı Tevfik Rüştü Bey'e bir telgraf gönderiyor ve İngiltere Hükümeti adına Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilânının onuncu yılını kutluyor. Türkiye'de yedi yıl görev yaptıktan sonra ülkesine dönmüş olan eski İngiliz Büyükelçisi George Clerk de Londra'dan Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal'e bir kutlama mesajı gönderiyor<sup>86</sup>.

Cumhuriyetin 10. Yılında başkent Ankara bir dünya merkezi gibidir. İngiliz maslahatgüzarı, 28 Ekim (1933) günlü raporunda :

*"Son altı ayda", diyor, "Yunan, Yugoslav, Romen, Macar ve Sovyet liderleri Türkiye'yi ziyaret etti. Ankara önemli bir siyasi merkez haline geldi. Komşuları Türkiye'ye kur yapıyor. Mali bakımdan fakir olmasına rağmen Türkiye, Yakın Doğunun lideri olmuştur, denilebilir. Politikasının güvencesi Rus dostluğudur. Gazi, Türkiye demektir. Güçlü ordusu ve disiplinli halkıyla Türkiye, Yakın Doğu'daki üstünlüğünün yalnız komşuları tarafından değil, uzaktaki devletlerce de teslim edilmesini doğal saymaktadır."*<sup>87</sup>

Sovyet Mareşali Vorosilov, büyük bir heyetin başında, Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin 10. Yılı kutlamaları için Ankara'ya geliyor ve Gazi'nin yanbaşında törenleri izliyor. İngiliz maslahatgüzarı Morgan, Cumhuriyet Bayramı arifesinde şunları yazıyor:

"Cumhuriyetin onuncu yılı kutlamaları yarın başlayacak ve üç gün sürecek. Her ev bayrak asacak ve süslenecek. Bayrak satıcıları sokaklarda tabur tabur. Her köyde Cumhuriyet meydanları oluşturulup nutuklar söylenecek. Ankara'da istasyondan Çankaya köşküne kadar bayraklar, afişler asıldı. Afişlerde sloganlar: "Denk Bütçe, Düzgün Ödeme, İşte Cumhuriyet Maliyesi" veya "Ben Bir Türk'üm,

<sup>84</sup> Bkz. Bilâl N. Şimşir, "Atatürk'ün Yabancı Devlet Adamlarıyla Görüşmeleri Yedi Belge (1930-1937)", Belleken, Cilt: XLIV, Sayı: 177 (Ocak 1981) den ayrı basım, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara: 1981, s. 175-179, Belge No: 2 ve 3.

<sup>85</sup> Belge No: 207.

<sup>86</sup> Belge No: 229 & 230.

<sup>87</sup> Belge No: 216.

"Ne Mutlu Bana!", vevahut "Asker, Milletin Özünü" Yeni İçişleri Bakanlığı binasında da bu yazı okunuyor: "Gazi bizden biridir. En büyüğümüzdür. Hepimizdir." Kahvelerde, lokantalardaki afişlerde de Bani kızıyetlerini Asya kıyafetlerinden daha usmı olduğu belirtiliyor. Oaya kurulmuş cadılarla komşu illerden getirilen askerler, İstanbul'dan getirilen denizciler kahyor; izciler, üniversite öğrencileri de okullara yerleştirildi. Elçilikler, Büyükelçilikler de ısklandırlılacak mı, yoksa sadece bayrak mı asacaklar? Bu konuda hâlâ fikir birliği yok. Halk herhalde yıldönümünü coşkuyla kutlayacaktı.<sup>190</sup>

İngiliz Maslahatgözan Morgin, Ankara'daki kutlamaları 31 Ekim günü kısaca şöyle rapor ediyor:

"Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 10. Yılı kutlamaları başarıyla sonuçlandı. Törenler, kordiplomatığın Cumhurbaskanı tarafından kabulüyle başladı. Duayen Sovyet Büyükelçisi hepimiz adına Gazi'ye tebriklerini sundu. Sonra yarışlar izlendi. Vorosilov, Karahan ve diğer ileri gelen Ruslar Gazi'nin yanındaıydı. Yarışların ardından resmî geçit için tribüne geçildi. Gazi'nin Türk ulusuna seslenişi radyoda da yayımlandı. Konuşmadan sonra Onuncu Yıl Marşı söylendi. Marşı, askerin görkemli geçişi izledi. Türk askeri etkileyiciydi. Askerlerin ardından hemşireler, kızıl erkekli üniversite öğrencileri, sporcular, daha ilginç arı sırtında ya da yaya köylüler, hatta hocalar da geçti. Milletin bu sade temsilcileri, zaten keyfi yerinde olan Gazi'yi pek duygulandırdı. Bu arada uzak ufuklardan çıkıp gelen 80 kadar uçak alçalıp seyircilerin üzerinden uçtu."<sup>191</sup>

Gazi Mustafa Kemal, radyoda da yayınlanan ünlü ve önemli Onuncu Yıl Söylevi'nde Türk ulusuna seslenir: "Millî kültürümüzü muasır medeniyet seviyesinin üstüne çıkaracağız" der. "Türk milletinin yürümekte olduğu terakki ve medeniyet yolunda, elinde ve kafasında tuttuğu mesale, müspet ilimdir der. Ve söylevini "Ne mutlu Türküm diyene!" diye bitirir.

Türkiye Cumhurbaskanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal, kordiplomatik aracılığıyla dış dünyaya ilginç ve önemli bu mesaj veriyor. Gazi'nin kordiplomatik duayenine cevabı şudur (Belgenin aslı Fransızcadır):

"Sayın Büyükelçi, Kordiplomatığın tebrikleriyle iyi dileklerine ve sizin güzel sözlerinize hararetle teşekkür ederim. Bugün Cumhuriyetin onuncu yılını kutlıyoruz. Siz de şahsen bunun doğuşuna ve gelişmesine tanık oldunuz. Sizi duayen ve dost olarak selâmlarken mutluyum; kordiplomatik üyelerini de samimiyetle selâmlarım. Dış politikamız barış içinde ülkenizi geliştirme amacından hiç sapmamıştır. Bütün ülkeler için de bu gelişmeyi diliyoruz. Sayın misyon şefleri, tebrikleri ve dilekleri için minnettarlığımızı hükümetlerinize arz etmemizi daktım.

<sup>190</sup> Belge No. 226

<sup>191</sup> Belge No. 240

*Türk ıhtilâhı yapıcıdır, yurtseverlik eseridir, insanlık idealine bağlıdır. Bu ıhtilâhın sanatkârı olarak dünyaya dostça bakıyorum.*"<sup>90</sup>

İngiliz basını, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilânının onuncu yıldönümüne oldukça geniş yer vermiştir. İngiliz gazeteleri ve BBC radyosu Türkiye'ye özel muhabirler göndermiş, gazetelerde özel yayımlar, radyoda konuşmalar yapılmış, Londra'da Türkiye üzerine konferanslar da verilmiştir. Yayınlar Ekim ayına yayılmıştır. On yıllık Türkiye Cumhuriyeti rejiminin, yabancı gözüyle nasıl görüldüğünü anlayabilmek bakımından İngiliz medyasının bu yayınları ilgi çekici ve aydınlatıcıdır. Bu ciltte Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin onuncu yıldönümü dolayısıyla, 25 İngiliz gazetesinde çıkmış 40 kadar yazı bulunacaktır.<sup>91</sup>

Bu yazılardan birkaç örnek verip geçelim. İngiltere'nin büyük gazetelerinden *The Manchester Guardian* gazetesi, 16 Ekim 1933 günü, "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Onuncu Yıldönümü" başlığıyla şunları yazıyordu:

"Türkiye, 29 Ekimden başlayarak üç gün boyunca Cumhuriyetin onuncu yılını kutlayacak. Özel olarak Onuncu Yıl Marşı bestelendi ve törenlerde söylenecek. Köylülerin de kentlere ve başkente gelerek kutlamalara katılmaları için kolaylık sağlandı. Millet, kurtuluşunu ve yeni hayatını Gazi'ye borçlu olduğunu biliyor ve "diktatör" kelimesi ağza alınmıyor. Türkiye'yi bir ortaçağ devletinden çağdaş bir devlete dönüştürmek için on yıl yetmiştir. Kadınların alışkanlıkları ve yaşam biçimleri üzerindeki yenilikler Türkiye'nin geleceğini belki en derinden etkileyecektir. Kadınlar artık bütün mesleklerde erkeklerin yanında yer alıyor. Yargıç, avukat, doktor, dişçi, daktilo sekreter, pilot vs oluyorlar. Yeni Türkiye'nin yeni bir dili var. Alfabe gibi dil de değişiyor. Adeta kutsalmış gibi görünen Halifelik kaldırıldı. Halife sınır dışı edildi. Dinin dili de millileştirildi. Din serbest, yalnız din dernekleri yasak. Politıkada iki partili sistem denendiyse de deneme başarısız kaldı. Halen Türkiye Cumhuriyeti tek partiliyse de faşist değildir. Ekonomik yaşamda da on yılda büyük yenilik oldu. Türkler, iş hayatına, ticarete, bankacılığa ağıldılar ve büyük başarı gösterdiler; dış yardım almadan 1700 kilometre demiryolu yaptılar. Bütçe denk, Türk lirası istikrarlıdır. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti dünya ticaretindeki payını arttırdı. Türk olmayan azınlıklar da Cumhuriyet rejimine uyum sağladılar."<sup>92</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Belge No. 204'a ek.

<sup>91</sup> 25 gazetenin adları, alfabetik sırayla şunlardır: *Daily Mail, Daily Mirror, Daily Telegraph, Edinburgh Standard, Empire Review, Evening News, Evening Standard, Everyman, Financial News, Financial Times, Irish Independent, Liverpool Post, Manchester Evening News, Manchester Guardian, Morning Post, New Britain, Newcastle Journal, News Chronicle, Northern Daily Telegraph, Observer, Referee, Spectator, Sunday Express, Times, Western Mail ve Yorkshire Post.*

<sup>92</sup> Belge No. 206.

Observer gazetesi, "Türkiye'nin Onuncu Yas Günü: Bir On Yıla Yüzeyiliş" başlıklı yazısında Türkiye'yi şöyle anlatıyordu:

"Kemalizm on yılını doldurdu. Gazi Mustafa Kemal, savaş sonrasının büyük sıraları arasında yerini aldı. Değişiklik birkaç görüntüyle gözleri önüne serilebilir. Örneğin Galata köprüsünden geçicilerin on yıl önceki kozmopolit halini artık çağdaş bir görünüm almıştır. Bugün köprüden geçenlerin yüzde 99'u Türktür, ama giyim kısımlarıyla herhangi bir İngiliz şehrinin halkından farksızdırlar. Büyük camiler verli yerinde ama artık bayramlar hariç eskisi kadar dolup taşmıyor. Türk kadınları Beyoğlu'nda serbestçe dolasıyor, onların çocukları futbol oynuyor, kızları üniversiteye gidiyor. Çok eşlilik, fez, Arap alfabesi kalmadı. Fanatik Kurtler avaklandı. M. Kemal, iki uç yolda Türkiye'nin iç sorunlarını düzeltti. Türk-İngiliz ilişkilerini sağlam temele oturttu. Barışçı bir dış politika izledi ve bunun sonucunda Balkanlarda 'Yakın Doğu Lokanı'su oluşturuldu. Bayındırlık işlerinde büyük gelişme sağlandı ve geniş bir demiryolu şebekesi kuruldu. Yeni alfabenin kabulüyle eğitimde büyük bir atılım gerçekleştirildi. Gazi, geleceğe güvenle bakabilir."<sup>10</sup>

Londra'nın büyük gazetesi *The Times*'de şöyle diyordu:

"29 Ekim 1923 günü Gazi, hükümet şeklini değiştirmeye karar verdiğini aniden TBMM'ye duyurdu. Mebuslar hemen onurup Cumhuriyet ilân etmekle kalmadılar. Gazi'yi de ilk Cumhurbaşkanı seçtiler. O günden bugüne geçen on yıl, mebusların Gazi'ye güvenimle doğru bir iş yaptıklarını gösterdi. Dünya, Türkiye Cumhuriyetinde yapılan sansasyonel reformları bilmektedir. Uzun Osmanlı tarihi döneminde Sultanlar, Rumlar, Ermeniler, Araplar hakkında çok şey söylenmişti; ama Türk köylüsü, gerçek Anadolu Türkünün adı sanı pek duyulmamıştı. Ama bu Türkler bitü sandıkları anda bile Yunanlıları denize dökerek gücü kendilerinde bulabildiler. Cumhuriyet döneminde Türk köylüsü artık köle gibi yaşamaya hiçbir zaman razı olmayacak, tefecilerin eline düşmeyecektir. Ziraat Bankasının köylüye açtığı kredi 1923'ten 1933'e 8 milyon liradan 34 milyona çıkmıştır. Hükümet de hızla demiryolu yapmaktadır. Hükümet, yeni sanayiye de teşvik ediyor. Gazi, "köylü menleketin efendisidir" demiştir. Başkentini İstanbul'dan Ankara'ya taşınmasında da - stratejik gerekçelerin yanı sıra - bu görüş etkili olmuştur. Modern Türkiye'nin yöneticileri yalnız içeride reformlar yapmakla yetinmemişler, fakat aynı dış ülkelerle ilişkileri iyileştirmeyi de gerekli görmüşlerdir. Türkiye bugün hem binön büyük devletlerle hem de komşularıyla sorunlarını çözmüş bulunmaktadır. Dış politikada en büyük zafer Yunanistan'la yakınlaşma olmuştur. Cumhuriyet Türkiye'si, dışarıdan yardım almadan borçlarını ödemiş ve Türk lirasını istikrara kavuşturmuştur. Türkiye bir yıldönümünü kutlamaktadır, bu ülkede halkın da katıldığı böyle bir anlamlı kutlama ilk defa yaşanıyor."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Belge No: 209.

<sup>11</sup> Belge No: 217.

1922 yılında Ankara'ya gelmiş, TBMM ve Başkumandanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal Paşa ile görüşmüş ve *An Englishwoman in Angora (Ankara'da bir İngiliz Kadını)* adlı bir kitap yazmış olan İngiliz bayan gazeteci Grace Ellison, Cumhuriyetin onuncu yılında da *The Daily Telegraph*'ta şunları yazmıştır (Özet):

"1922 sonunda Ankara'ya gittim. Gazi Mustafa Kemal'i inceleme fırsatı buldum. O tarihte Gazi, Başkumandan; Ankara da tahkim edilmiş bir Asya köyü idi. Mustafa Kemal, "biz Orta Çağda yaşıyoruz" diyordu. Halk toprağı işleyerek yaşıyordu. Yollar yol değildi. İlkel kağınlarda ya da yayılarda seyahat ediyordunuz. Ankara'da sadece iki otomobil vardı. İlkel bir handan başka kalacak bir yer yoktu. Gazi, "beş yıl sonra yine geliniz, değişikliği o zaman görürsünüz" demişti. Beş yıl sonra yine gittim. Türk kadınları ve Avrupalılar için balo vardı. Gazi, "Peki" dedi, "şimdi ne diyorsunuz?" Şimdi, dil hariç, savaş öncesi Türkiye'nin her şeyi Müzenin raflarına kaldırılmıştı! Değişim şaşırtıcıydı...Türkiye- Doğulu bir devletten Batılı bir devlete dönüşmüştü. Çünkü tembel Türkler bugün çalışkan işçiler olmuşlardı. Ankara her Türk'ün iftihar ettiği bir başkent olmuştu. Gazi, ömrü boyunca Türkiye için çalışmıştır. Eskiden Gazi kalpaklıydı, şimdi sık Batı elbisesi giyiyordu. Sadece "İstiklâl Madalyası" takıyordu. Kadınlar hakkındaki düşüncesini sordum. "Halkın yarısını köle gibi tutarak geri kalan yarısıyla gerçek demokrasi kuramazsınız" dedi. Kadını özgürlüğe kavuşturduktan ve erkeğe şapkayı giydirdikten sonra, yasaları da değiştirmek gerekmişti. Sadece bu bile dev bir reformdur. Alfabe değiştirilmiş, okuma-yazma kursları açılmış, dinle Devlet ayrılmış, kadınlar üniversiteye alınmış, Genel Müdür ve yargıç olmuşlardır."<sup>95</sup>

*The Financial Times* gazetesi Türkiye'nin on yıllık gelişmesini ekonomik ve mali açıdan değerlendiriyor ve özetle şunları yazıyordu:

"Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin onuncu yıl kutlamalarında rejimin ekonomik başarıları da övülecektir. Ülkede, sosyal ve politik reformların yanı sıra ekonomik değişim de az değildir. Devletin de halkın da ekonomik zihniyeti değişmiştir. Türk bankalarında halkın tasarrufları artmıştır: 1920'de 3.5 milyon olan bu tasarruflar bugün (1933'te) 34 milyona çıkmıştır. Sanayileşme artmıştır. Sanayii Teşvik Kanunundan önce Türkiye'de 130 fabrika vardı, bugün 2200 fabrika var: İstanbul'da 507, İzmir'de 181, Ankara'da 30. Halk girişimci olmaya başlamıştır, ki eskiden bu bilinmezdi. Bu gelişmeyi önce devlet özendirmiş ve kamçulamıştır. Gazi ve Başbakan İsmet Paşa, denk bütçe konusunda ısrarcı ve başarılı olmuşlardır. Yalnız bir yıl, 1926'de bütçe açığı görülmüştür. On yıl boyunca bütçe gelirleri sürekli artmıştır. Türk lirası istikrarlıdır. Ancak ticaret dengesine dikkat edilmezse ekonomik sorun yaşanabilir. 1932'de ihracat ithalatı biraz aşmıştır. Onuncu yılında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ekonomik yapısı sağlamdır ve halk ekonomik faaliyetlere daha fazla katılmaktadır."<sup>96</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Belge No. 223.

<sup>96</sup> Belge No. 224.



Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 10. Yıldönümü dolayısıyla, 30 Ekim 1933 akşamı Londra'da, Yakın ve Orta Doğu Derneğinde bir konferans verilmiştir. Konferansı Edward Walker, 1918 Mondros Mütarekesinden 1933 yılına kadar Türkiye tarihini anlamaktan sonra onuncu yılında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin nereden nereye geldiği üzerine de durmuş, şöyle konuşmuştur:

"Dün Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin kuruluşunun onuncu yılı törenlerle kutlandı. Kutlamalar üç gün sürecek. On iki yıl önce bir "ası" durumunda olan Mustafa Kemal, şimdi kurtarıcı Gazi olarak alkışlanıyor. Yarıncı tarihçiler Türkiye'deki olağanüstü değişimi bir liderin eseri olarak değerlendirecek. Bu olağanüstü liderin ne gibi zorlukları aştığını anlayabilmek için 30 Ekim 1918 mütarekesinden (Mondros) sonraki gelişmeleri hatırlayalım...

"Türkiye'de 1923'te 18.000 kilometre karayolu vardı (13.000 kilometresi kötü durumdaydı); bugün (1933'te), iyi durumda 30.000 kilometre yol var. Türk hükümeti 10 yılda şirketlerden 1.600 kilometre demiryolu satın aldı, bunlar için 159 milyon lira ödedi. On yılda demiryolu yapımı şaşırtıcıdır. Bugün demiryollarının uzunluğu 3.500 kilometredir, gelecek yıl 4.000 kilometre olacak. Türk gemileri 1923'te 35.000 ton yük taşıyabiliyordu, bugün 110.000 ton taşıyor. Ticaret dengesi lehtedir, 1932'de 15 milyon fazlalık vermiştir. Cumhuriyetin ilân edildiği yıl 4.000 okul, 336.000 öğrenci vardı; bugün 6000 okulda 542.000 öğrenci okuyor. Son olarak Gazi'nin barış uğrındaki çalışmalarını da hatırlayalım: Türkiye, on yılda 40 dostluk antlaşması imzaladı ki bunların sonuncusu Türk-Yunan antlaşmasıdır. Avrupa devletleri yazık ki Türkiye ile Yunanistan'ı örnek alamıyorlar. Türkiye bugün Milletler Cemiyeti'nin aktif bir üyesidir."<sup>77</sup>

Atatürk, Kordiplomatik adına kendisini kutlayan Sovyet Büyükelçisine Fransızca olarak şu cevabı vermiştir:

*Sayın Büyükelçi, Kordiplomatîğin tebrikleriyle iyi dileklerine ve sizin güzel sözlerinize hararetle teşekkür ederim. Bugün Cumhuriyetin onuncu yılını kutluyoruz. Siz de şahsen bunun doğuşuna ve gelişmesine tanık oldunuz. Sizi duayan ve dost olarak selâmlarken muthuyum; kordiplomatîk üyelerini de samimiyetle selâmlarım. Dış politikamız barış içinde ülkemizi geliştirme amacından hiç sapmamıştır. Bütün ülkeler için de bu gelişmeyi diliyoruz. Sayın misyon şefleri, tebrikleri ve dilekleri için minnettarlığımızı hükümetlerinize arz etmenizi dilerim. Türk ihtilâli yapıcıdır, yurtseverlik eseridir, insanlık idealine bağlıdır. Bu ihtilâlin sanatkarı olarak dünyaya dostça bakıyorum."<sup>78</sup>*

Sovyet Rusya, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin onuncu yıldönümünü kutlamak için Mareşal Vorosilov Başkanlığında kalabalık bir heyeti Ankara'ya göndermiş, Türkiye'ye ayrıca başka bazı dostluk jestlerinde de bulunmuştu. Türkiye bu dostluğa aynı sıcaklıkla karşılık vermiş ve Atatürk, Ankara'daki törenlerde

<sup>77</sup> Belge No. 239.

<sup>78</sup> Belge No. 240'a bk.



Voroşilov'ın yanından ayrılmamıştı. Ankara'daki İngiliz Büyükelçiliği, Voroşilov heyetinin ziyaretini ve Türk-Sovyet ilişkilerini ilgiyle ve biraz da kuşkuyla yakından izlemişti. "Sovyet konuklar diğer konukları gölgede bıraktı. Gazi, 1 Kasım konuşmasında Sovyet dostluğunun "dünya barışının önemli bir faktörü" olduğunu söyledi" diye rapor etmişti. Bu rapor üzerine İngiltere Dışişleri Bakanlığında şu not düşülmüştür: "*Türkiye daha fazla Rusya eğilimli görünüyorsa da yeni Türkiye ile yeni Rusya arasındaki bu yakınlık şimdilik gerçek bir tehlike oluşturmuyor.*"<sup>151</sup>

İngiliz İşguderi Morgan 1 Kasım günü de şunları rapor ediyor:

"Onuncu yıl balosunda alışılmışın üzerinde kalabalık vardı. Her yıl verilmekte olan resmi akşam yemeği bu yıl kaldırıldı. Gazi, gece yarısından sonra Başbakan ve Voroşilov ile birlikte baloya geldi; Tevfik Rüştü Bey'in kızını Dışişlerinden bir gence (Fatin Rüştü) nişanladı ve saat 03'te balodan ayrıldı. Onuncu yıl kutlamaları iki gün daha devam etti. Ankara şehri gündüzleri süslü, geceleri ışıktır. Her yerde toplantılar, konuşmalar yapıldı, gazeteler 60 sayfa olarak çıktı ve Cumhuriyetin başarıları anlatıldı. 30 Ekimde Ziraat Enstitüsünün resmi açılışı yapıldı. Aynı gün Genelkurmay, askeri kulupte, Rus konuklar onuruna bir çay partisi verdi. 31 Ekimde yeni modern hastanenin açılışı yapıldı. Hastanenin her şeyi mükemmel ama sadece bir hemşiresi var o da Alman. Kutlamalar süresinde her ülkeden mesajlar geldi. İngiltere'den gelen mesaja içten teşekkür edildi. *Times* gazetesinin makalesine de geniş yer verildi. Almanya, Macaristan, Yunanistan, Bulgaristan, Yugoslavya ve Romanya'dan gelen özel heyetler ülkelerinin iyi dileklerini getirdiler. Türkiye'nin dış temsilciliklerindeki kaahnlara da basında yer verildi. Prestiji artan genç Türkiye Cumhuriyeti dünya devletleri arasında yerini aldı."<sup>152</sup>

Atatürk, Cumhuriyeti ilân ederken, "*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti mesut, muvaffak ve muzaffer olacaktır*" demişti. Dediği on yılda gerçekleşmiştir, denilebilir. Türk halkı ekonomik refahı henüz yakalayamamış olmakla birlikte, geçmişe kıyasla huzur içinde ve mutlu görünüyordu. Sapaşğlam yerine oturmuş ve onuncu yılını kutlamakta olan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin dünyadaki prestiji yüksekti. İngiliz basını bu cumhuriyetin başarılarını öve öve bitiremiyordu. İlan edildiği tarihlerde Türkiye Cumhuriyetine iki-üç yıllık bir ömür biçmiş olan kısa görüşlü İngiliz diplomatları yanılmışlardı. Bu defa Ankara'daki İngiliz Büyükelçiliği, "Prestiji artan genç Türkiye Cumhuriyeti dünya devletleri arasında yerini aldı" diyordu.

Onuncu yıldönümünde Cumhuriyet başkenti Ankara, "gündüzleri süslü, geceleri ışıktı" idi. Ankara halkı coşku içindeydi. İskoçya'nın Glasgow şehrinde çıkan *Evening News* gazetesi, "Ankara artık Türkiye'nin temelli başkentidir ve dün bir ortaçağ kasabası iken artık modern bir başkenttir" diyordu.<sup>153</sup> Ankara'nın uzun

<sup>151</sup> Belge No. 250.

<sup>152</sup> Belge No. 242.

<sup>153</sup> Belge No. 247.

zaman Türkiye'nin başkenti kalamayacağını, başkentin eninde sonunda İstanbul'a taşınacağını iddia etmiş olan İngiliz diplomatları bu konuda da yanılmışlar: "*Ankara merkez-i hükümetin (başkentin) ve ebediyen merkez-i hükümet kalmaktadır*" demis olan Atatürk ise bir defa daha haklı çıkmış idi.

Meraklı okuyucu ve araştırmacılar, bu ciltte ilgi çekici, aydınlatıcı, düşündürücü pek çok bilgi ve belge bulacaklardır. Kitabın, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti tarihini çok yönlü olarak derinlemesine kavramak isteyen okuyuculara ve araştırmacılara yararlı olmasını diliyorum.

Ankara, 25 Ocak 2005

DR. BİLAL N. ŞİMSİR

## KİTAPTA GEÇEN KISALTMALAR

- ABC : Alfabe  
A. C. : Army Corps (Kolordu)  
a. m. : *ante meridiem* (öğleden önce)  
BBC : British Broadcasting Corporation (İngiliz Yayın Kurumu)  
B. M. A. : British Military Attaché (İngiliz Askeri Ataşesi)  
E. : *Eastern* (İngiltere Dışişleri Bakanlığının, Türkiye işlerine de bakan Doğu Dairesi.)  
F.O. : *Foreign Office Archives* (İngiltere Dışişleri Bakanlığı Arşivleri), Public Record Office, London.  
-/371 : İngiltere Dışişleri Bakanlığı Arşivlerinin *General Correspondance* (Genel Yazışmalar) serisi. (371) rakamından sonra gelen ilk rakam grubu (14575 gibi) seri içindeki cilt numarasıdır. Daha sonraki rakam grubu (E. 387 gibi) belgenin arşiv kayıt numarasıdır.  
-/424 : İngiltere Dışişleri Bakanlığı Arşivlerinin *Confidential Print* (Gizli Yayınlar) serisidir. (424) rakamından sonra gelen rakam grubu (272 gibi) seri içindeki cilt numarasıdır.  
H. M. : His Majesty (Zatı Sahane, Majesteleri, Haşmetlû, İngiliz Kral(lığı))  
H. M. Chargé d'Affaires : His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires (İngiltere Maslahatgüzarı).  
H. M. G. : His Majesty's Government (Majestelerinin Hükümeti-İngiltere Hükümeti)  
H. M. S. : His Majesty's Ship (Majestelerinin Gemisi - İngiliz Gemisi)  
H. R. H. : His/Her Royal Highness (Altes Ruayal, Prens / Prenses Hazretleri)  
L.T. : Livre Turque (Türk Lirası)  
£T. : Turkish Pound (Türk Lirası)  
M. ,Mr. : Monsieur, Mister - Bay  
M. P. : Member of Parliament (Parlamento Üyesi - Milletvekili)  
p. : page (sayfa)  
p. m. : *post meridiem* (öğleden sonra)  
R. N. : Royal Navy (Kraliyet Donanması - İngiliz Deniz Kuvvetleri)  
U. S. S. R. : Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Sovyet Sosyalist Cumhuriyetler Birliği)

## BELGELERİN LİSTESİ VE ÖZETLERİ

| No. | Tarîhi  | Kimden Kime Yazıldığı ve Özü  | Sayfa |
|-----|---------|---|-------|
|     | 1930    |   |       |
| 1   | 11 Ocak | İNGİLTERE'NİN AMSTERDAM BASKONSOLO-<br>Sİ T. B. WILDMAN DAN LAHEYELCİSİ SIR<br>ODO RUSSELL'E YAZI NO: 108/30.....   | 1     |
|     |         | Mustafa Kemal tarafından sınır dışı edilmiş olan<br>(150'liklerden) eski Osmanlı Dahiliye Nazırı<br>Mehmed Ali Bey'e Paris'te rastladım. Bu İngiliz<br>hanımı evli olan adigeçeni köstence'den tanı-<br>yordum. Şimdi Paris'te <i>La République Enchainée</i><br>(Zincirli Cumhuriyet) adlı bir gazete çıkardığını<br>söyledi. Parayı nereden bulduğunu bilmiyorum.<br><u>FO'm note:</u> Bu Türk mühercilerin parayı nereden<br>buldukları bir sırdır.  |       |
| 2   | 22 Ocak | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G.<br>CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDER-<br>SON'A YAZI N.: 33. GİZLİ .....  | 2     |
| Ek- |         | Türkiye'deki misyon sefleriyle ilgili yıllık raporum<br>ilişiktir. Ankarada elçilik ve büyükelçilik<br>binaları inşaatı hızla devam ediyor. Ankara artık<br>kesinlikle Türkiye'nin başkentidir ve<br>kordiplomatik artık buraya temelli yerleşmektedir.<br>TÜRKİYE'DEKİ MİSYON SEFLERİ HAKKINDA<br>1929 YILLIK RAPORU!.....   | 3     |
|     |         | Aşağıdaki diplomatlara ilişkin kısa biyografik ve<br>diplomatik bilgiler veriliyor: BÜYÜKELÇİLER:<br>Rusya: M. Jacques Souritz; Almanya: Herr Rudolf<br>Nadolny; İtalya: M. Luca Orsini; ABD: Mr. Joseph<br>Grew; Afganistan: General Gulam Djeilani Han;<br>Fransa: Kont Charles Chambrun; İran: Muham-<br>med Ali Han Ferugi<br>ELÇİLER: Romanya: George Filality geri çekildi,<br>yerine M. Mitilinen gelecek; Macaristan: M. Tahy<br>de Tahvar et Tarkeo; Avusturya: M. August Kral;<br>İsvç: M. Wallenberg; İspanya: Don Juhan Sernet y<br>Vest; Hollanda: Baron de Welderen Rengers;<br>Çekoslovakya: M. Milos Kobi; Bulgaristan: M.<br>Theodore Pavloff; Danimarka: M. Otto Carl Mohr;<br>Belçika: M. Louis Leclercq; Polonya: M. C. Olso- |       |

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|    |         | wski; Mısır: İbrahim Rıfıh Bey; İsviçre: M. Henry Martin; Vatikan: Mgr. Rotta; Yunanistan: M. J. Papa; Irak: Sabih Bery Naşat.   |       |
|    |         | MASLAHATGÜZARLAR: Japonya: Önce Mr. Ashida, sonra Mr. Hiroji Nihei ve şimdi Büyükelçi Isaburo Yoshida atandı, fakat henüz gelmedi; Sili: M. Hector Briones Lugo; Yugoslavya: Elçi Tadiç istifa etti, Svetomir Gougouchevitch işgüder kaldı. Arnavutluk: M. Jajuli.   |       |
| 3  | 3 Şubat | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANİ A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 43. GİZLİ .....   | 9     |
| Ek |         | Türkiye 1929 Yıllık raporu ilişktedir.<br>TÜRKİYE HAKKINDA 1929 YILLIK RAPORU ....   | 10    |
|    |         | Yıllık Rapor şu ana bölümleri içeriyor: I-Genel Değerlendirme; II- Dış Politika, III- İçişleri, IV- Ticari ve Ekonomik İşler, V-Deniz Kuvvetleri, VI- Kara Kuvvetleri, VII- Hava Kuvvetleri, VIII- İngiliz Talepleri, IX- Çeşitli Konular. Bu bölümler aşağıda özetleniyor:  |       |
|    |         | <b>I-Genel Değerlendirme:</b> .....  | 12    |
|    |         | Plansız ortaya çıkan 75 bin nüfuslu Ankara için bir "Şehir Planlama Komitesi" kuruldu ve komite yılın ilk yarısında şevkle işe sarıldı; ama son baharda çıkan ekonomik kriz çalışmaları yavaşlattı. Yine de inşaat işleri durmadı: Şu binalardan bazıları tamamlandı, bazılarının yapımı devam ediyor: iki banka, Türkocağı, Milli Savunma ve Genelkurmay, Kızılay binaları ve bazı büyük apartmanlar. Ankara, siyasal ve sosyal başkent olarak gelişiyor. Ekonomik krize karşı amatörce önlemler alınıyor. Afganistan olaylarının (yenilikçi Amanullah Han'ın devrilmesinin) Türkiye'yi etkilemesine karşı Gazi birçok önlem almış bulunuyor. |       |
|    |         | <b>II- Dış Politika:</b> .....   | 14    |
|    |         | Türkiye'nin barışçı dış politikasında bir değişme yok. Bu arada savunma tedbirleri de sürdürölüp güçlendiriliyor. Barış, Türkiye için bir ilhtıyaçtır.   |       |



Türkiye'nin uluslararası durumunu güçlendirici bazı somut adımlar atıldı. Ama Yakın ve Orta Doğu'da blok oluşturma yönünde bir ilerleme sağlanamadı. Türkiye, Rusya ile Batı Avrupa arasındaki dengeyi dikkatle koruyor.

*İngiltere*, işgali unutturup Türkiye'nin güvenliğini kazanmaya çalışıyor. Yavaş yavaş ilerleme sağlanıyorsa da eski kuşkuyla giderilmiş değildir. Türk basınının bir bölümü Mütareke dönemini unutuyor. Hükümet ise bazı subayları eğitim için İngiltere'ye gönderdi. Türk Hükümeti içinde İngiltere ile yakınlaşmak isteyenler de buna karşı olurlar da var. Akdeniz'deki İngiliz filosu Türkiye'ye bir ziyaret yaptı; iyi izlenimler yarattıysa da bunu fazla abartmamak gerek. Ankara'da İngiliz Büyükelçiliği binası yapımı başladı. İngiltere'ye tanıyan ticari ayrıcalıklar İngiliz mandası Filistin'e tanınıyor. Irak Yüksek Komiseri Sir G. Clayton, Şubat ayında Ankara'yı ziyaret etti. Türkiye-Irak Ticaret anlaşması müzakereleri devam etti. Türk-Irak sınırı nispeten sakin ve olaysız. Ama Sınır Komisyonunun Musul toplantısında Türk tarafı güçlük çıkardı. Ankara'daki Irak elçisi Sabih Bey Haziran'da öldü, yerine Rauf Çadırıcı (Chadirji) atandı.

*İtalya* Türkiye ile samimi olmaya çalışıyor; amacı, ticari sızmadır. İlişkileri dıştan pek dostça görüyor. Nisan'da Tefik Rüştü Roma'yı ziyaret etti; Haziran'da İtalyan deniz uçakları ve destroyerler İstanbul'a geldi ve gösteriler yaptı; Kasım'da İtalya'nın eski Maliye Bakanı Volpi Ankara'yı ziyaret etti. Türkiye Merkez Bankası kurulması konusu görüşüldü, ziyaretten bir sonuç çıkmadı. Yıl sonunda Türk-İtalyan Ticaret anlaşması imzalandı. Meis adasının (Castellorizo) egemenliği konusunda Lahey Divanına başvurmaya karar verildi. İtalyan Büyükelçisi Orsini Baroni'nin görevi sona erdi, halefi yıl sonuna kadar gelmedi.

*Fransa*: Suriye sınırı ve bu sınıra ilişkin çeşitli konularda, Haziran'da Türkiye ile anlaşma yaptı.

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Eklî protokoller, güvencilerle ilgili ortak deklarasyon, Mersin-Tarsus-Adana demiryolu, Nusaybin demiryolu hakkında ayrıntılar. Hâlâ askıda bazı sorunlar bulunmakla beraber Türk-Fransız ilişkileri iyi bir döneme girmektedir. Ağustos'ta Türkiye-Fransa ticaret anlaşması imzalandı.

Rusya'nın Türkiye ile ilişkilerinde bazı olumsuzluklar ve sürüşmeler yaşandı. Yeni bir ticaret anlaşması için görüşmeler yapıldı, ama yıl sonuna kadar sonuçlanmadı. Doğu illerindeki Rus ticaret temsilcilikleri de kuşku yaratıyor. Ufak tefek sürüşmelere rağmen Türk-Rus ilişkileri esasında bir değişiklik yoktu ve Türkiye, Rusya ile kavga etmek niyetinde değildir. Sovyet Dışişleri Bakanı Yardımcısı Karahan'ın Aralık'ta Ankara'ya yaptığı ziyaret pek önemsenmedi. Bu ziyaret sırasında Türk-Sovyet Dostluk ve Tarafsızlık Anlaşmasının süresini uzatan bir protokol imzalandı. Rusya'dan sınır dışı edilen Trotsky İstanbul'a geldi ve yıl sonunda hâlâ buradaydı. Türkiye ile Sovyet Rusya arasında daha önce imzalanmış olan iki anlaşma TBMM tarafından onaylandı.

*Afganistan:* Amanullah Han'ın devrilmesi Türkiye için bir darbe oldu. Müslümanları Batılaştırırmayı amaçlayan Türkiye, Afgan Kralını kayıtsız şartsız destekliyordu. Afganistan'a gönderilmiş olan Türk askeri heyeti geri döndü. Ankara'daki Afgan Büyükelçisi, İngiliz politikası aleyhinde bir bildiri yayımlayarak buradan ayrıldı ve Amanullah Han'ın yanına, İtalya'ya, gitti. Türkiye, reformları yavaşlatı. Türk basını İngilizler aleyhinde bir süre yayın yaptı. Nadir Han Afgan Kralı olunca Türkiye, Afganistan'la tekrar normal ilişkiler kurmak arzusunu açıkladı. Ankara'daki Afgan Büyükelçiliğinin durumu hâlâ belirsiz.

*İran ile Türkiye arasında,* 9 Nisanda, sınır güvenliğiyle ilgili bir anlaşma imzalandı. 25 Nisanda Türkiye Başbakanı Ankara'daki İran Büyükelçiliği binasının temelini attı.

No.

Tarihi

Kimden Kime Yazıldığı ve Özü

Sayfa

**Mısır Krallığı ile Türkiye Cumhuriyeti arasındaki** zıtlasma devam ediyor. Kral Fuad, Türk Elçisi Muhiiddin Paşa'yı huzura kabul için bekletince elçi sarayı terk etti. İki ülke arasında görüşülmekte olan Dostluk antlaşması imzalanamadı.

**Arabistan; Türkiye ile Hicaz arasında 3 Ağustosta** dostluk antlaşması imzalandı. Türkiye, Yemen'le de bir dostluk antlaşması düşünüyor.

**Yunanistan;** Nüfus mübadelesiyle ilgili çeşitli sorunların çözilememesi yüzünden Türk-Yunan ilişkileri yıl içinde düzelemedi. Yunan Hükümeti, Yunanistan'daki geniş Türk emlakine el koyunca Türk Hükümeti misillemeye bulundu. Türkiye'de Yunanistan'la anlaşmadan yana olanlarla buna karşı olanlar var. Diğer yandan İtalya, Türkiye ile Yunanistan'ın anlaşmasını arzu ederken, Fransa ise tam tersine anlaşmadan kalmalarını yeğliyor. Yıl içinde Türk-Yunan görüşmelerinde inişler, çıkışlar oldu ve sonunda görüşmeler kesildi. Bu durum Yunan Hükümetinde önce ümitsizlik ve kuşku yarattı. Notalar alınıp verildiyse de anlaşmazlık çözilemedi. Ankara'daki Yunan elçisi değiştirilince Yunan Hükümeti, Aralık başında yeni öneriler sundu. 1928'den beri konuşulan Türk-Yunan dostluk antlaşması konusunda da bir ilerleme olmadı. "Yavuz"ın onarılmasının bir tehdit olarak gören Yunanistan, buna karşılık olarak kendi donanmasını güçlendirme yoluna gitti. Lozan Ticaret Sözleşmesi Ağustosta sona erince Türk hükümeti Yunan mallarına azami gümrük uygulamaya başladı. Bu *modus vivendi* yapılacağı açıklandı.

**Arnavutluk ile Türkiye arasındaki ilişkiler 1928'de** bozulmuştu, 1929'da iyileşmedi. Türk maslahatgüzarı Tirana'dan ayrılmış, Ankara'daki Arnavutluk maslahatgüzarı da geri çekilmiş bulunuyor.

**Bulgaristan ile Türkiye arasında 6 Mart'ta Hakem ve Saldırmazlık Antlaşması** imzalandı. Antlaşma Türk basınında pek ilgi uyandırmadı. Bulgaristan

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da ise Türkiye ile dostluk ilişkilerine büyük önem verildiği görüldü. Türk-Bulgar ilişkileri normal devam etti.

*Yugoslavya:* Sırp Hükümetinin el koymuş olduğu Müslüman cımlâki yüzünden Türk-Yugoslav ilişkileri hâlâ bulutlu. Türk Hükümeti, el konulan emlakin tazmin edilmesini istiyor; Yugoslavya ile ticaret anlaşması imzalanıyor. Ankara'daki Yugoslav elçisi istifa etti. Türk-Yugoslav görüşmeleri Belgrad'a kaydırıldı.

*Romanya:* Bütçede tasarruf için Ankara'daki Romen elçisi geri çekildi, yerine maslahatgözu bıraktı. Türk-Romen ilişkilerini bozacak bir durum yok. 11 Haziran'da bir ticaret anlaşması imzalandı.

*ABD:* Mançurya krizi dolayısıyla ABD, Türkiye'den, Kellog paktı hükümlerini Rusya'ya hatırlatmasını istedi. Türkiye Sovyet hükümeti nezdinde böyle bir girişime hazır değildi. 1 Ekimde Türkiye ile ABD arasında Ankara'da bir Ticaret Sözleşmesi imzalandı.

*Almanya:* Nisan'da Teyfik Rüşti Berlin'i ziyaret etti; 16 Mayıs'ta Türk-Alman Hakem ve Uzlaşma anlaşması imzalandı. Türk hükümeti, Şubat 1930'da süresi dolacak olan Türk-Alman Ticaret anlaşmasını fesh etti. Bir Türkiye Merkez Bankası kurulmasıyla ilgili olarak Dr. Müller Türkiye'yi ziyaret etti. Ankara'da Alman Büyükelçiliği inşaatı ilerliyor.

*Polonya* ile Türkiye arasındaki elçiliklerin büyükelçilik düzeyine çıkarılması henüz gerçekleşmedi.

*Macaristan* ile Türkiye arasında 5 Ocak'ta Tarafsızlık, Uzlaşma ve Hakem anlaşması imzalandı ve onay belgeleri 8 Aralık'ta teati edildi.

*Çekoslovakya:* Türk-Çekoslovak Ticaret anlaşması feshedildi, yeni anlaşma yapılmıca kadar geçerli bir *modus vivendi* imzalandı.

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*Hollanda:* Ticaret anlaşması fesh edildi, yenisi yapılmıyaya kadar geçerli olacak bir *modus vivendi* imzalandı.

*Belçika:* Bir ikamet sözleşmesi yapılması için Türk-Belçika görüşmeleri sonuçlanmadı.

*İsviçre:* Türkiye-İsviçre Adli Yardımlaşma ve Hakem Anlaşması onaylandı; İkamet Sözleşmesi yürürlüğe girdi ve Türk hükümeti Ticaret sözleşmesini fesh etti ve yenisini yapabileceğini açıkladı.

*İspanya ile Türkiye:* ticaret anlaşması yapılmıyaya kadar geçerli bir *modus vivendi* yaptılar.

*İskandinavya:* Türkiye, İsveç ile yeni bir ticaret anlaşması imzaladı; Danimarka ile ticaret anlaşması yerine *modus vivendi* yaptı.

*Batık ülkeleri:* Türkiye, Finlandiya ile yeni bir Ticaret ve Denizcilik Anlaşması imzaladı; Letonya Ticaret anlaşmasını onayladı; Estonya ile yeni bir ticaret anlaşması yaptı.

*Latin Amerika:* Türkiye, Latin Amerika ülkeleriyle ilişkilerini güçlendiriyor; Uruguay ile dostluk anlaşması yaptı; Brezilya'da Elçilik açacağını açıkladı; Arjantin de Ankara'da bir maslahatgüzar ile temsil ediliyor.

*Uzak Doğu:* Türk-Japon ticaret görüşmeleri devam ediyor; Paris'teki Çin Büyükelçiliği başkâtibi Türkiye'yi ziyaret ettiyse de Türkiye, Mançurya yüzünden Rusya ile arası iyi olmayan Çin ile şimdilik diplomatik ilişki kurmuyor.

### III-İçişleri: .....

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1929'da Türkiye'nin iç durumu kasvetliydi. Kuraklık yüzünden iyi ürün alınmadı. Ama bütçe dengeli tutuldu. Borçlar ödendi. Sağlık ve eğitim politikasında ilerleme sağlandı. Türk Lirasının değer kaybetmesine karşı etkili önlem alındı. İstikrar sürdürüldü.

*Güvenlik:* Etkin biçimde iç güvenlik sağlanıyor. Ancak ekonomik kriz yüzünden ülkede küçük

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|    |       | caplı eskiyalık var; ufak tefek sını olayları da durmuyor.   |       |
|    |       | <i>Bursa komplosu:</i> Aralık 1928'de Bursa'da bir ayaklanma tertibi ortaya çıkarıldı. Sen tedbirleri alındı, 100 kadar insan tutuklandı. Ama tamımı sınıların adı olaya karışmadı. Bursa mahkemesi dört kişiye ölüm cezasına çarptırdı. İddianamede İngilizlerin de adı karıştırıldı. Temyiz kararı bozdu; sonunda tertibin elbaşı Cemal'e 18 yıl ağır hapis, diğer üç kişiye de dörder yıl hapis cezası verildi.   |       |
|    |       | <i>Kadriye Hamun:</i> Üzerinde bir tabanca ile Çankaya köşküne girmiş olan Kadriye Hamun adında biri, Cumhurbaşkanı'na suikast hazırlamakla suçlanarak yargılandı, ve fakat iddialar boş çıktı, sanık beraat ettirildi.  |       |
|    |       | <i>Hronika'nın yargılanması:</i> "Hronika" adlı Rum gazetesinin sahibi de "Türk milletine hakaret"le suçlanarak yargılandı ve beraat etti.   |       |
|    |       | <i>Eğitim ve Dil Reformu:</i> Yeni alfabeği yerleştirmek ve Türk dilini yabancı kelimelerden arındırmak için başlatılan kampanya ısrarla sürdürüldü. Yabancı okullara izin veriliyor. Okullarda Fransızca öğretimi saatleri azaltılıyor, İngilizce saatleri artırılıyor.   |       |
|    |       | <i>Yönetim:</i> Ülke yönetimini sağlam temellere oturtmak için gayret saf edildi, yeni yasalar çıkarıldı.  |       |
|    |       | <i>Azınlıklar:</i> Türkiye, Lozan antlaşmasının gayrimüslim azınlıklarla ilgili 37-44. maddelerinin lafzını değilse bile ruhunu ihmal ediyor. Bu yüzden 1929 yılında 2000-2500 kadar Ermeni Anadolu'dan göç etti. Anadolu'da hâlâ 10 bin kadar Ermeni bulunduğu sanılıyor. Azınlıklar İstanbul'da daha iyi durumdadır ve ticaretin önemli bir bölümünü kontrol etmektedir. İngiliz Büyükelçiliğinin yangından zarar gören Tatavla Rumlarına yardım etmesi Türk basınında tepki yarattı ve "Türkiye'nin içişlerine müdahale" gibi |       |



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görüldü. Büyük devletler Türkiye'deki azınlıklar konusunda bir girişimde bulunmuyor.

**Kürtler:** Hakkari yöresinde avaklanma olduğu yolunda söylentiler çıktıysa da doğu illeri sakindir. Türkiye dışında Süreyya Bedirhan, Kürtçülük kampanyası yürütüyor. Amerika'daki Ermenilerden ve Kürtlerden para toplayıp bir kitap yayınlamıştı.

**Toprak Reformu:** Köylüye toprak dağıtılması için geçen yıl bir proje hazırlandı. Başbakan, doğu illerinde 90 bin dönüm toprak dağıtıldığını açıkladı. Çiftçiye mali yardım konusu eksik kalıyor.

#### IV-Ticari ve Ekonomik İşleri: ..... 41

##### (1) Genel Olarak:

**Giriş:** İklim koşullarından başka Türk Lirasının değer kaybetmesi ve Türk gümrük tarifelerinin uygulanışı da ekonomiyi ve ticareti etkiliyor.

**Tarım:** Bu yıl iyi ürün beklentileri boşa çıktı. Kurutulmuş meyve tammim edici miktarda olmadı. Tütün, iklim koşulları yüzünden kalitesiz kaldı. Fındık hasadı ise hepten felâketli. Haşere ve seller mahsulü mahvetti. 20 bin ton fındık beklenirken ihraç edilebilecek kalitede sadece 3500 ton ürün elde edildi. Yün, haşhaş, pamuk ürünü ise beklenenden daha iyi oldu. Türkiye'nin refahı tarıma bağlıdır. Ana tarımı geliştirme konusunda hükümet başarısız kalıyor ve şimdi çiftçileri kooperatüfçiliğe özendirilmeye çalışıyor. Sulama işlerine de başlanıyor. Şu gerçeğin pek farkına varılmıyor: İyi ürün almak işin yarısıdır, ürünü pazarlamak da diğer yarısı. Üretici, dünya arz ve talebini hesaba katmadan ürün fiyatını belirlemeye çalışıyor. Madenlerin ancak pek azı işletiliyor; büyük maden yatakları el değmemiş olarak duruyor. Karadeniz yakınlarındaki orman alanları da işletilemiyor. Hayvan miktarı ancak yerli ihtiyacı karşılıyor, sadece biraz yün ihraç ediliyor.

**Endüstri:** Sanayi geliştirmek için bazı önlemler alındıysa da bunlar yetersiz kaldı. Ülkede mevcut

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61 sanayi şirketinden 35'i 1928 yılını zararla kapattı. Endüstride Türklerin tecrübesi yok. En önemli üç Türk şirketi iflas etti. Türkler hem tecrübesiz, hem sabırsız; çabucak zengin olmaya kalkışıp batıyorlar. 1928'de ithalat ihracatı 50 milyon lira aştı. Türkiye, uzun yıllardır gelirinden fazlasını harcayarak yaşıyor. Bunun böyle sonsuza kadar sürüp gidemeyeceğinin belirtileri görül-meye başladı.

**Kamu Maliyesi:** Türkiye, bütçesini dengeli tutuyor; borçlarını ödüyor, imzasına sadık kalıyor; Anadolu demiryollarına büyük harcamalar yapıyor ve ağır yük altına da giriyor, dolayısıyla on yılda vergileri iki kat artırmış bulunuyor. Askeri harcamalar bütçenin % 35 ilâ % 45 kadarını yutuyor. Hükümet, geniş demiryolu, karayolu, liman, sulama programlarına da büyük para ayırmak durumundadır.

**Demiryolları, Limanlar ve Sulama Çalışmaları:** İsmet Paşa hükümetinin demiryolları yapımına ilgisi azalmadı. Tersine, yeni demiryolları yapımına 95 milyon lira ayrıldı. Üç grup demiryolu yapımını sürdürüyor: (a) İsveç grubu, (b) Julius Berger (Alman) grubu ve (c) Türk Hükümeti, ki Samsun-Sivas ve Ankara-Kayseri-Sivas hatlarını yapmaktadır. (Ayrıntılı bilgiler). Mersin, Samsun ve Ereğli limanlarıyla Trabzon, Amasra ve İnebolu dal-gakıranları için 45 milyon TL ayrıldı. Bursa, İzmir, Adana, Tarsus, Ankara, Eskişehir, Bafra, Kastamonu, Samsun, Doğu Anadolu ve Trakya'da sulama projeleri için 100 milyon TL ayrıldı. 1929-30 bütçesinde, yapımı süren demiryolları için 28 milyon küsur ödenek görünüyor. 1931-32 bütçesinde demiryollarının yükü azalacak, çünkü Hükümetçe yapılmakta olan Kayseri-Sivas demiryolu bitmiş olacak; İsveç grubuna yapılan yıllık ödemeler de azalacak; Alman grubun yapmakta olduğu Kütahya-Balıkesir ve Ulukışla-Kayseri hatları da bitmiş olacak. Belediyeler de bahçeler, parklar, Gazi heykelleri için epeyce para harcıyorlar.

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Kısacası Türkiye, gelirlerinden daha fazlasını harcıyor.

*Ticaret:* Türkiye'de 1 Ekimde (1929) yürürlüğe giren yeni gümrük tarifeleri, İngiltere'nin bu ülkeye ihracatını olumsuz etkileyecektir. Buna bir de "Yerli malı" kullanma kampanyası ekleniyor ki halk, milliyetçilik duygularıyla Türk mallarına yöneliyor. 1927'de Türkiye'nin ithalatı 211.4 milyon, ihracatı ise 158.4 milyon TL oldu. Türkiye'nin ithalatında genel bir azalışa var. (Ayrıntılı istatistikler).

#### (2) Türk-İngiliz Ticaret Anlaşması.

Lozan Barış Antlaşmasına ekli Ticaret anlaşmasının süresi 6 Ağustos 1929'da sona erdi. Türkiye ile İngiltere arasında bir ticaret antlaşması imzalanması için 4 Haziran'dan beri müzakereler sürüyor. Bu arada bir *modus vivendi* imzalandı ve iki ülke birbirlerine en çok kayırlan ülke statüsü tanıdı.

#### (3) Osmanlı Borçları.

Bu eski sorun konusunda 1928 yılında bir anlaşmaya varıldı ve anlaşma 1 Aralık 1928'de TBMM tarafından onaylandı. Türkiye, 17 Ekim 1912'den önceki borçların % 62.25'ini, o tarihten sonraki-lerin % 76.54'ünü yıllık taksitlerle ödemeyi üstlendi. (Taksitlerin miktarları)

#### (4) İstanbul Belediyesi'nin 1909 Borcu.

İstanbul Belediyesi'nin 1909 yılından kalan borcunun ödenmesi konusunda da 1928 yılında anlaşmaya varıldı. Buna göre ödemeler 1929 yılında başlayıp 1962'de bitirilecek. (Yıllık taksit miktarları).

#### (5) İngiliz Dominyonları ile Ticari İlişkiler.

*Kanada:* Türkiye ile Kanada arasında ticaret fazla değilse de denge Türkiye'nin lehinedir. İki ülke arasında henüz bir ticaret anlaşması yapılamadı. Atina'da oturan Kanada ticaret temsilcisi İstanbul'u ziyaret etti.

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|     |        | <i>İrlanda ile Türkiye arasında Ticaret anlaşması yapılıncaıa kadar geçerli olacak bir modus vivendi imzalandı.</i>   |       |
|     |        | <b>V-Deniz Kuvvetleri:</b> .....  | 55    |
|     |        | "Yavuz" zırhlısı başarıyla onarıldı. İtalya'ya iki destroyer sipariş edildi. Bahriye giderleri 1930 için 6.186.354 lira olarak tahmin edildi. Eğitime önem verildi. "Mecidiye" ve "Hamidiye" kruvazörleri Akdeniz'e açıldı, Marmara'da manevra yapıldı. Alman Amiralı von Gager'nın sözleşmesi yenilenmeyecek. İngiliz Akdeniz donanması Türkiye'yi ziyaret etti. Amiral Sir Frederick Field Caimhurbaskanı tarafından kabul edildi. Alman "Emden", Amerikan "Raleigh" ve Fransız "Edgar Quinet" zırhlıları, İsveç okul gemisi "Oscar II" ve bir Sovyet filosu ve bir İtalyan filosu da İstanbul'a geldi. |       |
|     |        | <b>VI-Kara Kuvvetleri:</b> .....  | 56    |
|     |        | Genelkurmayın yabancı askeri ataşelerle ilişkileri ivileşti. Üç kolordunun kanıldığı iki manevra düzenlendi ve tamamen başarılı olduğu belirtildi. Türk ordusunun mevcudu biraz artırıldı. Doğudan batıya kuvvet kaydırıldı. Her kolordu şimdi iki tümenenden oluşuyor. Ordunun teknik donanımında bazı yenilikler yapıldı.   |       |
|     |        | <b>VII-Hava Kuvvetleri:</b> .....   | 57    |
|     |        | Kenan Paşa başkanlığında bir heyet ABD'yi, 10 havacı subay da İngiltere'yi ziyaret etti. İstanbul'u ziyaret eden İngiliz donanması hava gösterileri yaptı. Dört Smolik uçağı satın alındı. Bréguets uçakları sipariş edildi. Uçaklara monte edilecek makineli tüfekler sipariş edildi. Hava kuvvetleri bütçesinde önemli bir değişiklik yok.  |       |
|     |        | <b>VIII-İngiliz Talepleri:</b> .....  | 58    |
|     |        | İngiltere'nin Türkiye'den talepleri konusunda bazı ilerlemeler sağlandı. İstanbul Telefon Şirketi, İzmir-Aydın Demiryolu, Messrs. Armstrong Vickers anlaşmazlıkları konularında anlaşmaya varıldı. Bazı talepler konusunda ise bir ilerleme olmadı.   |       |

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|    |          | <b>IX-Çeşitli Konular:</b> .....  | 59    |
|    |          | Bu bölümde şu üç konu ele alınmıştır: İngilizlerin Türkiye’de uğradıkları zararlar, Uçusturucu ve alvon ve Boğazlar Komisyonu   |       |
| 4  | 8 Şubat  | <b>OSMANLI BORÇLARI KONSEYİ YÖNETİCİSİ S. C. WYATT’AN FREDERICH BUTLER’E YAZI GİZLİ</b> .....   | 60    |
|    |          | Karahan’ın Ankara ziyaretinde Türkiye’nin dış borçlarını ödemesi konusu da konuşulmuş. Bu düşünce Gazi’ye ve İsmet Paşa’ya nazip görülmüş. Mahmud Bey (? Soydan) bunu açıklarken tepkiyle karşılaşmıştır. Bu haberi yalındaması için Türkiye Maliye Bakanlığına telgraf çektim.   |       |
| 5  | 12 Şubat | <b>İNGİLTERE’NİN BERLİN BÜYÜKELCİSİ SIR H. RUMBOLD’DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI HENDERSON’A YAZI NO. 112. GİZLİ</b> .....   | 61    |
|    |          | Türkiye, bir Merkez Bankası kurmak için Almanya’ya başvurduysa da somut bir şey elde edemedi. Deutsche Bank bu konuya pek ilgi göstermiyor.   |       |
| 6  | 20 Şubat | <b>İNGİLTERE’NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELCİSİ G. CLERK’TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON’A YAZI NO. 61</b> .....  | 62    |
|    |          | Başkâtip Roberts’in Türk Ocakı’na ilişkin raporu ilşiktir. Türkiye’nin yeniden şekillenmesinde Türk Ocakı’nın rolünü abartmak zordur. Türk Ocakı, tabii, Türkiye dışındaki akrabalarıyla da ilgileniyor. Ocak ayrıca Türkiye’de eğitimin ve yeni alfabenin yaygınlaştırılmasına da hizmet ediyor.   |       |
| Ek | 14 Şubat | <b>ROBERTS’İN TÜRK OCAĞI HAKKINDAKİ RAPORU</b> .....  | 64    |
|    |          | Randevu alarak yeni Türk Ocakı binasını ziyaret ettik. Hamdullah Suphi Bey bize Ocakın tarihçesini anlattı. Türk Ocakı binası Minar Hikmet Bey tarafından yeni Türk stilinde tasarlanmış, 1.200.000 liraya mal olmuş. Binaun 640 kişilik bir tiyatro salonu, 40 kişilik bir sahnesi var. 23 Nisan’da açılışı yapılacak. Dekorasyonunda çiçekli lak Türk motifleri kullanılmış, Arap kaligrafisi |       |

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|    |          | <p>birakılmış. Giriş holünün sağında Gazi'nin Türk Gençliği'ne seslenişi yazılmış, sol tarafına da Resit Paşa, Mithat Paşa gibi ıslahatçıların isimleri yazılacakmış. Namık Kemal'in, Ziya Gökalp'ın büstleri için de yer ayrılmış. Karahan'ın Gazi'ye sunduğu ve Türk Ocağı'na verilen Semerkand tablosunu göremedik. Binada bir "Türk Odası", bir Okuma Odası yabancı konuklar için düşünülmüş birçok yatak odası, birçok banyo var. Binada hızla büyüyen bir fotoğraf koleksiyonu, bir kütüphane, bir matbaa ve bir cilt odası var. Türk Ocağı hareketi 1912'de bir grup tip öğrencisi tarafından başlatılmış ve ondan sonra gelişmiş. Ocağın başlıca üç amacı var; (a) Türk kadınına özgürlüğe kavuşturmak, (b) Milli duyguyu geliştirmek ve (c) Türk toplumunu Batılaştırmak. Bu amaçları, tutucu hocalar, İttihatçılar ve Saray tarafından kuşku ve tepkiyle karşılanmış. Halen Ocağın yıllık bütçesi 1,5 milyon TL. Merkezin yıllık bütçesi 286 bin liradır. Türk ocağının 256 şubesi ve 32 bin üyesi var. Türkiye dışında Türk(Tatar) toplumları arasında da benzer hareketler yaygınlaşıyor. Ocak okullar açıyor, çeşitli kurslar veriyor, temsiller, konserler düzenliyor, konferanslar veriyor. "Türk Yurdu" dergisini çıkarıyor.</p> |       |
| 7  | 25 Şubat | <p>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A TEL NO. 7 .....</p> <p>Amanullah (Han) dün İstanbul'a geldi. Ankara'da Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından Çiftlik istasyonunda karşılandı. Belki ailesini de getirip İstanbul'da kalmak isteyecektir.</p>   | 68    |
| 8  | 26 Mart  | <p>ANKARA'DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHATGÜZARI EDMONDS'TAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 101 .....</p> <p>Macaristan Dışişleri Bakanı M. Valko ve eşi Ankara'ya yaptığı üç günlük ziyaretini bugün tamamladı. M. Valko, Gazi ile iki saat görüştü. Türk ve Macar Dışişleri Bakanları iki milletin akra-</p>   | 69    |



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| 9   | 8 Nisan  | bağışından söz ettiler. Ziyaret bir nezaket gezisi niteliğindeydi.<br>ANKARA'DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHATGÜZARI EDMONDS'TAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI HENDERSON'A YAZI. GİZLİ. NO. 113.....   | 70    |
| 10  | 9 Nisan  | Afgan Büyükelçisi Gulam Nebi Han 6 Nisanda güven mektubunu sundu. Büyükelçi konuşmasında Türkiye'den "dost ve kardeş" diye söz ederken Gazi, Afganistan'ı sadece "dost" olarak andı.<br>ANKARA'DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHATGÜZARI EDMONDS'TAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI HENDERSON'A YAZI. GİZLİ. NO. 116.....   | 70    |
| 11  | 30 Nisan | TBMM belediyeler yasasını kabul etti. İstanbul Valisi artık Belediye Başkanı da oluyor. Vilayet ve belediye meclisleri birleşiyor. İstanbul, Ankara ve diğer bazı şehirlerin belediye başkanlarını hükümet atayacak. Belediye meclisi seçimlerine kadınlar da katılacak ve ilk defa kadınlar oy kullanacak. Aynı zamanda kadınlar Halk Partisi üyeliğine kabul edilmeye başlandı. Afet Hanım Ankara Türk Ocağı'nda, Gazi'nin huzurunda bir konuşma yaptı ve ulusal egemenlik fikri kabul edilince kadınların oy hakkının engellenemeyeceğini söyledi. Türk kadını son on yılda muazzam sosyal ilerleme gösterdi ve kendisine tanınan haklara layık olabilir.<br>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI. GİZLİ. NO. 141..... | 72    |
|     |          | Bu yıl 23 Nisanda yalnız "Çocuk Günü" kutlanmadı, aynı zamanda Türk Ocağı'nın yeni binası da resmen açıldı. 600 kadar çocuk, bando eşliğinde, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı ve Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu temsilcileriyle birlikte Çankaya'ya çıkarken, şöyle pankartlar da taşıdı: "Anne Sütü", "Her Gün Banyo", "Aile Doktoru", "Daha Çok Oyun Alanı", "Bizi Pislikten Kurtarın", "Bir Bebek, Bir Yatak", "Öğleden sonra Türk Ocağı binasının açılışı yapıldı. Açılışa Gazi ve İsmet Paşa bulunmadı. Hamdullah Suphi sık sık alkışlanan   |       |

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|     |            | Bu konusuna yapılmış Baskent Ankara'nın gelişmesine, Türkiye'nin Batılmasına parmak basan Türk Ocakları "Bevaz" Ruslar arasında huzursuzluk yaratırmış.  |       |
| 12  | 2 Haziran  | ANKARA'DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHAHGÜZARI EDMONDS'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 185 .....   | 75    |
|     |            | Ankara'daki Romen elçisinin, bütçe gerekçesiyle geri çekilerek yerine maslahatgüzar bırakılması kararı Türk hükümetinde hoşnutsuzluk yaratmıştı. Romen Hükümeti şimdi kararını değiştirerek Ankara'ya M. Carp'ı elçi olarak atadı. Yeni Romen elçisi 29 Mayıs'ta güven mektubunu Cumhurbaşkanına sundu.  |       |
| 11  | -          | ROMEN ELCİSİ M. CARP'IN GÜVEN MEKTUBU'NU SUNMASI .....   | 76    |
|     |            | Güven mektubunu sunarken Romen elçisinin ve Türkiye Cumhurbaşkanının yaptıkları konuşmaların metinleri.  |       |
| 13  | 17 Haziran | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 231 .....   | 77    |
|     |            | Adalet Bakanı Mahmut Esat Bey'in (Bozkurt) Avukat Haydar Rifat aleyhinde açtığı dava. Avukat, bakanı Gazi'ye şikayet etmiş, onu mahkemelere müdahale etmekle ve yargıçlara baskı yapmakla suçlamıştır. Epeyce ilgi uyandıran bu dava ile aslında Türk adaletinin yargılanacağı, bakanın görevden alınacağı yolunda spekülasyonlar yapıldı. Ama sonunda Haydar Rifat 2 yıl hapis ve 470 lira para cezasına çarptırıldı. Bu dava Türk adaletinin düzeyini de göstermiş oldu. |       |
| 11  | 23 Haziran | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 242 .....   | 78    |
|     |            | TBMM 17 Haziranda tatile girdi. Bu dönemdeki yasama çalışmaları yoğun olmadı. Meclis, 11 ticaret anlaşmasını ve Türk-Yunan anlaşmasını onayladı, Merkez Bankası yasasını kabul etti. Dışişleri   |       |

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|    |           | Bakan kısa bir konuşma yaptı. Türkiye'nin politika kısmının barış amacı güttüğünü belirtti. Bakan, herhalde Avrupa Federasyonu önerisinde Türkiye'ye yer verilmemiş olmasını düşünerek, "Türkiye'nin temsil edilmediği bir yerde alınacak kararları tanımayacağını" söyledi. Meclis, Başbakanın konuşmasıyla kapandı. İsmet Paşa konuşmasında yalnız ekonomi üzerinde durdu. Türkiye ekonomisi birkaç ay öncesine göre daha iyi durumdadır. İsmet Paşa bu alanda başarılı olmuş ve Başbakanlıktan düşecek zannedilirken durumunu daha da güçlendirmiştir. Ama 1931 yazında yapılacak milletvekili seçimlerine kadar önemli değişiklikler olabilir. Başbakanlık sırası Fethi Bey'e, Şükrü Kaya ya veya bir başkasına gelebilir. Şükrü Kaya çok güçlenmiştir ve İsmet Paşa'nın olası halefi gibi görülmektedir. |       |
| 15 | 24 Temmuz | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELCİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİSLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 287.....   | 81    |
|    |           | Dışişleri Bakanı ile ailelerle bir görüşme yaptım. Tevfik Rüştü, Kürt problemi halledildiğine göre şimdi Ağrı'nın temizlenmesine, İran sınırının düzeltilmesine sıra geldiğini söyledi. Mısır'daki durumu sordu. İngiltere'nin, Mısır'ın işlerine karışmayacağını, yalnız yabancıların korunmasını isteyeceğini söyledim. Tevfik Rüştü, Avrupa Birliği fikrine karşı olduğunu, çünkü Birleşik Avrupa Devletleri kurulursa bunun hem Amerika hem de Rusya ve Türkiye aleyhinde bir politika izleyeceğini söyledi.  |       |
| 16 | 29 Temmuz | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELCİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİSLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 288.....   | 82    |
|    |           | Türkiye'nin Tahran Büyükelçisi Memduh Şevket Bey (Esandal) istifa etti, yerine Hüseyin Bey (Gerede) atandı. Hüseyin Bey, Gazi'nin eski arkadaşlarından biridir. Memduh Şevket'in görevden alınması Türk-İran sınırında yaşanan son  |       |

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|    |            | olaylarla doğrudan ilgilidir. Yalova'da Gazi tarafından kabul edilen Husrev Bevin ilk isi, 1913 sınırını deęistirmek olacaktır. Türkiye, İran la iliskilere büyük önem vermektedir.   |       |
| 17 | 7 Ağustos  | İNGİLTERE'NİN SOFYA ELÇİSİ WATERLOW DAN DİŞİSLERİ BAKANİ HENDERSON'A YAZI. NO. 260. GİZLİ   | 83    |
|    |            | Davetli olarak Bulgaristan'ı ziyaret eden Türk gazetecilerine Mustafa Kemal'in verdiği demeç, Bulgar basınında büyük hoşnuditik yarattı.  |       |
| 18 | 7 Ağustos  | İSTANBUL DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHATGÜZARI HELM'EN DİŞİSLERİ BAKANİ HENDERSON'A YAZI. NO. 305. GİZLİ  | 84    |
|    |            | Bulgaristan'a giden Hakkı Tarık Bey'e (Us) verdiği demeçte Gazi, Sofya'da atasemiliter olarak bulunduęu günden beri Bulgarlar hakkında pek dostça duygular beslediğini belirtti. Bulgar gazetesi <i>Mir</i> ise Türkiye'deki Bulgarların kötü durumunda olduklarını yazmış ve Bulgar elçilięi de yazılanları doğrulamıştır. Türkiye'de toplam 2000 Bulgar vardır. |       |
| 19 | 10 Ağustos | İSTANBUL DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHATGÜZARI HELM'DEN DİŞİSLERİ BAKANİ HENDERSON'A TEL. NO. 69  | 86    |
|    |            | Paris Büyükelçisi Fethi Bey (Okyar) yeni bir sivası parti kurmak için istifa etti. Partinin programında tekellerin kaldırılması, basın ve ticaret özgürlüğü, yabancı sermayeye kolaylık gibi maddeler yer alacak. Şimdilik bir Hükümet krizi beklenmiyor.   |       |
| 20 | 10 Ağustos | İSTANBUL DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHATGÜZARI HELM'DEN DİŞİSLERİ BAKANİ HENDERSON'A TEL. NO. 70  | 86    |
|    |            | İlgi: No. 19  |       |
|    |            | Yeni partinin hedefi İsmet Paşa'yı tasfiye etmek olacak. Halk Partili 40-50 kişi yeni partiye katılacak.  |       |

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| 21  | 12 Ağustos | İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHAHGÜZARI<br>HELM'DEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI HENDERSON'A<br>YAZI, NO. 312.....   | 87    |
|     |            | Fethi Bey'in (Okyar) kurmakta olduğu Serbest<br>Fırka hakkında haberler ve değerlendirme. Bir<br>süredir hükümetin iyi gitmediği, İsmet Paşa'nın<br>yerine Fethi Beyin veya Sükrü Kaya'nın geçebile-<br>ceği söylentileri dolayıyordu. Fethi Bey, hükümeti<br>eleştirirken, laik ve cumhuriyetçi bir muhalefet<br>partisi kurmak gereğini de belirtmiştir. Fethi<br>Beyin Gazi'ye yazdığı mektup ile Gazi'nin buna<br>cevabı ilişktedir. Yalova'da Fethi Bey, eleştirilerini<br>Maliye ve Adalet Bakanları ve onların politikaları<br>üzerine yoğunlaştırmış. İsmet Paşa, iki bakanı kuy-<br>vetle savunmuş. Sonunda bir muhalefet partisi<br>kurulması şekillenmiştir. Gazi, Fethi Bey'den yana<br>görünüyor. Ama seçimlerden önce bir Hükümet<br>değişikliği beklenmediği söyleniyor. |       |
| Ek  | 12 Ağustos | "REPUBLIQUE" (CUMHURİYET) GAZETESİ<br>KESİTİ .....  | 90    |
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|     |            | Ülkemizde ekonomik ve mali kriz var. Tek partili<br>sistem ve hükümetin politikası rahatsızlık ya-<br>ratıyor. Gerçek cumhuriyetçi ve laik yeni bir parti<br>ile politik mücadeleye girmek arzusundayım. Bu<br>niyetimin Zatı Devletleri tarafından nasıl karşı-<br>lanacağını öğrenmek ihtiyacı duyuyorum.   |       |
|     |            | Mustafa Kemal'den Fethi Bey'e Mektup. ....  | 91    |
|     |            | Mektubunuzu dikkatle okudum. Hükümetin faali-<br>yetleriyle ilgili görüşlerinize zamanı gelince<br>hükümet cevap verir. "Laik Cumhuriyet esasında<br>beraberiz...Büyük Mecliste aynı temele istinat<br>eden yeni bir fırkanın faaliyete geçerek millet<br>işlerini serbest münakaşa etmesini Cumhuriyetin<br>esaslarından sayarım.". Görüşlerinizi gerçekleştiri-<br>mek için politikaya girmeniz pek yerinde olur.   |       |

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| 22 | 11 Ağustos | İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHAHGÜZARI<br>HELM DEN DİŞİSLERİ BAKANİ HENDERSON A<br>YAZI NO. 317.....  | 92    |
|    |            | Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası kuruldu. Partinin Ge-<br>nel Sekreteri Nuri Bey (Conker) oldu, ki Gazi'nin<br>yakın arkadaşlarıdır. Yayınlanan parti programı iç so-<br>rutlara ağırlık veriyor, kadınlara oy hakkı vermeyi<br>vaad ediyor. Yeni Parti iktidara gelirse Milletler<br>Cemiyeti ile daha yakın işbirliği yapacak. Ankara,<br>bu yeni partinin arkasında Gazi'nin bulunduğu<br>kavimseladur ve seçimlerden önce bir hükümet<br>değişikliği bekleniyor. Fetih Bey in iktidara gel-<br>mesi, İtalyan ve Rus etkisi için bir darbe olacak.<br>Fransa ise kazançlı çıkacak. Dün akşam gördüğüm<br>Tevfik Rıfka Bey yeni parti konusunda ağızını<br>açmak istemiyordu. |       |
| Ek | 13 Ağustos | "MİLLİYET" GAZETESİ KESİTİ.....   | 93    |
|    |            | Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası Programı.....  | 93    |
|    |            | Vergiler azaltılacak. Parti işlerinde tekele son ver-<br>lecek. Tarım üretimi korunacak. İhraç ürün-<br>lerimize pazar bulunacak. Sanayi özendirilecek.<br>Bütün yük tek bir kuşağın omuzlarına yüklenme-<br>yecek. Kadınlara oy hakkı verilecek. 11 maddelik<br>bir program. (Fransızca).  |       |
| 23 | 21 Ağustos | İNGİLTERE'NİN SOPYA ELÇİSİ WATERLOW<br>DAN DİŞİSLERİ BAKANİ HENDERSON'A YAZI<br>NO. 276. GİZLİ.....   | 95    |
|    |            | Türk gazetecilerin Bulgaristan'a ziyareti dolayısıyla<br>dile getirilen dostluk mesajları tahmin edildenden<br>daha içerikli ve daha anlamlı görünüyor. Fahri<br>Rıfka (Atay) başkanlığındaki 5 kişilik heyet<br>sorumlu ve ciddi kimselerden oluşuyor. Heyetin<br>sözcüsü Fahri Rıfka'nın demeçleri doğrudan<br>Gazi'nin görüşlerini yansıtır. Türk ve Bulgar<br>gazetecileri arasında bilgi ve makale değişimini,<br>karşılıklı ziyaretleri öngören bir anlaşma imza-<br>landı ve ziyaret politik önem kazandı. Doğudaki<br>komşularıyla zorluklar yaşayan Türkiye batıya<br>doğru durumunu güçlendiriyor. Bulgarların Türk   |       |



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|    |         | gazetecilerini Yunan gazetecilerle değil de Polonyalı gazetecileri buluşturması ise bir hata olmuştur. Falih Rıfka dönüşünde, "Bulgaristan'da cahil muftuların etkisi ve baskısıyla genç Türk kitlelerinin çağdaş hareketin dışında kalması bizi kaygılandıran tek şey oldu" demistir. Bu demek Bulgar basınında bazı eleştirilere neden oldu.  |       |
| 24 | 3 Eylül | İNGİLTERE'NİN TAHİRAN ELÇİSİ R. CLIVE'DEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 431.....  | 97    |
|    |         | Türkiye Büyükelçisi Memduh Şevket Bey veda edip 31 Ağustos'ta Tahran'dan ayrıldı. İstifa nedenini kendisinden öğrenmeye çalışım. İstanbul ve Ankara basınında yazılanlar yanlış değilse bile epeyce renkli olduğunu ima etti. Kontrolün sağlanabilmesi için Küçük Ağrı dağınmı doğu tarafında sınırın Türkiye lehine değişmesi gereküğünü söyledi. Geri dönüşünden memnun. İlerde Moskova'ya büyükelçi atanmayı arzu ediyor, sanırım. Kendisi Rus sempatisandır. Teymurtaş'a Kürt olaylarını sordum. Bu konuda abartılı haberlerden İsmet Paşa'yı sorumlu tuttu. Gazi'nin tutumunu ise anlayamadığım, Tevfik Rüstü Beyi ise ciddiye almadığım söyledi. Memduh Şevket Beyin ise Türk Genelkurmayı ile ters düştüğünü ileri sürdü. Türkiye, İran ve Irak'ın Kürt politikalarını temelde birbirinden farklı olduğunu söyledi. İngilizlerin Irak'taki Kürt politikasının ise sonunda Türkiye ve İran Kürtlerini etkileyebileceğini savundu. Sınır düzelmesi konusunda ise şimdilik bir şey söylemeyeceğini belirtmekle beraber, İran Genelkurmayı'nın buna karşı olduğunu bildirdi. |       |
| 25 | 4 Eylül | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 350.....  | 99    |
|    |         | Irak Başbakanı Nuri Said Paşa Türkiye'den geçti. Gazi ve İsmet Paşa ile görüşmesinden önce kendi-   |       |

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|     |          | siyle İstanbul'da görüştüm. Özetle şunları söyledi: 'Musul petrolleri konusundaki Türk notası ikna edici değil. Türkiye, Irak'ın Kürt politikasından memnundur; Irak'la ticaret anlaşmasını tezelden tamamlamak istiyor. Türkler, İngiltere'nin Türkiye politikasını soruyor....' Dışişleri Bakanı Teyfik Rüşti Bey, Nuri Said Paşa'nın ziyaretinden memnunun görünüyor, fakat Musul petrollerinin işletilmesindeki gecikmesi yüzünden Türkiye'nin % 10'luk payının da gecikmesinden rahatsız.   |       |
| 26  | 10 Eylül | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 356.....   | 102   |
|     |          | İzinden döndüğünden beri Fethi Bey'in başlatdığı muhalefet hareketinin gerçek anlamını ve önemini anlamaya çalışıyorum. Gazi bir süredir İsmet Paşa'nın politikasından hoşnut değildi. Fethi Bey, görünüşte tatil için, aslında ise Başbakan olarak atanmak umuduyla Türkiye'ye geldi. Ama Gazi, sorunların birikmiş olduğu bir sırada İsmet Paşa'yı aniden görevden almayı uygun bulmadı. İsmet Paşa da Türk devletinin anayasal esası üzerinde ısrar etmektedir. Bazıları, Gazi ile İsmet Paşa arasında bir çarpışma olursa ikisinden birinin (belki de Gazi'nin) devrilebileceğini de düşünüyor. Gazi ise Pilsudski gibi Cumhurbaşkanı'ndan politika sahnesine inmiyor. "Resmî" muhalefetin yaratılması diğer iki faktörden kaynaklanmıştır ki: biri Halk Partisi içindeki muhalefeti meşru yola kanallı etmek, diğeri de Gazi'den sonrasını hesaba katmak düşüncesidir. İsmet Paşa ise ancak anayasaya uyularak yerini Fethi Bey'e bırakabileceğini belirmiştir. Yani Fethi Bey önce Meclise girmeli, kendi muhalefet partisini kurmalı ve seçmenlerin çoğunun oylarını almalıydı. Sonuç, Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası'nın kurulması olmuştur. Bu partinin geleceği konusunda kehanette bulunmak zordur. İzmir olayları böyle bir partiye yer olduğunu göstermiştir. Ama bu parti özürü doğmuştur. Şimdi Fethi Beyin |       |

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|    |          | kendisi de önce Büyükelçilikten ayrılıp Meclis'e girmesinin, ondan sonra parti kurmasının daha uygun olacağını düşünüyormuş. Kendisi yardımcılarını seçmekte de pek şanslı olamamıştır. Lövante'ler de kendi emelleri için Fethi Beyi istismar etmekte gecikmediler. Ayrıca Fethi Bey, Fransa'ya pek sadık biri olarak görülüyor. Açıkça söylenmeyen bir şey daha var: Halk Partili milletvekilleri ayrıcalıklarını kolay kolay terk etmeyeceklerdir. Gazi, parti kasası için Fethi Bey'e 150 bin lira vermiş, ama bu da yetmeyecektir. Yine de Fethi Bey'in mektubu modern Türk tarihinde bir yer tutacaktır. Eleştiri ve konuşma özgürlüğü ilkeleri vurgulanmıştır. |       |
| 27 | 10 Eylül | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİSLERİ BAKANI HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 357.....  | 106   |
|    |          | Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası ile ilgili gelişmeler hakkında tahmin yürütmek pek zor. Çünkü üç liderin (Gazi, İsmet Paşa ve Fethi Bey'in) gerçek planları ve niyetleri bilinmiyor. İzmir olayları üzerine Yunus Nadi, Gazi'ye bir açık mektup yayınlavarak tutumunu açıklamasını istedi, Gazi hemen cevap verdi ama cevabı tatmin edici değil ve Türkiye'de siyasal durum hâlâ belirsiz.   |       |
| 28 | 14 Eylül | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİSLERİ BAKANI HENDERSON'A TEL NO. 86.....  | 107   |
|    |          | Cumhurbaşkanı Meclisi olağanüstü toplantıya çağırdı. Anlaşılan Türk lirasının aşırı değerlendirilmesi görülecek. Hükümet, 1 TL=1.030 Sterlin paritesini korumak istiyor.  |       |
| 29 | 15 Eylül | "THE TIMES" GAZETESİ KESİTİ .....   | 107   |
|    |          | Türk Maliyesi. Millet Meclisi Özel Oturuma Çağırıldı .....  | 107   |
|    |          | İhracatın fazla artışı dolayısıyla Türk lirasının aşırı değer kazanması üzerine Millet Meclisi derhal olağanüstü toplantıya çağırıldı. Liranın aşırı değerlendirilmesi ihracatı, dolayısıyla Türk maliyesini  |       |

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|    |          | ve ekonomisini olumsuz etkileyecek. İki haber alan çevreler bu çağrının bir politik manevra olduğunu, hükümete yöneltilen eleştirilere Meclis'te cevap verileceğini söylüyorlar.   |       |
| 30 | 21 Eylül | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI HENDERSON'A TEL NO. 92.....   | 108   |
|    |          | İsmet Paşa varım istifa edecek ve yeniden hükümeti kurmakla görevlendirilecek.   |       |
| 31 | 24 Eylül | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 369.....   | 108   |
|    |          | Mr. Helm'in Ankara'ya ilişkin raporu ilişktedir. İsmet Paşa Meclis'te beklenen konuşmasını henüz yapmadı.  |       |
| Ek | 23 Eylül | MEMORANDUM; MR HELM'İN ANKARA RAPORU.....  | 109   |
|    |          | Ankara'ya son ziyaretinde birçok milletvekiliyle görüştüm. Edindiğim ilk izlenime göre, Fethi Bey'in partisi bitmiştir. İzmir olayları hem Hükümet, hem de Gazi için sürpriz olmuştur. Hükümet, karışıklıktan Fethi Bey'i değil, komünistleri sorumlu tutuyor. Gazi, Fethi Beyi harcayıp İsmet Paşa ile barış yapmayı uygun görmüştür. Karşılığında İsmet Paşa da birkaç bakanı harcayacaktır. Fethi Bey'in çöküşüne çevresindeki pek makbul olmayan kişiler sebep olmuştur. Reşit Galip gibi duruş kişiler ise onun partisinden istifa etmişlerdir. İsmet Paşa Meclis'te pek sakin tonda iki kısa konuşma yaptı. Halk Partisi Genel Sekreteri Salvet Bey istifa etti. Yerine muhtemelen Recep Bey (Peker) geçecek. Kabinede birkaç bakan değişecek. |       |
| 32 | 26 Eylül | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI HENDERSON'A TEL NO. 100.....  | 109   |
|    |          | İsmet Paşa dün akşam istifa etti.  |       |

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| 33 | 1 Ekim | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELCİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİSLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 378.....   | 112   |
|    |        | 25 Eylül'de istifa eden İsmet Paşa yeni hükümeti kurdu. Yeni kabinede dört değişiklik var: Yusuf Kemal Bey (Tengirsek) Adalet Bakanı, Zekâi Bey (Apaydın) Bayındırlık Bakanı, Mustafa Şeref Bey Ekonomi Bakanı ve Esat Bey Milli Eğitim Bakanı oldu. Değişiklikler Hükümeti güçlendirdi. Bakan değişiklikleri muhalefetin hükümete yönelttiği eleştirileri gidermeyi amaçlıyor. (Hükümetin tam listesi).  |       |
| Ek |        | (YENİ BAKANLARLA İLGİLİ) BİYOGRAFİK NOTLAR.....   | 113   |
|    |        | Millî Eğitim Bakanı Esat Bey'in, Bayındırlık Bakanı Zekâi Bey'in (Apaydın) ve Ekonomi Bakanı Mustafa Şeref Bey'in özgeçmişleri. (Yusuf Kemal Bey'in özgeçmişi daha önce verilmiş.)  |       |
| 34 | 8 Ekim | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELCİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİSLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 386.....   | 115   |
|    |        | TBMM'nin olağanüstü toplantısı hakkında Büyükelçilik Müsteşarı Mr. Morgan'ın raporu ilâkatedir. Onun görüşlerine katılıyorum.   |       |
| Ek | 4 Ekim | MUHTİRA (TBMM OLAĞANÜSTÜ TOPLANTISI HAKKINDA RAPOR).....  | 115   |
|    |        | TBMM, Türk parasının değerinin korunması yasasını görüşmek üzere toplandı. Toplantıya muhalefet de katıldı. Kapanış oturumunda İsmet Paşa ile Fetih Bey ilk defa konuştular. Bu oturumu Gazi de izledi ve konuşmalardan hoşnut kaldıys göründü. Meclis, Hükümete güven oyu verdi. Fetih Bey, eleştirdiği bakanların değiştirildiklerini görmekten memnundu. Konuşmasında Osmanlı borçlarının ödenmesine de değindi. İsmet Paşa, millî savunmaya öncelik vereceğini, borçları savunmadan sonra düşüneceğini söyledi. |       |

| No. | Tarîhi  | Kimden Kime Yazıldığı ve Özü   | Sayfa |
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| 35  | 8 Ekim  | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİSLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 387.....  | 117   |
|     |         | Irak Yüksek Komiseri Sir Francis Humphrys, Bağdat'a giderken Türkiye'ye geldi. Ankara'da Cumhurbaşkanını, Başbakan ve Dışişleri Bakan Vekili ile görüşti. Frekâlâle iyi izlenim bıraktı. Gazî ile görüşme dostluk ve samimiyet havası içinde geçti. Dışişlerinin yemeğine ben de bir yemekle karşılık verdim ve yemeğe Başbakan da geldi. Türk makamlarıyla görüşmelerde Kurt sorunu da ele alındı.  |       |
| 36  | 29 Ekim | İNGİLTERE'NİN ATİNA ELCİSİ RAMSAY'DEN DİŞİSLERİ BAKANI HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 559.....   | 118   |
|     |         | Yunan Başbakanı ve Dışişleri Bakanının Ankara'ya ziyareti Yunan basınına olumlu karşılandı. Yalnız kralcı gazeteler, kasıtlı olarak, bu ziyaretin tarihi önemini küçümsüyor. Venizelos'un Türklerle uzlaşması, onun karşıtarınca istismar ediliyor. Diğer çevrelerde ziyaretin yararları konusunda kuşku var. Türk-Yunan ilişkilerinde başlayan bu yeni dönem acaba kırılgan mıdır, yalnız Mustafa Kemal ile Venizelos'un şahıslarına mı bağlıdır soruları aklı geliyor. |       |
| 37  | 1 Kasım | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİSLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 416.....  | 120   |
|     |         | Ankara'da yeni Irak elçisi Naci Şeyket Bey güven mektubunu sundu.  |       |
| 38  | 1 Kasım | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİSLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 418.....  | 120   |
|     |         | Venizelos ve beraberindeki heyet, "Selle" kruvazörü ile 26 Ekinde Türk sularına geldi ve Haydarpaşa'da top atışlarıyla karşılandı. Heyet ertesi sabah Ankara'da Başbakan ve Dışişleri Bakanı tarafından karşılandı. Venizelos ve Dışişleri Bakanı Mikhalakopoulos, Cumhurbaşkanını tarafından ka-  |       |



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|     |         | bul edildi. Türk Dışişleri Bakanının da hazır bulunduğunu görüşme yaklaşık iki saat sürmüştü ve pek samimi bir havada geçmiştir. İsmet Paşa ve eşi akşam Ankara Palas'ta yemek verirdi. Yemek konuşmasında Venizelos, iki ülkenin kesin toprak <i>status quo</i> sunum Lozan Antlaşmasıyla çözülmüş olduğunu vurguladı ve dostça konuşma hoşnuditlik yarattı. Yemeği dâhil davet izledi. Ertesi gün konuk heyet Türk Ocağı, "Himaye-i Etfal" (Çocuk Esirgeme) gibi millî kuruluşları gezdi. Akşam Ankara Palas'ta Macar Başbakan oturuma yemek verildi. 29 Ekim Türkiye'nin Milli gününde iki konuk başbakan da hazır bulundu. Konuşmalar Türk Ocağı binasında verilen dâhil akşam yemeğiyle noktalandı ki, buna Gazi ve Madam Venizelos da katıldı. 30 Ekim Perşembe günü sı antlaşmalar imzalandı: 1) Dostluk, Tarafsızlık ve Hakem Antlaşması, 2) Ticaret ve Denizcilik Antlaşması ki ikamet ve konsolosluk maddelerini içermektedir, 3) Deniz kuvvetlerinin silahlanmasını sınırlandırılmasına ilişkin bir protokol. Yunan Elçisi tarafından verilen yemekte İsmet Paşa, "Kahraman ve asil Yunan milleti için kadehini kaldırıyorum" dedi. Venizelos ve heyeti 31 Ekim günü Ankara'dan ayrıldı. Ertesi gün Venizelos Fener Rum Patriğini, Ayasofya'yı ziyaret, Rum cemaati ileri gelenlerini kabul edip Türkiye'den ayrıldı. |       |
| 39  | 4 Kasım | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELCİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 422   | 122   |
|     |         | TBMM 1 Kasım'da açıldı. Gazi'nin Sivas demiryolunun açılışıyla ilgili sözleri çok alkışlandı. Fethi Bey ise hükümetin demiryolu politikasını eleştiriyordu. İsmet Paşa'nın durumu güçlü.   |       |
| 40  | 4 Kasım | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELCİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 423   | 123   |
|     |         | Türk Milli Günü, Yunan ve Macar Başbakanlarının huzuruyla kutlandı. Gazi'nin kordiplomatığı kabulünü askerlerin ve izcilerin resmi geçidi izledi.  |       |

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| 11 | 4 Kasım  | Aksam misyon seffetine verilen yemince, Gazi de kauldi ve yeminci yıllık hadı izledi.<br>İNGİLTERE'NİN TAHRAN ELCİSİ PARR DAN<br>DİŞİSLERİ BAKANİ A. HENDERSON'A YAZI<br>NO. 532.....  | 124   |
| 12 | 13 Kasım | Türkiye'nin yeni Büyükelçisi Husrev Bey, kısa bir süre önce Tahran gazetesi " <i>Siterchi Jahân</i> " a bir demec vererek Türk-Iran sınırında düzeltme yapılması konusundan bahsetti. Büyükelçi, bir soru üzerine, Türklerin ve İranlıların Altay asıllı olduklarını da söyledi.<br>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G.<br>CLERK TEN DİŞİSLERİ BAKANİ A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 433.....   | 125   |
| 13 | 19 Kasım | Belediye seçimlerinde Halk Partisi zafer kazandıysa da hükümet milletin güvenini kaybetmiş görünmüyor. Gazi halkın hoşnutsuzluğunun farkında olduğu için Fethi Bey'e bir muhalefet partisi kurdurmuştu. Halk İsmet Paşa'nın vaatlerinden tatmin olmuş değildir. Muhalefetle milli blok, hatta koalisyon kurulacağı yolunda söylentiler var. Fethi Bey'in, belediye seçimlerindeki usulsüzlük hakkında hükumete gensoru yöneteceği de söyleniyor. Gazi'nin Fethi Bey'le iki saat görüşmüş olduğu da haber veriliyor. Gazi, halkın hoşnutsuzluğunu gidermek için çalışıyor ve yakında yurt gezine çıkacak.<br>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G.<br>CLERK TEN DİŞİSLERİ BAKANİ A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 439..... | 127   |
|    |          | Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası lideri Fethi Bey, partisini fesh ettiğini açıkladı. Bu açıklama, hükümet için verilen gensorunun Mecliste on saat tartışılmasını ardından geldi. Fethi Bey, dört saat boyunca hükumeti ve belediye seçimlerindeki usulsüzlükleri eleştirdi. İçişleri Bakanı ve hükümet yanlısı mebuslar da Serbest Fırka'yı eleştirip suçladılar. Ali Bey (Cetinkaya), Fethi Bey'in ilk Başbakanlığı sırasında Şeyh Said ayaklanması  |       |

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|    |          | <p>çıktığını, sindiki kısırtımların da ilkesle kan dokunulmasına varacağını ileri sürdü. Merlis, 10'a karşı 225 oyla hükümete güven tazeledi. Tartışmalar sırasında Gazi'nin hükümen desteklemekte olduğu fark edildi. Ertesi gün Fethi Bey, partisini topladı ve iki defa Gazi ile görüştüktan sonra partisini fesh ettiğini açıkladı. Gazi Halk Partisinin başında oldukça muhalefet, Devlet Başkanını eleştiriyormuş gibi gösterilirdi. Fethi Bey bu görüşünü Gazi'ye söylemiş ve parti Başkanlığını bırakmasını söylemiş. Gazi bunu kabul etmemiş. Fethi Bey de partisini fesh etmeye karar vermiş. İşin aslı şu ki, Belediye seçimleri hükümeti ve Gazi'yi telaşlandırmıştı. Gazi, 17 Kasım'da yurt gezine çıktı.</p> |       |
| 44 | 19 Kasım | <p>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 440.....</p> <p>Gazi, 17 Kasım'da trenle Kayseri'ye hareket etti. Bu, onun yapacağı uzun yurt gezisinin ilk ayacağıdır. Geziyle ilgili basında çıkan açıklamada, Gazi'nin bu gezi sırasında gösteri veya seremoni istemediği belirtilmiştir. Bu gezide İçişleri Bakanı Sükrü Kaya, milletvekilleri Recep, Kılıç Ali, Cevat Abbas, Resit Galip, Fahri Rifki, Ruşen Eşref Beyler ile Tahran Büyükelçiliğinden ayrılmış olan Memduh Şevket Bey de Gazi'ye eşlik ediyorlar.</p>  | 130   |
| 45 | 20 Kasım | <p>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 441.....</p> <p>Fethi Bey, Gazi'nin Halk Partisi Genel Başkanı olarak kaldığı ve mebus adaylarını seçme yetkisini elinde bulundurduğu sürece, muhalefet partisinin göstermelik kalacağını görmüş ve Gazi'ye, Amerika'daki gibi halk tarafından başkan seçilmevi ya da onun hovu Cumhuriyet başkanı kalınayı kabul etmesini önermiştir. Gazi bu önerileri uygun görmemiştir. Fevzi Çakmak da bütün komutanlarını Serbest Fırka'ya karşı olduklarını rapor edince Fethi</p>  | 131   |

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| 46  | 20 Kasım | Bey, Gazi'nin desteğini kaybetmiş ve partisini fesh etmiştir.<br>İNGİLTERE'NİN İRAK YÜKSEK KOMİSERİ SIR F. HUMPHRYS'DEN LORD PASSFIELD'E RAPOR.....  | 132   |
|     |          | İstanbul'daki Büyükelçimizin telkini üzerine, Bağdat'ta görevine başlamadan önce Türkiye'ye ziyarette bulundum. 4 Ekimde İstanbul'a vardım, ertesi gün Büyükelçiyle birlikte Ankara'ya geçtim, İsmet Paşa'yı ve Şükrü Kaya'yı ziyaretimin ardından Mustafa Kemal Paşa tarafından kabul edildim. Gazi, önce Afganistan'la ve özellikle Amanullah'ın devrilmesiyle ilgili tecrübelerimi sordu. Anlattım, Soura antikiteyi ve etnolojiyi konuştuk. Kâbil'de elçi olarak bulunduğum sırada, Enver Paşa'nın benden silah istediğini bildirmem üzerine Gazi de Enver Paşa ile ilişkilerini anlattı. Anlatırken bana modern Türkiye'nin Batıya dönük olduğu mesajını vermek istediği izlenimi edindim. Gazi, Irak'ta ilişkilerden memnun olduğunu söyledi. Görüşme-miz iki buçuk saat sürdü. Ertesi gün İsmet Paşa ve Şükrü Kaya bana iadeyi ziyarette bulundular ve birlikte Türk-İrak ilişkilerini konuştuk. Kürt bağımsızlığının saçma ve imkânsız bir şey olduğunu belirttim. Irak Hükümetinin dostça niyetlerinden memnun olduklarını söylediler. Büyükelçinin verdiği yemekte İsmet Paşa, Barzani Seyhinin kontrol altına alınmasını istedi. Musul petrolle-ri-nin gecikmeden işletilmesini ve Türkiye'nin de payını almasını bekliyor. En uygun İstanbul'a dönünce, Sovyetler Birliği'nden dönmekte olan Tefik Rüşü Bey ile de görüştim. |       |
| 47  | 9 Aralık | İNGİLTERE'NİN TRABZON KONSOLOSU W.D.W. MATTHEWS'DEN BÜYÜKELÇİ G. CLERK'E YAZI NO. 134 .....  | 135   |
|     |          | Cumhurbaşkanı Trabzon'u ziyareti sırasında ci-vara da iki gezi yaptı. Gazi, zamanının çoğunu, Halk Partisi ve dağıtılan Serbest Fırka üyelerini  |       |

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sorguya çekmekle geçirdi. Gazi, bu geziyi Cumhurbaşkanı sıfatıyla değil, Halk Partisi Başkanı sıfatıyla yaptığını belirtti ve hem Samsun'da, hem burada kendi partisinin üyelerini çok açık biçimde eleştirdi. Samsun'da parti üyelerinin yarısı istifa ettirildi; Gümüşhane mebusu ve beş yıldır Halk Partisi müfettişi olan Şevket Bey müfettişlik görevinden istifa etti. Gazi, 29 Kasım'da, "Ege" vapuruyla İstanbul'a hareket etti.

48 17 Aralık

İNGİLTERE'NİN KÂBİL ELÇİSİ MACHONACHIE'DEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 106. GİZLİ.....

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Türkiye Büyükelçisi, Hindistan gezisine çıkarken ziyaretime geldi ve açık konuştu: Türkiye'nin, Batıya dönük olduğunu, fakat Milletler Cemiyetine girerken Rusya'ya da sırt çeviremeyeceğini söyledi. Mustafa Kemal'e yakınlığı dolayısıyla Hikmet Bey'in (Bayur) görüşleri ilginç olabilir. Kendisi bunları Afgan Dışişleri Bakanına da söylemiştir, sanıyorum.

49 19 Aralık

İNGİLTERE'NİN ATİNA ELÇİSİ P. RAMSAY'DEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 649.....

138

Kemalist karşıtı Türk mültecilerinden bazılarının Batı Trakya'dan çıkarılacağı yolunda basında yayınlar yapıyor. Venizelos, bu konuda Türkiye'ye söz vermiş.

50 30 Aralık

İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 490.....

139

Bayındırlık Bakanı Zekâi Bey (Apaydın) Milli Savunma Bakanı, Hilmi Bey de Bayındırlık Bakanı oldu.

51 31 Aralık

İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 491.....

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Menemen olayı Türk Hükümetince çok vahim olarak görülüyor. Olayın gelişmesi ve Kabilay'ın

| No | Tarih     | Kimden Kim'e Yazıldığı ve Özet  | Sayfa |
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|    |           | olduğuna İstanbul'da bulunan Gazi, haberi alın-<br>almaz hemen İsmet Paşa'ya, Fevzi Çakmak'ı ve<br>Meclis Başkanı Kâzım Paşa'ya varına çağırır ve<br>olayın siddetle bastırılmasına karar verildi. İnce<br>Cumhuriyet için en büyük tehlike olarak görü-<br>lüyor. Menemenci, Balıkesir ve İstanbul'da te-<br>rörkamlar yapılıyor. Resmî basın Serbest Fırka'yı<br>bu baskıların sorumlusu olarak gösteriyor. Bazı<br>gazeteler de bunda yabancı parmağı bulunduğın-<br>ı yazıyor. Muhafız gazeteler ise olayı büyütme-<br>mek gerektiğini savunuyor. |       |
| 52 | 31 Aralık | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELCİSİ G.<br>CLERK TEN DİŞİSLERİ BAKANI A. HENDER<br>SON'A YAZI NO. 493.....  | 141   |
|    |           | Gazi, yurt turuna devam ediyor ve haberi<br>aldığınıza göre, çok vönlü soruşturına yapıyor; fak-<br>at bazı Bakanlar gerçekleri kendisinden gizle-<br>meye çalışıyor. İstanbul Üniversitesi öğrencileri de<br>kendisine bu dilekçe sunmak istemiş, fakat engel-<br>lenmişler. Gazi halkın fakirliğini ve sefaletini<br>görünce havreleri içinde kahırs.   |       |
|    | 1931      |   |       |
| 53 | 28 Ocak   | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELCİSİ G.<br>CLERK TEN DİŞİSLERİ BAKANI A. HENDER<br>SON'A YAZI NO. 28.....   | 142   |
|    |           | Menemenci sanıkları yargılanıyor. Bazı gazeteler bu<br>olayda İngiliz parmağı bulunduğunu yazıyor. Bu<br>konuyu Dışişlerinin dikkatine getirdik. Numan<br>Bey (Menemencioglu) bu yazıdan "bunu gece<br>masallarına" benzeterek bunların ciddiye alınma-<br>yacığını belirtti.   |       |
| 54 | 4 Şubat   | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELCİSİ G.<br>CLERK TEN DİŞİSLERİ BAKANI A. HENDER<br>SON'A YAZI NO. 37.....   | 143   |
|    |           | TBMM, Menemenci sanıklarına verilen 37 idam ce-<br>zasından 28'ini onayladı ve cezaları herhalde dört<br>infaz edilmiştir. Gözlemciler, bağışlayıcı olması<br>yönünde Hükümetin Meclis'e telkinde bulun-<br>maması olmasını eleştiriyor. Gördüğünü bazı me-   |       |



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|    |          | buşlar da bu düşünür edirdi. Nakşibendîlerin başı Seyh Esat hapisanece oldu. Mahkeme baskarının açıklamasına göre, Seyh Esat, ölmeden önce bu olayda İngiliz ajanı Lawrence'ın parmağı olduğunu açıklamaya hazırlanıyormuş. Bu konuda Disşlerin dikkatini çektim.  |       |
| 55 | 5 Subat  | İNGİLTERE DİŞİSLERİ BAKANİ A. HENDERSON'DAN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'E YAZI NO. 8 .....   | 115   |
|    |          | Türkiye, Avrupa Komisyonunda desteğimiz için İngiltere'ye teşekkür etti. Türkiye, Milletler Cemiyeti Konseyinde daimi üyelik için artık ısrar etmiyor, yarı-daimi üyelik istiyor. Türk Büyükelçisi bu yönde girişimde bulundu.   |       |
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|    |          | Türk Hükümeti, Avrupa Birliği Hazırlık Komisyonunda Türkiye'yi desteklediği için İngiltere Disşleri Bakanına teşekkür ediyor.  |       |
| 56 | 6 Subat  | (İNGİLİZ DİŞİSLERİ MUSTESARI) VANSİT LARI'IN SERVİS NOTU .....   | 146   |
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| 57 | 16 Subat | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİSLERİ BAKANİ A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 47 .....  | 148   |
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|     |        | 1930 yılı ekonomik kriz yılı oldu ve kriz, bütün hayatı etkiledi. Önce, Osmanlı borçlarının ödemesinde güçlük çıktı. Bütçenin bayındırlık ve savunma harcamalarında kısırtı yapılması düşünüldü. Ekonomik kriz ve yaygınlaşan hoşnutsuzluk üzerine, Gazi'nin özendirmesiyle Serbest Fırka kuruldu, fakat pek kısa ömürlü oldu. Halk Partisine çeki düzen vermek gereği duyuldu. Yıl sonuna doğru, Gazi Trakya'da iken, Menemen'de bir gerici ayaklanma, yaz aylarında da Doğu Anadolu'da Kürt ayaklanması patlak verdi. Bu arada başkent Ankara'da yabancı elçilik binaları yapımı devam etti. Bazı binalar tamamlandı. Konut inşaatına, resmi binalar inşaatına da ara verilmedi. Elmadağ'dan başkente su getirilmesi, Ankara yakınlarında sulama barajı kurulması, Ankara'yı ülkenin her tarafına büyük yollarla bağlama gibi iddialı projeler, bütçe kısıtlaması yüzünden gerçekleşmedi... |       |
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|     |        | <i>Milletler Cemiyeti:</i> Türkiye, Milletler Cemiyeti (MC) ile Sovyet komşusu arasında kahyor. Kon-  |       |

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seyde varı-daimi bir yet sözü alarak MC'ye katılmak istiyor.

**İngiltere:** 1930'da Türk-İngiliz ilişkileri dostça oldu. Gazi ve İsmet Paşa İngiltere'ye dostluk gösteriyor. İngiltere'nin savaş öncesinden kalan talepleri konusunda anlaşmaya varıldı. Yeni Ticaret anlaşması onaylandı. Türk basını İngiltere aleyhinde yayın yapmaktan geri durmuyor. Türk Genelkurmayı da İngiltere'ye kuşkuyla bakıyor. *Kanada, İrlanda, Hindistan ve Filistin* ile Türkiye arasında hâlâ ticaret anlaşması yapılamadı.

**Irak** ile Türkiye ilişkileri yıl boyunca dostça kaldı. Türkiye'ye ziyaretler yapıldı. Sınır kontrolde Irak'ın yetersiz kalması Ankara'da anlayışla karşılandı ve Barzani aşiretinin Türk topraklarına girmesi ilişkileri bozmadı.

**Fransa:** Sınır Komisyonu Türk-Suriye sınırının çizilmesini tamamladı. Türk-Fransız ticaret anlaşması imzalandı ve TBMM tarafından onaylandı.. dostluk anlaşması imzalandı ve Türkiye tarafından onaylandı. Osmanlı borçları konusunda ise gerginlik devam ediyor. Ayrıca iki konu daha ilişkilere gölge düşürdü: Biri, Fethi Bey'in Fransız yanlısı gibi gösterilmesi yüzünden Serbest Fırka'nın çabacak dağılması ve diğeri Fransa'nın, Avrupa Birliği toplantısına Türkiye'yi (ve Rusya'yı) çağırması.

**İtalya:** Yıl içinde Türkiye-İtalya yakınlığı, Sovyet dostluğundan sonra ikinci sırayı aldı. Türkiye, İtalya'ya yaklaşma eğiliminde görünmüyor. Ticaret anlaşması henüz yapılamadı. Daha önce imzalanan Suçluların İadesi Anlaşması, Adli Yardımlaşma Anlaşması ve Konsolosluk Anlaşması yıl içinde İtalya tarafından onaylandı.

**ABD:** Türkiye - ABD ilişkileri pek yoğun değil, ama sürekli, dostcadır. ABD uçakları ve bir savaş gemisi Türkiye'ye dostluk ziyareti yaptı. Amerikan eğitim kuruluşları Türkiye'de tam özgür ve Türk gençliğinin kremasını çekiyor. Bir Türk-Amerikan

sınketme kabiri tekeli mütarece yapıldı. Türkiye ABH Ticaret antlaşması onaylandı ve yürürlüğe girdi.

*Almanya:* Yeni Türk Alman Ticaret antlaşması, Halkın Antlaşması yürürlüğe girdi. Konsolosluk antlaşması onaylandı, fakat henüz yürürlüğe girmedi.

*Sovyetler Birliği:* Türk - Sovyet dostluğu devam ediyor. Türkiye, güçlü ve ileride tehlikeli olabilecek komşusu ile dostluğunu sürdürürken Batılı devletlerle de iyi ilişkiler geliştirilmeye çalışıyor. Karahan'ın ziyareti sırasında Türk-Sovyet Dostluk ve Tarafsızlık Antlaşmasının süresi üç yıl uzatıldı. Eylülde Teyfik Rüstü Bey Moskova'ya resmî bir ziyaret yaptı, pek sıcak kabul gördü. Ortak bildiride, bütün uluslararası politikada iki ülkenin görüş-lerinin aynı olduğu açıklandı. Bu ziyaret, Batılı ülkelerle iyi ilişkileri amaçlayan Serbest Fırka'nın kurulmasını hemen ardından yapıldı.

*Alganistan:* Eski Kral Amanullah vazın Ankara'ya geldi, ama soğuk karşılandı. Büyükelçi Gılam Nebi Han Nisanda güven mektubunu sundu, ama yıl sonunda onun yerine Sultan Ahmet Han atandı. Türk hükümeti Afganistan'a bir askeri heyet göndermek için ısrar ediyor.

*İran:* 1930'da Kürt ayaklanması yüzünden Türk-İran ilişkileri epeyce gerginleşti. Asiler İran'daki sempatisanlarından destek aldı ve bir ara İranlı general Saffar-ud-Devlehi ile ilişki kuruldu. İran Hükümeti sınırı tam kontrol edemedi. Türk basınında İran alevhinde sert bir kampanya görüldü. Gazi ile İsmet Paşa arasında görüş ayrılığı olduğu anlaşıldı. İsmet Paşa sert tedbirlerden yana'ydı, Gazi ise İran'la müzakerelerle sını düzeltilmesi yapılmasını istiyordu. Tahran'daki Türk Büyükelçisi Memduh Şevket Bey istifaya zorlandı ve yerine Gazi'nin dostu Hüseyin Bey atandı. Yeni Büyükelçi sını düzeltilmesi için görüşmelere başladı. Aslında İran-Türkiye'yi rahatsız etmek istemiyor. Türkiye de eski kavgaları yenilemek niye-

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|    |        | tinde değil. İki komşu ülkenin ticari ilişkileri halen bir <i>modus vivendi</i> ile yürütülüyor.   |       |
|    |        | <i>Mısır ile Türkiye ilişkileri</i> pek samimi değil.  |       |
|    |        | <i>Balkan Federasyonu:</i> Türkiye, ilerde bir Balkan ülkeleri federasyonu kurulması amacıyla Atina'da yapılan toplantıya katılmayı kabul etti, ama böyle bir federasyon kurulabileceğine inanmıyor. Bununla birlikte Balkan politikasının dışında kalmak istemiyor. İlerde Balkan ülkelerinde daha aktif rol oynamak niyetinde.   |       |
|    |        | <i>Yunanistan ile Türkiye arasında</i> Lozan'dan beri sürüp gelen sorunlar halledildi. İsmet Paşa ve Venizelos anlaşma için iyi çalıştılar. Atina'daki Türk elçisi tarihte ilk defa Yunan bağımsızlık yıldönümünü ayinine katıldı, böylece Türkiye iyi niyetini göstermiş oldu. Mübadillerin ve etabillerin emläki konusunda güçlükle anlaşmaya varılabildi. Bundan sonra bir Ticaret ve Denizcilik anlaşması ve bir Dostluk ve Tarafsızlık Anlaşması hazırlandı ve Venizelos'un Ankara ziyaretinde imzalandı. Venizelos, Türk hükümetinin onayıyla Fener Patriğini de ziyaret etti. |       |
|    |        | <i>Bulgaristan:</i> 1930'da Türk-Bulgar ilişkileri pek samimiydi. Gazi, Bulgar halkına sempati ve dostluk duygularını iletti. Cenevre'ye giderken Sofya'dan geçen Tevfik Rüştü hey istasyonda Bulgar Başbakanı tarafından selâmlandı ve Türk bakan dönüşünde Bulgar Başbakanına ziyarette bulundu.   |       |
|    |        | <i>Yugoslavya ile Türkiye ilişkileri</i> pek samimi değildi. Belgrad hükümeti el koyduğu Müslüman emläki için tazminat ödemekten yan çiziyor. 1929'da istifa eden Yugoslav elçisi Tadić'in yeri bir yıl kadar boş bırakıldı. Ancak 1930 yazında yeni elçi atandı.  |       |
|    |        | <i>Romanya da</i> Ankara'ya yeni bir elçi atadı. TBMM Türk-Romen ticaret anlaşmasını onayladı.   |       |
|    |        | <i>Arnavutluk:</i> Türkiye, 1930 yılında da Arnavutluk monarşisini tanımadı.   |       |

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*Macaristan* ile Türkiye ilişkileri 1930'da pek dostça idi. Macar Dışişleri Bakanı ve Başbakanı ayrı ayrı Ankara'yı ziyaret ettiler. Bu arada ticaret anlaşması imzalanıp yürürlüğe kondu. Macaristan, Türkiye ile ticaretini arttırmak istiyor.

*Polonya*: Ankara'daki Polonya elçiliği ile Varşova'daki Türk elçiliği Büyükelçilik düzeyine yükseltildiler. Ama henüz Varşova'ya bir Türk büyükelçisi atanmadı.

*İsviçre*: Türkiye-İsviçre Hakem Anlaşması yürürlüğe girdi. İkamet Sözleşmesi imzalandı.

*İspanya* ile Hakem anlaşması imzalandı.

*İskandinavya*: Türkiye-Danimarka Ticaret ve Denizcilik anlaşması imzalandı. Norveç Türkiye'de elçilik açtı. Türkiye-İsviç Ticaret ve Denizcilik Anlaşması onaylandı.

*Baltık Ülkeleri*: Türkiye-Estonya Ticaret ve Denizcilik Anlaşması imzalandı. Türkiye-Finlandiya Ticaret ve Denizcilik Anlaşması Türkiye tarafından onaylandı.

*Latin Amerika*: Türkiye Brezilya'ya elçi atadı. Arjantin'de Türk elçiliği açılacağı söyleniyor. Şili'ye maslahatgûzar atandı. Uruguay ile imzalanan dostluk anlaşması yürürlüğe girdi.

*Uzak Doğu*: Japonya ile Türkiye Ticaret anlaşması imzaladı ve iki ülke ilişkileri yıl boyunca dostça devam etti.

### III- İçişleri

*Giriş*: Türkiye'de 1930 yılı halka ve sivil yönetime sıkı tasarruf çağrısıyla başlayıp bitti. Osmanlı borçlarının ödenemeyeceği ileri sürüldü. Kürt ayaklanması orduyu meşgul etti. Bir muhalefet partisinin kurulması zihinleri karıştırmakla ve ülkede karışıklıklar çıkmasıyla sonuçlandı. Halk Partisinin köklü ıslahı gereği ortaya çıktı. Sorunlara çare bulmak amacıyla Gazi yurt gezleri yapı ve geziler ertesi yıl da devam edecek. Aralık ayında Menemen'de irtica ayaklanması oldu.

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Demiryolları yapımı devam etti. Mübadillerin cinslök sorunu halledildi, Türk-Yunan Antlaşması imzalandı ve Venizelos Ankara'yı ziyaret etti.

**Kürtler:** Yılı ilk aylarında bazı Kürt hareketleri görüldüyse de bunlar kolayca bastırıldı. Nisan ve Mayıs aylarında Ağrı yöresinde ayaklanma çıktı ve asiler İran'dan destek gördü. Türk hükümeti bölgeye 12-15 bin kadar asker yığdı ve uçakların da desteğiyle saldırıya geçti. Bunun hemen ardından Barzani Kürtleri Irak'tan Türkiye'ye girdiyse de temizlendiler. Suriye'den Türkiye'ye girmeye kalkışan Kürtler de geri püskürtüldü. Sowyet hükümeti Türkiye'ye dostluğunu gösterdi. Türk basını, İran hükümetini Kürt asileri silahlandırmakla suçladı ve şiddetle eleştirdi. Türk hükümeti Türk-İran sınırının düzeltilmesi için ısrar ediyor. İngiltere'nin Kürtler konusundaki tutumu da eleştirildi. İngiltere'nin Kürtçü entrikaları desteklemediği Türklere anlatıldı. Türk hükümeti Kürt asileri Irak sınırı içinde de takip etmek istedi, ama isteği kabul edilmedi. Türk hükümeti Eylülde Kürt ayaklanmasının bastırıldığını ve Ağrı bölgesinin asilerden tamamen temizlendiğini açıkladı. Asilerin elebaşısı İhsan Nuri İran'a kaçmayı başardı. İsmet Paşa, Türkiye dışından yapılan kışkırtımları ve Kürt aşiret reislerinin derebeylik ayrıcalıklarını kaybetmek istememelerini ayaklanmanın nedenleri olarak gösterdi ve ayaklanmayı desteklememiş olan yöre halkını övdü.

**Fethi Bey'in Muhalefet Partisi:** İsmet Paşa'nın katı politikasının ekonomik sıkıntılara neden olduğunu düşünen Gazi, Ağustos ayında Fethi Bey'i, laik ve cumhuriyetçi bir muhalefet partisi kurmaya özendirdi. İsmet Paşa politikasında bazı değişiklikler yapı ve dört bakanını değiştirdi. Gazi, Eylülde Halk Partisine tam destek vermeye yöneldi ve Fethi Bey'den de desteğini hepten çekmedi. Belediye seçimleri kampanyasında bazı karışıklık-



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lar çıktı. Fethi Bay, Gazi ile karşı karşıya gelmemek için partisini fesh etti.

*Adalet Teskilâtı*ndaki dört yabancı danışmanın görevleri sona eriyor.

*Azınlıklar:* Türkiye'de Ermeni ve Yahudi nüfus azalıyor; Rumlar şimdi daha iyi durumda; 2 bin kadar da Bulgar var. Belediye seçimlerinde Fethi Bey azınlıklardan da aday gösterdi.

#### IV-Ticari ve Ekonomik İşler

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*Genel olarak:* Dünyadaki krizden etkilenen Türkiye ekonomisi 1930'da kötüleşti. Tahıl, tutun ve fındık ürünü iyi olduysa da, dünya fiyatlarındaki düşüş yüzünden, ekonomiyi düzeltmeye yetmedi. Kambiyo krizine karşı enerjik önlemler alındı ve Türk lirasının paritesi zoraki olarak korundu. Merkez Bankası yasası çıkarıldı. Türkiye dış kredi almıyor. Halkın satın alma gücü ve ithalat düştü. Osmanlı borcu taksitinin ödenmesinde güçlük çıktı. Bayındırlık programında kısıntı yapıldı; bazı demiryollarının ve bazı karayollarının yapımı ertelendi. Yerli sanayi geliştirmek ve "Yerli malı" kullanılmasını özendirmek için önlemler alındı.

*Ticaret:* Türkiye'nin 1930 yılı ithalatı son dört yılın en düşük seviyesinde kaldı ve ticaret dengesi fazlalık verdi. Türkiye'ye ihracat yapan Batılı ülkelerin başında Almanya var; sonra İngiltere, İtalya ve Fransa geliyor.

*Endüstri:* Sermaye kıtlığı yüzünden 1930'da sanayiye fazla ilerleme olmadı. İki çimento fabrikası açıldı, "Yerli malı" kampanyası çerçevesinde Türk Sanayi Fuarı düzenlendi. Seramik ve dericilik sanayine önem veriliyor. Karadeniz kömür havzası üretimini artırdı. Gümüş madeni işleten Balıca Karaydın Şirketi güç durumda. Amerikan şirketlerinin de çeşitli girişimleri var.

*Bütçe:* 1930-31 bütçesinde gelir 222.992.199, gideri 222.834.330 TL. olarak tahmin ediliyor. En fazla harcamaya kalemi savunmadır (66 milyon TL). Bayındırlık ve Osmanlı borcu yaklaşık 33 milyon

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TL. Gelirlerin çoğu vergilerden ve gümrüklerden vs. (rakamlar).

**Merkez Bankası'nın yasaı çıktı;** sermayesi 15 milyon TL. Dört seri hisse senedi çıkarılacak. 500.000 TL tutarındaki altın rezervini devri alacak. Banknot çıkarma tekeline sahip olacak.

**Tarım:** 1930 yılı tahıl üretimi bir önceki yılınkini %15-20 aştı. Fındık, zeytin yağı, pamuk, afyon, tütün üretimi de fazla oldu; kuru üzüm, incir, ipek kozası üretimi ise düşük kaldı. Dünyada tütün, afyon ve fındığın fiyatları düştüğü için bunlardan beklenen gelir sağlanamadı.

**Ormanlar:** Yıllık 800 bin metre küp kereste bekleniyor, ama ormanlar henüz bilimsel biçimde kullanılmıyor. İngiliz ve Avrupa şirketleriyle görüşmeler yapılıyor.

**Sulama işleri için** 100 milyon TL harcanması öngörüldü, ama mali kriz yüzünden bazı projeler ertelendi.

**Demiryolları:** Ankara-Kayseri-Sivas hattı tamamlandı. Diyarbakır-Fevzipaşa hattı Malatya'ya (190 km) ulaştı. Samsun-Sivas hattında çalışmalar devam ediyor. Ulukışla-Kayseri hattı kriz yüzünden aksadı...

**Limanlar :** Çeşitli inşaatlar durduruldu. 1930'da bir şey yapılamadı.

**Karayolları ve köprüler:** 12 yıla yayılacak ve 60 milyon TL tutacak bir program üzerinde duruluyor. Ankara çevresindeki yollar yapılıyor.

**İstanbul Limanı:** Gümrük İdaresi ıslah edildi. Gümrükler Genel Müdürlüğü'nün Ankara'dan İstanbul'a taşınması düşünülüyor.

**Ticaret Anlaşmaları:** Türkiye 1929-1930 yıllarında birçok ülkeyle yeni ticaret anlaşmaları yaptı ve bunlara ticaretle en çok kayırlan ülke statüsü tanıdı. Türk lirasını korumak için kambiyo kontrolü ele alındı.

**V-Deniz Kuvvetleri**.....

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"Yönüz"ün onarını tanımlandı. İzmir körfezinde tersane kurma konusunda bir gelişme olmadı. İtalya'ya iki destroyer ısımarlandı ve orada iki denizaltı da yapıyor. Temmuzda İzmir körfezi yakınında ortak manevra yapıldı. İngiltere'de kurs gören iki deniz subayı Türkiye'ye döndü. Fransa, İtalya ve Japonya'da eğitim görmekte olan deniz subayları da var. 1 Haziranda başlayan bütçede ayrılan ödenek 6.297.947 milyon TL.dir. Deniz kuvvetlerini artırmama konusunda 30 Ekimde Yunanistan'la bir protokol imzalandı. İngiliz gemileri İstanbul, İmroz ve Marmaris'i ziyaret etti. Bodrum'u ziyarete izin verilmedi. İtalya, Arjantin, ABD, Sovyet donanmalarından da İstanbul'a gelenler oldu.

#### VI-Kara Kuvvetleri

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Kara Kuvvetleri teşkilatında ve mevcudunda değişiklik olmadı. Doğuda Kürt ayaklanmasına karşı operasyon yapıldı. VK., VIII. Ve IX. Kolordu birlikleri kullanıldı ve operasyon başarıyla sonuçlandı. Köylerin korunması için yerli milisler de kullanıldı. Bütçe kısıtlaması orduda bile hissedildi. Bazı silah ve mühimmat siparişleri durduruldu veya ertelendi. Motorlu araçlar eksikliği giderilmedi. Türk ordusunun eğitim düzeyi hızla iyileşiyor. IV. Kolordu komutanlığına Naci Paşa, Milli Savunma Müsteşarlığına Derviş Paşa, Jandarma Müfettişliğine Mehmet Kâzım Paşa atandı. Menemen sanıkları askeri mahkemede yargılanıyor.

Hava Kuvvetleri Fransız eğitimiyle gelişiyor. Kürt ayaklanmasına karşı uçaklar da kullanıldı.

#### VII-Çeşitli Konular

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İngilizlerin Türkiye'deki zararlarını tespit komisyonu işini tamamladı.

İstanbul'da üç fabrika eroin ve morfin üretiyor. Türk hükümeti kaçak uyuşturucu ticaretine izin vermediğini söylüyor. Bu konuda daha sıkı kontrol önerisi ise Londra konferansında kabul edilmedi.

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Türkiye'de üç İngiliz okulu ile iki İngiliz hastanesinin faaliyetlerine devam etmeleri kabul edildi. İstanbul'da bir İskoç misyoner okulu ise kapandı. Türk hükümeti eğitimin tamamen laik olmasını istiyor.

*Osmanlı Borçları.* Türk Hükümeti, mali kriz dolayısıyla borcun ikinci taksidinin ödenmesinin güç olacağını bildirdi ve buna çare bulunmasını istedi. Bir yabancı finans uzmanına (Mr. Rist'e) bir rapor hazırlanması uygun görüldü. Türk Hükümeti yeniden müzakere istedi. Bu istek kabul edilmedi. Türk hükümeti pratik bir çözüm bulunabilmesi için yeniden masaya oturulması için ısrar etti. Yıl böyle sona erdi.

*Basın, Haber Servisi ve Propaganda:* Türkiye'nin dışa dönük bir propaganda teşkilâtı fiilen yoktur. Dışişlerine bağlı Matbuat Umum Müdürlüğü, Foreign Office'in haber dairesi gibidir; resmi Anadolu Ajansında teşkilâtlanma düşünüyor. Kültürel propagandayı Türk Ocağı yürütüyor, ama bu içe dönük bir propagandadır. Türk Turing Kulübü mütevazı ölçüde propaganda yapmaya çalışıyor.

*1930 Yılında Çıkan Kanunlar:* Önemli görülen 13 kanunun listesi veriliyor. Örnek: 22 Şubat'ta Türk Parasının Kıymetini Koruma Kanunu (Kanun No. 1567), 22 Mayıs'ta Askeri Ceza Kanunu (No. 1632), 9 Haziran'da Tütün Tekeli Kanunu (No. 1701), 11 Haziran'da Türkiye Cumhuriyet Merkez Bankası Kanunu (No. 1715) kabul edildi vs.

59 23 Şubat

İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO.60.....

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Menemen mahkumları asıldı. İdamlık biri kaçtı, 13 gün saklandıktan sonra köylüler tarafından yakalandı ve o da asıldı. Bu adamın kaçışı ülkede sempati yaratmış ve yakalanınca bağışlanır sanılmıştı. Bağışlanmadı. Halk Partisi hiçbir muhalefete izin vermemeye kararlı görünüyor. Son ola-

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| 60  | 28 Şubat | <p>rak Gazi de Adana'da sert bir konuşma yaptı; Serbest Fırka'nın halkı aldattığını, şeriatı dönüleceği yolunda propaganda yaptığını söyledi ve Fethi Be-y'e adeta doğrudan saldırımuş oldu....</p> <p>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 69 .....</p>   | 192   |
| 61  | 5 Mart   | <p>Türk okullarında yabancı dil olarak yalnız Fransızca öğretilmesine karşı basında eleştiriler görülmüyor. <i>Vakit</i> gazetesi Fransızların tutumuna tepki gösterdi. <i>Milliyet</i>'te Faliş Rıfkı Türk okullarında Latin temelini değiştirmek gerektiğini savunuyor. Türkiye, okullarında yalnız Almanca ve İngilizceye yer veren Rusya'yı örnek almalı, diyor. Fransız <i>Temps</i> gazetesi de makale sahibini Fransızca düşmanı olarak gösterdi. Faliş Rıfkı cevap verdi: "Biz Beyoğlu'na hiç benzemeyen bir Türkiye için çalışıyoruz" dedi.</p> <p>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A TEL. NO. 7 .....</p> | 194   |
| 62  | 9 Mart   | <p>Gazi Ankara'ya döndü. Meclis seçim kararı aldı.</p> <p>İNGİLTERE'NİN ATİNA ELÇİSİ RAMSAYDEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 105 .....</p>   | 194   |
| 63  | 9 Mart   | <p>İstanbul Belediyesi'nin Fener Patrikhanesinin resmi adını "Başpapazlık" olarak değiştirmesi kararı Yunan basınında epeyce heyecan yarattı. Gazeteler, Venizelos'un Ankara ziyaretinden ve Dostluk Antlaşmasından birkaç ay sonra böyle bir karar alınmasına hayret ediyor ve bu kararın değiştirilmesini istiyor. Türk-Yunan dostluğunu sorgulayanlar da var.</p> <p>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A TEL. NO. 74 .....</p>  | 196   |
|     |          | <p>Serbest Fırka geçmişte kaldı. Ağaoğlu Ahmet Bey'in bir İngiliz diplomatına söylediğine göre: hem</p>   |       |

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|     |         | kendisi, hem Fethi Bey politikadan çekiliyor. Türkiye, maalesef, Gazi gibi bir büyük adamın hizmetlerinden yararlanmayı bilemiyor. Gazi, Fethi Bey'e: Türkiye ne cumhuriyete ne de saltanata benziyor, ne demokrasidir ne de diktatörlük; demiş ve bir muhalefet partisi kurulmasını istemiş. Serbest Fırka'nın çabucak gözden düşmesi onun düşmanlarının eseridir. Bu parti sanki Gazi'yi devirecek ve O'nun eserini yok edecekmiş gibi gösterilmiştir. Ağaoğlu'na bakılırsa, Gazi bundan böyle devlet işlerini doğrudan ele almaya yönelecektir. Yorumlar. |       |
| 64  | 9 Mart  | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A TEL. NO. 78 .....   | 198   |
|     |         | Cumhurbaşkanı yurt gezisinden Ankara'ya döndü. Gezilerinin esas amacı Halk Partisine bağlı olduğunu halka açıkça göstermektir. Gazi Dönüşünde Halk Partisi başlarını topladı ve onlar seçimin yenilenmesi mesajını verdi. Ertesi gün Meclis, parlamento seçimleri yapılması ve mebus maaşlarının 500 liradan 350 liraya düşürülmesi kararı aldı. Mayısta yeni Meclisin toplanacağı sanılıyor. Halk Partisi seçimlere hazırlanıyor. Kütahya mebusu Recep Bey (Peker) Parti Genel Sekreteri oldu.  |       |
| 65  | 10 Mart | İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'DAN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'E YAZI NO. 152 .....   | 200   |
|     |         | Türk Büyükelçisi bugün Avam Kamarasında benimle görüştü. Türkiye Milletler Cemiyetine girince Konseye (yarı-daimi üye olarak) seçilmesi için İngiltere'nin desteğini istedi. Ekli Muhura ile görüşlerimizi bildirdim.  |       |
| Ek  | 10 Mart | (HENDERSON'DAN TÜRK BÜYÜKELÇİSİNE) MUHTIRA .....   | 201   |
|     |         | İngiltere, Türkiye'nin Milletler Cemiyeti Konseyine yarı-daimi üye olarak seçilme isteğini dikkatle inceledi. Usul gereğince Türkiye önce Milletler  |       |

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|     |         | Cemiyetine seçildikten sonra Konseye adaylığını koyabilir. Konseye seçilirse, buradaki süresi dolduktan sonra yeniden seçilmek için tekrar adaylığını koyabilir. Polonya'nın ve İspanya'nın (yarı-daimi üye) seçilmiş olmaları iki istisnadır. Mevcut usule göre İngiltere, Türkiye'nin talebini destekleyemez, ama Türkiye'nin Milletler Cemiyetine girmesinden memnun olacaktır. |       |
| 66  | 10 Mart | İNGİLTERE'NİN ATİNA ELÇİSİ RAMSAY'DEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 112.....  | 202   |
|     |         | Türk-Sovyet Denizcilik Anlaşmasının imzalandığı Türkiye tarafından Yunanistan'a bildirilmiş ve Atina'da hoşnutluk yaratmıştır.   |       |
| 67  | 11 Mart | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A TEL. NO. 9.....   | 203   |
|     |         | 7 Mart günü Ankara'da Türk-Sovyet denizcilik protokolü imzalandı.  |       |
| 68  | 12 Mart | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 81 .....   | 203   |
|     |         | 7 Mart 1991 tarihli Türk-Sovyet denizcilik protokolünün metnini sunuyorum. Bu protokol, Fransa-İtalya Denizcilik anlaşmasıyla aynı zamana rastladı.  |       |
| 69  | 12 Mart | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 83 .....   | 204   |
|     |         | Kürt aşiret reisinin oğlu Selahattin 15 yıl hapis cezasına çarptırıldıysa da cezası 12 yıla indirildi. Bu ceza Menemen olayında verilen idam cezalarına bakarak hafiftir.  |       |
| 70  | 17 Mart | İNGİLTERE'NİN TAHRAN ELÇİSİ PARR'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDESON'A TEL. NO. 45 .....  | 205   |



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| 71  | 17 Mart | Tebriz konsolosluğu Maku yöresinde bir Kürt hareketi haberi veriyor.<br>İNGİLTERE'NİN TAHİRAN ELÇİSİ PARR'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A TEL. NO. 46.....   | 205   |
| 72  | 17 Mart | Tebriz konsolosluğunuz, Kürt hareketi üzerine Türk askerinin 24 km. kadar İran içlerine girdiğini haber veriyor.<br>İNGİLTERE'NİN MOSKOVA ELÇİSİ OVEYDEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 131.....   | 206   |
| Ek  | 16 Mart | Yeni Türk-Sovyet Ticaret Anlaşması dün imzalandı. Bu anlaşma ve Denizcilik Protokolünün imzalanması, 1921 Türk-Sovyet Dostluk ve Kardeşlik Antlaşmasının 10. yıldönümüne rastlatıldı ve "İzvestiya" gazetesi bir makaleyle eski dostluğu hatırlatıp vurguladı. Makalenin çevirisi.<br>(SOVYET) DIŞİŞLERİ KOMİSERLİĞİNDEN YABANCI BASIN MUHABİRLERİNE DUYURU.....   | 208   |
| 73  | 18 Mart | 16 Mart günü Sovyet-Türk Ticaret ve Denizcilik Anlaşması imzalandı. Anlaşma, 19 Ekim 1930'da sona eren Ticaret Anlaşmasının yerine geçiyor. En ziyade kayırlan ülke prensibine dayanan ve 10 yıl için imzalanan Anlaşma, tarafların vatandaşlarının diğer tarafın ülkesinde oturmalarını, hükmi şahsiyet rejimini, Türkiye'deki Sovyet ticaret temsilcileri rejimini, ihracat ve ithalat sorunlarını, transit geçecek mallar konularını ve denizcilik sorunlarını düzenliyor. Anlaşma, iki ülke arasındaki dostluğu daha da geliştirmektedir.<br>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 95..... | 209   |
|     |         | Türk basını, Türk-Sovyet Denizcilik Anlaşması ile Türk-Yunan Denizcilik Protokolü arasında bağ kuruyor, ama iki belge farklıdır. Gazeteler, Türk-Sovyet Anlaşmasının silahlanmayı azaltan bir barış faktörü olduğunu, rahatsızlıkları giderdiğini  |       |

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| 74 | 23 Mart | yazıyor. Türk Dışişleri Müstesarı da bu belgelerin, gerektiğinde Rusya, Türkiye ve Yunanistan arasında görüşmelere yol açabileceği söyledi. Dışişleri Bakanı Teflik Rüşdî Bey deniz paktından sözetti.<br>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANİ A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 98. ....  | 210   |
| 75 | 25 Mart | Türk Ocağı'nın özerk statüsünün değiştirileceğinden söz ediliyor. Hamdullah Suphi Bey (Tanrıöver) bu söylentileri doğruladı ve şahsen bunu onaylamadığını, Ocağın özerk kalmasını istediğini, yeni teşkilatın başında kalmak istemediğini de gizlice söyledi. Hamdullah Suphi Bey, Türk Ocağı statüsünün değiştirilmesinde Rus etkisi olduğunu düşünüyor.<br>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANLIĞINA TEL. NO. 17. ....             | 212   |
| 76 | 25 Mart | Büyükelçi Clerk'e: Gazi, Lord Athlone'u kabul edecek. Lord ne zaman Ankara'ya gelebilecektir?<br>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANİ A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 101. ....  | 212   |
| 77 | 28 Mart | Fener Patriğine "Başpapaz" denmesi üzerine Yunan elçisi girişimde bulundu. Dışişleri Bakanı, "Başpapaz" denmesini uygun görmediğini söylemiş. Oysa Patrikhane konusunda Türkiye'nin hiçbir uluslararası yükümlülüğü yoktur. "Vakit" gazetesi, "Rum Başpapazı"nı politikaya karışmakla suçladı. "République" (Cumhuriyet) gazetesi de "Vakit"e cevap verdi.<br>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANİ A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 103. .... | 214   |
|    |         | Türk donanmasının Mayıs 1932'ye kadar Malta adasını ziyaret etmesine karar verildi. Donanma daha sonra İtalyan ve Sovyet limanlarını da ziyaret edecek.   |       |

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| 78  | 30 Mart  | İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANLIĞINDAN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'A: TEL. NO. 15.....<br>Lord Athlone'un Ankara'daki kalış süresinin kısa olacaktır. Ona göre program yapılması gerek.  | 214   |
| 79  | 31 Mart  | FOREIGN OFFICE'DEN KUDÜS YÜKSEK KOMİSERİNE TEL NO. 18 (LORD ATHLONE İÇİN) ..<br>Türk hükümeti ziyaretinize pek değer veriyor. Cumhurbaşkanı sizi kabul edecek ve akşam yemeğinde ağırlayacak. Ziyaretiniz siyasi bakımdan yarar sağlayacak. İstanbul'da da 2-3 gün kalmanızı diliyoruz. Cevabımızın Ankara'da maslahatgüzara tellenmesi. | 215   |
| 80  | 31 Mart  | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 112 .....<br>"Cumhuriyet"te Patrikhaneyi savunan makale İsmet Paşa'nın talimatıyla yazılmış.   | 215   |
| 81  | 31 Mart  | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A TEL. NO.22 ÖNEMLİ .....<br>Lord Athlone'un Toros treniyle değil, İstanbul üzerinden Ankara'ya gelmesi daha uygun olacak. Ziyaretin Bayrama rastlamasına itiraz edilmiyor.   | 216   |
| 82  | 2 Nisan  | FİLİSTİN YÜKSEK KOMİSERİNDEN KOLONİLER BAKANINA TEL. NO. 85 (LORD ATHLONE'DEN BÜYÜKELÇİ CLERK'E) .....<br>Maslahatgüzara şunu bildirdik: Cumhurbaşkanı'nın nazik davetini memnuniyetle kabul ediyoruz. 24 Nisanda Ankara'da olacağız. Teyit ediniz.  | 217   |
| 83  | 15 Nisan | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN FOREIGN OFFICE'E TEL NO. 33 .....<br>Cumhurbaşkanı Büyükelçilikteki akşam yemeğine gelecek.   | 217   |

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|     |          | <i>F.O.'in note:</i> Gazi yabancı elçiliklere güneme kuralını bozuyor.   |       |
| 84  | 15 Nisan | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜ-ZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 131 .....   | 218   |
|     |          | Fransız Büyükelçisi Osmanlı borçları konusunu İsmet Paşa ile görüştü. Paşa, Ankara'da müzakereler yapılmasını ve soruna bir çözüm bulunmasını istedi. Borçları inkâr etmediklerini belirtti. M. De Chambrun, Türkiye'nin ödeme zamanını uzatmak istediğini söylüyor. Bu konuda İstanbul gazetelerinde çıkan iki makale.                      |       |
| 85  | 15 Nisan | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜ-ZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 132 GİZLİ .....   | 219   |
|     |          | Fransız Büyükelçisinin sorusu üzerine İsmet Paşa, Türk-Sovyet Denizcilik protokolünün gizli bir maddesi bulunmadığını söylemiş. De Chambrun'a göre, bu protokol Rusya'dan ziyade Türkiye'ye yarar sağlıyor. İsmet Paşa şimdi daha az Rus yanlısı. Gazi ile İsmet Paşa'nın arası iyi.   |       |
| 86  | 21 Nisan | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜ-ZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 138 .....   | 221   |
|     |          | Boğazlar Komisyonu ahenkli biçimde çalıştı. Boğazlardan geçen malların tonajı artıyor, Türkiye'nin geliri de yükseliyor. Geçiş ücretlerini azaltmak için bir argüman.  |       |
| 87  | 21 Nisan | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜ-ZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 143 .....   | 221   |
|     |          | Türk seçimlerinin birinci turu, parti gazetelerine göre, Halk Partisinin zaferiyle tamamlandı. Seçime katılmayanların oranı % 20'nin altında kaldı. Tarafsız gazeteler ise seçmenlerin sadece üçte birinin oy kullandığını yazıyor. İkinci seçmenler şimdi 317 milletvekilini seçecek ki bunların 287'si Gazi'nin önerdikleridir. İkinci tur |       |

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| 88  | 27 Nisan  | <p>seçim 24 Nisanda yapılacak ve yeni Meclis 4 Mayıs'ta toplanıp Cumhurbaşkanını seçecek. Şimdiki mebusların en az 73 adedi seçilmeyecek. Gazi'nin önermediği 30 aday içinde Fethi Bey ile Nuri Bey de var. Serbest Fırka'nın diriltilmesi söz konusu değil, ama Gazi Meclis'te bir muhalefetin bulunmasını istiyor. Belediye meclislerinde yaşanan karışıklıklar bu seçimde görülüyor.</p> <p>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANLIĞINA TEL. NO. 14.....</p>  | 223   |
| 89  | 29 Nisan. | <p>Lord Athlone, Cumhurbaşkanının konuğu olarak Ankara ziyaretini tamamladı. Ziyaret pek başarılı geçti. Cumhurbaşkanı yabancı elçiliklerin yemeklerine katılmama kuralını da bozarak İngiltere Büyükelçiliğinde akşam yemeğine katıldı ve İngiltere'ye dostluk gösterdi. <i>F.O.'in notu</i>: Bu ziyaretin değerli siyasal sonuçları olacak.</p> <p>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 147.....</p> <p>Lord Athlone ve Prenses Alice'in Ankara'ya yaptıkları ve çok başarılı geçen ziyaretin ayrıntıları: Filistin ve Suriye'de dolaşan Lord, Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından Türkiye'ye davet edildi; Suriye sınırında özel görevlilerce karşılandı; Konya'dan Cumhurbaşkanı treniyle 24 Nisanda Ankara'ya geldi; Cumhurbaşkanının konuğu olarak Ankara Palas'ta ağırlandı; Gazi tarafından kabul edildi; az sonra Gazi, ziyareti iade etti; akşam Dışişleri Bakanının Lord ve heyeti onuruna verdiği yemeğe Cumhurbaşkanı da katıldı; yemeği kordiplomatığın de katıldığı resepsiyon izledi; ertesi gün İsmet Paşa 40 kişilik bir öğle yemeği verdi; ardından Gazi Çiftliği'ne bir gezi yapıldı; akşam Büyükelçilikte bir yemek verdim ve Cumhurbaşkanı da ilk defa bu yemeğe katıldı ve Lord Athlone ve yanındakiler 26 Nisanda Ankara'dan İstanbul'a hareket ettiler. <i>Not: Bu rapor İngiliz</i></p> | 224   |

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| 90 | 29 Nisan | <i>Kahira ve Bakanlar Kuruluna arz edilmiş ve Foreign Office'de çok olumlu karşılanmıştır.</i><br>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 148.....   | 226   |
| 91 | 30 Nisan | Lord Athlone ve Preuses Alice'in Türkiye ziyaretinin siyasal anlamı: Lord ve Preuses Türklerin gönüllerini fethetti. Lord ve yanındakilerin Suriye dönüşü Türkiye'den geçeceklerini duyan Cumhurbaşkanı kendiliğinden onları davet etti, onlar da ilk defa Türkiye'ye geldiler. Gazi, İngilizlerle iyi ilişki içinde olmayı arzu ettiğini göstermek için bu ziyareti fırsat bildi. Gazi ve Türk hükümeti, barış uğrunda İngiltere ile beraber çalışmak arzusunda. Bu birinci faktördür. İkinci faktör hızla artan Rusya korkusudur. Gazi uzak görüşlüdür, ilerisini düşünmektedir. Lord Athlone'a gösterilen sıcaklığın arkasında bunlar vardır, kanısındayım. Fakat Genelkurmay, yakın geçmişteki düşmanlarına kuşkuyla bakmayı sürdürmektedir.                                | 229   |
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|    |          | 24 Nisanda seçimlerin ikinci turu yapıldı. Gazi'nin önerdiği 287 milletvekili seçildi. Bağımsızlara (veya muhaliflere) bırakılan 30 sandıye için ancak 20 mebus seçimi kazandı. 10 yer boş kaldı. Bağımsız olarak adaylığını koyup da kaybedenler arasında Kâzım Karabekir, Refet Paşalar da var. Malatya'dan seçilen İsmet Paşa, Manisa'dan da "bağımsız" olarak seçilmiş! Üç bağımsıza yer ayrılmış olan Tekirdağ ve Samsun'dan ise hiç bağımsız seçilmemiş. Eski Serbest Fırka üyeleri adaylıklarını koymadılar ve Fethi Bey politikadan çekildi. Seçilemeyen Hamdullah Suphi ve Tevfik Kâmil diplomatik görev alacaklar. Eski Tahran Büyükelçisi Memduh Şeket ve eski Kalite elçisi Muhittin Paşa, milletvekili seçildiler. Seçilemeyenler arasında Nusret Sadullah da var. |       |

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| 92 | 1 Mayıs | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 36.....  | 230   |
|    |         | Gazi bugün yeniden Cumhurbaşkanı seçildi   |       |
| 93 | 5 Mayıs | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 151 .....  | 231   |
|    |         | Dördüncü dönem TBMM 4 Mayısta toplandı. İlk üç meclisin yaptığı başlıca işlerden sonra şimdi dördüncü Meclis, Türkiye'nin ekonomik sorunlarına çare arayacak. 317 üyeli yeni Meclise 289 üye katıldı, 10 sandalye boş. Mebuslar and içerken laikliğe vurgu yaptılar ve artık Allahın adını anmıyorlar. Meclis Başkanlığı ve çeşitli görevlilerinde pek değişiklik olmadı. Vasıf Bey Meclis Başkan Yardımcısı seçildi. Daha sonra Gazi Mustafa Kemal oybirliğiyle yeniden Cumhurbaşkanı seçildi. Cumhurbaşkanı kaleden top atışlarıyla kutlandı. Meclis Başkanı Kâzım Paşa Çankaya'ya çıkarak haberi Gazi'ye bildirdi. Gazi hemen Meclise gelerek milletvekillerine teşekkür etti ve Cumhuriyete sadık kalacağına şeref sözü verdi. Kordiplomatığın ve mebusların yeni Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından kabulüyle gün sona erdi. Kabinede herhangi bir değişiklik olmadı. |       |
| 94 | 6 Mayıs | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 156 .....  | 232   |
|    |         | Avrupa Birliği Araştırma Komisyonunda Türkiye'nin dışlanması hassasiyet yarattı. Dışişleri Bakanı bunun Türkiye'ye karşı bir haksızlık olduğunu söyledi. Türkiye daha önce bu komisyona katılacağını bildirmişti. "Milliyet" başyazarı Mahmut Bey, Milletler Cemiyetinin son kararını protesto edeceğini, Türkiye'ye eşit davranılması gerektiğini yazıyor.  |       |
| 95 | 6 Mayıs | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 159 .....  | 234   |



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|     |          | 10 Nisanda toplanan Türk Ocağı kurultayında Halk Partisi ile birleşme ve bağımsız Türk Ocağı'na son verme kararı alınmıştır. Hamdullah Suphi bu önerinin Gazi'den geldiğini söylemiştir. Bir süredir bir diplomatik göreve atanacağı söylenen Hamdullah Suphi için Romanya hükümetinden AGREMAN istenmiştir.   |       |
| 96  | 13 Mayıs | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANİ A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 170 .....  | 235   |
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| 97  | 30 Mayıs | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANİ A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 184. GİZLİ .....  | 236   |
|     |          | Osmanlı borçlarıyla ilgili görüşmelerin kesildiği bildirilmişti. Türk hükümetinin önerisiyle alacaklılar kurulunun önerisinin bağdaştırılamayacağı anlaşıldı. Hükümet yanlısı "Milliyet" te yayınlanan bildiride ve açıklamada müzakere kapısı açık tutuluyor. Müzakereler prensip yüzünden kesildi. Türk tarafı kesin bir anlaşma istedi, alacaklılar kurulu ise geçici anlaşma üzerinde ısrar etti. Fransız Büyükelçisi, Türk delegesi Şükrü Saracoğlu yüzünden görüşmelerin kesildiğini söylüyor. Büyükelçi İsmet Paşa ile görüşmüş ve unutulmuş görüşüyor.   |       |

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| 98  | 1 Haziran | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 186.....   | 237   |
|     |           | İsmet Paşa benimle Osmanlı borçları konusunu görüştü. Müzakerelerin kesilmesinden derin düş kırıklığına uğradığını söyledi. Anlayış gösterilmesi ve nihai bir çözüm için öneriler getirilmesini bekliyor. Benim görüşümü sordu. Umutsuzluğa gerek olmadığını söyleyerek görüşlerimi kendisine aktardım. Bir iki yıl içinde dünya krizinin atlatılacağı, Türkiye'nin de daha iyi durumda olacağı umudumu dile getirdim. Fransız Büyükelçisi de ben de umutsuz değiliz.   |       |
| 99  | 4 Haziran | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 187.....   | 239   |
|     |           | Kralın yaş günü dolayısıyla verdiğim davete, Meclis Başkanı, Başbakan, Dışişleri Bakanı, diğer Bakanlar, önde gelen mebuslar, Cumhurbaşkanlığı Genel Sekreteri geldiler.  |       |
| 100 | 8 Temmuz  | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 223.....   | 240   |
|     |           | Irak Kralı Faysal Ankara'ya resmi bir ziyaret yaptı. İstasyonda Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından karşılandı. Kral, Gazi ile şahsen temas kurmak istemiş, onun üzerine ziyaret hazırlanmış. Görüşmelerde Türk tarafı başlıca şu üç noktayı gündeme getirmiş: Ticaret ve İkamet Sözleşmesi, sınır olayları ve petrol hissesi. Ziyaretten iki taraf da memnun kaldı. Fransız Büyükelçisine bilgi verdim. Hem Gazi, hem Kral bana dostluk gösterdiler. Kral, bu akşam İstanbul'a hareket etti ve Dolmabahçe Sarayında kalacak, İstanbul'da Kral onuruna bir akşam yemeği vereceğim. |       |
| 101 | 8 Temmuz  | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 224.....   | 242   |

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|     |           | Bir süreli "Cumhuriyet" te Yunus Nadi ile "Yarı" gazetesinde Arif Ömre arasında şiddetli bir basın kampanyası sürüp gidiyordu. Arif Ömre'nin en zayıf tarafı, Mütareke döneminde ihanet suçlamasıyla İstiklâl Mahkemelik olmasıdır. Yarı resmi "Milli-yet" gazetesi de kendisine saldırıya başladı. Muhallif "Yılmaz" ve "Son Posta" gazeteleri de kampanyaya katıldı. Basın Kanunun değiştirilmesi dolayısıyla tartışmalar 5 Temmuzda Meclise kaydı. Yunus Nadi şiddetli bir konuşma yaptı. Başbakan İsmet Paşa da uzun fakat dinli bir konuşma yaptı. Muhallif basının tutumu çok üzücü, ama güçsüzdür; Hükümeti sarsamaz. Hükümet, basın hürriyetinin kötüye kullanılmasını önleyici tedbirler hazırlamıştır. Meclis, İsmet Paşa'nın konuşması uzun uzun alkışlanmış, Gazi'ye bağlılığını ve Hükümete güvenini yinelemiştir. |       |
| 102 | 14 Temmuz | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 229.....   | 244   |
|     |           | Irak Kralı Faysal bugün Türkiye'den Viyana'ya ve Bern'e hareket etti. Başbakan Nuri Paşa da dün Bağdat'a hareket etmişti. Kral İstanbul'da, gayri resmi olarak, ama Gazi'nin konuğu sıfatıyla Dolmabahçe'de kaldı ve gençlik yıllarını aradı. Yalnız akşam yemeğinde benimle, öğle yemeğinde de Mısır elçisiyle beraber oldu. Kral ziyaretten memnun kaldı. Somut olarak Irak, 400.000 sterlin tutarındaki petrol gelirinin onda birini Türkiye'ye vermeyi kabul etti.  |       |
| Ek  | 9 Temmuz  | "AKŞAM" GAZETESİ KESİTİ.....  | 245   |
|     |           | Kral Faysal'ın Gezisi ve Türk-Irak Dostluğu.....  | 245   |
|     |           | Ankara'da Gazi ile Kral ve Nuri Sait paşa; İsmet Paşa ile Nuri Sait Paşa; İsmet Paşa ile Irak Maliye Veziri arasında görüşmeler yapıldı. İki ülke arasında Ticaret ve İkamet anlaşmaları müzakerelerine başlanmasına karar verildi; dostluk ve iyi komşuluk ilişkilerinin her iki tarafın yararına olduğu üzerinde görüş birliğine varıldı. Sını  |       |

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| 103 | 14 Temmuz | güvenliği için alınan tedbirlerin samimiyetle uygulandığı anlaşıldı....<br>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 230.....   | 246   |
|     |           | Irak Kralı beninle uzun uzun konuştu. Anlatığına göre: Mayıs ayında Seyh Mahmud'un tesliminden sonra bu ziyaret mümkün olmuş. Gazi, Ruslar'dan düş kırıklığına uğradığını Krala itiraf etmiş; Fransızlara güvenmediğini, İngiltere ile ilişkilerin hızla geliştiğini söylemiş. Gazi'nin, Türkiye, Irak, İran, Afganistan (ve ilerde Suriye ve Türkiye'nin kuzey-doğusundaki küçük Sovyet cumhuriyetleri) arasında ittifak değilse bile yakın ilişkiler kurma emeli beslediğini sanıyorum. Gazi, Faysal'ın ziyaretiyle bu yönde bir adım atmıştır. Faysal, Gazi ile görüşmesinden etkilenmiştir. Gazi'nin düşündüğü bloklaşmaya karşı İngiltere'nin tutumu ne olmalı? Henüz erken ise de İngiltere bunu Yakın Doğu'da barış ve istikrar bakımından olumlu karşılayabilir. |       |
| 104 | 1 Ağustos | İNGİLTERE'NİN PARİS BÜYÜKELÇİSİ TYRRELL'DEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI A. HENDERSON'A ÖZEL MEKTUP .....  | 248   |
|     |           | (Fransa Dışişleri Bakanı) Berthelot, Laval'ın İtalya ile ilişkileri düzeltmek için gidip Mussolini ile görüşmek istediğini; bu amaçla kendisinin (Berthelot'nun) Laval'a yeni bir proje sunduğunu söyledi. Proje, İtalya'yı Kuzey Afrika'da imtiyazlar peşinde koşmaktan ve Fransa ile tartışmaktan vazgeçirip başka tarafa yönlendirmeyi amaçlıyor. Bu çerçevede Fransa, İtalya'nın Anadolu üzerindeki emellerini sempatiyle karşılamaya hazırdır ve Mustafa Kemal'in de uzun yaşamayacağı kanısındadır. Fransa, Yugoslavya'ya ise İtalya ile birlikte üçlü antlaşma yapmayı önermektedir. Yugoslavya'ya Adriyatik üzerindeki emellerinden ve İtalya ile rekabet etmekten vazgeçmesini, buna karşılık Bulgaristan ile işbirliği yaparak gözlerini İstanbul'a            |       |

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|     |            | dikmesini söyleyecektir. Bu son öneri tabii "Türk İmparatorluğu'nun" (Türkiye'nin) dağılmasına bağlıdır. Berthelot bu projenin Laval tarafından ohumlu karşılanacağını ummaktadır... (Bkz.No. 105)   |       |
| 105 | 20 Ağustos | İNGİLTERE'NİN ROMA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ MURRAYDEN FOREIGN OFFICE'DE ORME SARGENT'E ÖZEL MEKTUP .....  | 250   |
|     |            | İlgi No. 104: Berthelot'nun, Mustafa Kemal yakında ölünce İtalya'nın Anadolu'da İtalyan mandası kurması düşüncesi, iki faraziyeye dayanıyor: (1) Mustafa Kemal'in yakında ölmesi kaçınılmazdır: (2) Mustafa Kemal olmayınca Türk Devleti ayakta kalamayacaktır. Bu faraziyelerin ne kadar doğru olduğunu bilemem. Her halükârda bu düşünceler Rusya'nın takınacağı tutumu hesaba katmamaktadır. Yugoslavya'nın Adriyatik'teki emellerinden vazgeçirilerek Bulgarlarla birlikte İstanbul'u işgal etmesine izin verilmesine gelince, bu da inanılmaz bir şeydir. Mustafa Kemal'in yakında ölür ve Türkiye dağılırsa İstanbul sorunu hemen gündeme gelir, ama bu sorunun Yugoslav-Bulgar kombinasyonu ile çözülebileceğini düşünemem... |       |
| 106 | 30 Eylül   | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI MARKİ READİNG'E YAZI NO. 317 .....   | 251   |
|     |            | İkinci Balkan Konferansı 20 Ekimde İstanbul'da başlayacak. Konferansa Hasan Bey (Saka) başkanlık edecek. Açılış konuşmasını Dolmabahçe Sarayı'nda İsmet Paşa yapacak. Öndan sonra konferans Yıldız Köşkü'nde çalışmalarını sürdürecektir. Kapanış oturumunu 26 Ekimde Ankara'da, TBMM binasında yapılacak. Balkan ülkeleri delegelerinin yanı sıra bazı uluslararası kuruluşlar temsilcileri de davet edildi. Konferans altı komisyon halinde çalışacak ve çeşitli konuları inceleyecek. Konferansa daha şimdiden altı muhtıra sunulmuştur ki bunlardan biri bir Balkan Paketi kurulmasını   |       |

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|     |        | önermekte idi. Bulgar delegeleri, Bulgaristan'ın diğer Balkan devletleriyle sorunlarının çözümü için Türkiye'nin arabuluculuk yapmasını ummaktadı. (Bkz. No. 112 ve 113).   |       |
| 107 | 5 Ekim | FOREIGN OFFICE'DE LANCELOT OLIPHANT TAN İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'E ÖZEL MEKTUP .....   | 253   |
|     |        | Tevfik Rüşdü'ye Cenevre'de destek vermemiz mümkün değil; ama Gazi'ye veya Türk hükümetine bazı dostça açılımlarda bulunma önerinizi akılda tutacağız. Yakında çıkacak olan Çanakkale Savaşı Resmi Tarihi'ni İngiliz Hükümeti adına resmen Gazi'ye takdim etmeniz O'nu hoşnut edecektir, sanırım. Ne dersiniz? (Bkz. No. 111)  |       |
| 108 | 7 Ekim | İNGİLTERE'NİN ATİNA ELÇİSİ RAMSAYDEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANİ MARKİ READING'E YAZI. NO. 485 .....   | 254   |
|     |        | Türkiye Başbakanı ve Dışişleri Bakanının Atina ziyareti samimiyet ve iyi niyet içinde geçti. "Ege" vapuruyla gelen konuklar Pire'de törenle karşılandılar; iki başbakan dostça öpüştüler. Tatsız bir olay çıkmadı. Atina şehri 1820'den beri ilk defa Türk bayraklarıyla donatıldı. Büyük bir kalabalık yol boyunca Türk konukları alkışladı. İsmet Paşa, Mustafa Kemal'in özel bir mesajını Yunan Cumhurbaşkanı Zaimis'e sundu. Akşamki resmi yemekte Venizelos, Gazi'nin ve konukların sağlığına ve Türk-Yunan dostluğuna kadeh kaldırdı; Türkiye ile Yunanistan'ın eskiden birbirleriyle düşman olan diğer ülkelere örnek olacak bir uzlaşma gerçekleştirdiklerini, kurdukları dostlukla dünya barışına hizmet ettiklerini söyledi. İsmet Paşa verdiği cevapta, Yunanistan ve Türkiye'nin kurdukları eserin sağlam olduğunu, çünkü iki ülkenin çıkar birliğine dayandığını, coğrafya ve ekonomi başlıca faktörler olarak kaldıkça bu eserin de ayakta kalacağını söyledi. Türk-Yunan Dostluk Antlaşmasının onay belgesi resmen teati edildi. Yayınlanan basın bildirisinde iki ülkenin |       |

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|     |         | bübirlerinin azınlıklarına iyi davranacakları, mübadillerin ziyaretlerine izin vererekleri belirtilmektedir. Bütün program tatsız bir olay çıkıncadan uygulanmış. Venizelos ve Yunan Hükümeti ziyaretin başarıyla sonuçlanmış olmasından dolayı birbirlerini kutladılar. Yunan tarafı elinden geleni yaptı. İsmet Paşa, buradaki dostluk atmosferinden pek etkilendiğini bana söyledi. Biraz soğuk almış olan Venizelos'la ziyaretten sonra görüşemedim. |       |
| 109 | 7 Ekim  | İNGİLTERE'NİN ATİNA ELÇİSİ RAMSAY'DEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANİ MARKİ READING'E YAZI NO. 486  | 257   |
|     |         | Türkiye Başbakanının Atina ziyareti. Hükümet yanlısı, muhalif Cumhuriyetçi Yunan gazeteleri ile "Proia" gazetesi, Türk-Yunan anlaşmasını alkışlıyor. Kralcı gazeteler ise gelişmelere kuşkuyla bakıyor. Türkiye'ye çok taviz verildiğini ileri sürüyorlar.   |       |
| 110 | 8 Ekim  | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANİ MARKİ READING'E YAZI NO. 330.  | 259   |
|     |         | İsmet Paşa'ya karşı Ermeni suikası olayı 20 Eylülde ortaya çıkarıldı ama kanunoyuna geç duyuruldu. Gazi 25 Eylülde İstanbul'dan Ankara'ya döndü.   |       |
| 111 | 12 Ekim | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ CLERK'TEN FOREIGN OFFICE'DE LANCELOT OLIPHANT'A ÖZEL MEKTUP   | 260   |
|     |         | İlgi: No. 107; Çanakkale Savaşı Resmi Tarihinin Gazi'ye takdim edilmesi çok iyi bir düşüncedir ve uygundur.  |       |
| 112 | 14 Ekim | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANİ MARKİ READING'E YAZI NO. 337   | 261   |
|     |         | İlgi: No. 106. Yunus Nadi'nin yazdığına göre, Gazi, üç yıl önce Türkiye ile Balkan ülkeleri arasında bir antant düşündüğünü, çünkü Balkan halklarının kökenlerinin aynı olduğunu   |       |



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|     |         | söylenmiştir. Türkler, Osmanlılardan çok önce Türkistan'dan Rusya'ya ve oradan Balkanlara sızmışlar ve Avrupa üzerinden Anadolu'ya gelmişlerdir. Din, Balkan halklarının ortak kökenini karartmıştır. Ortak kökenden gelen, yakın zamana kadar birlikte yaşamış olan Balkan halkları gelecekte de neden birlikte, ahenk içinde yaşamıslar? Türkiye bir Avrupa devletidir ama önce bir Balkan devletidir. Bu düşüncelerini Yunus Nadi'ye açıklamış olan Gazi, Balkan halkları arasında bir antant kurmayı yüce bir görev saydığını belirtmiştir. Bu yazılanların Gazi'nin gerçek duygularını yansıttığı kanısındayım. (Bkz. No. 113) |       |
| 113 | 22 Ekim | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI MARKİ READING'E YAZI NO. 347 .....  | 262   |
|     |         | İlgi: No. 106: İkinci Balkan Konferansına kaulan 200 delege 19 Ekimde İstanbul'da toplandı. Ertesi gün konferans açıldı. Buna bütünü diplomatik ve konsolosluk heyetleri ve pek çok gazeteci de davet edildi. Konferans Başkanı Hasan Bey (Saka) bir konuşma yaptı. Ardından heyet başkanlarının her biri alfabetik sırayla söz aldı. Arnavut delegesi, Sırp yönetimindeki azınlık sorununa parmak bastı. Oturum, Başbakan İsmet Paşa'nın konuşmasıyla sona erdi. Öğleden sonra ve ertesi gün komisyonlar halinde çalışmalar devam etti. Komisyonlarda çok çeşitli konular görüşüldü. (Bkz. No. 116)                                |       |
| 114 | 23 Ekim | İNGİLTERE'NİN MOSKOVA ELÇİSİ STRANG'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI READING'E YAZI NO. 554 .....   | 264   |
|     |         | Sovyet Dışişleri Komiseri Litvinov, Tevfik Rüştü Bey'in ziyaretini iade etmek için dün Ankara'ya gitti. Herhalde Türkiye'yi Milletler Cemiyeti'ne girmekten, kapitalist ülkelerle mali anlaşmalar yapmaktan caydırmaya çalışacaktır. (Bkz. No. 115)   |       |

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| 115 | 28 Ekim | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ<br>CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI MARKİ RE-<br>ADING'E YAZI NO. 353 .....  | 265   |
|     |         | İlgi: No. 114: Litvinov, 27 Ekimde Ankara'ya geldi;<br>30 Ekime kadar burada kalacak ve 29 Ekim<br>törenlerinde hazır bulunacak. Ziyaretin, dostluk<br>bağlarını geliştirmekten başka bir amacı yok. Lit-<br>vinov, Türk basınına verdiği demeçte, Türkiye ile<br>dostluğun Sovyet politikasının temel taşı oldu-<br>ğunu söyledi. Arada bazı sürtüşmelere rağmen<br>Türk-Rus dostluğu eskisi gibi devam ediyor. (Bkz.<br>No. 117).   |       |
| 116 | 28 Ekim | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ<br>CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI MARKİ RE-<br>ADING'E YAZI NO. 354 .....  | 266   |
|     |         | İlgi: No. 113. İkinci Balkan Konferansı delegeleri<br>26 Ekimde Ankara'ya geldiler. Cumhurbaşkanı ta-<br>rafından kabul edildiler. Gazi, her heyeti ayrı ayrı<br>kabul etti. Konferansın son oturumu yapıldı. Siyasi<br>komite raporu okunup kabul edildi. Son olarak<br>Genel Sekreter Ruşen Eşref ile Başkan Hasan<br>Beylerin konuşmalarıyla konferans kapandı. Öğle-<br>den sonra ve akşam çeşitli etkinlikler düzenlendi.<br>Gece yarısından sonra delegeler trenle İstanbul'a<br>hareket ettiler.   |       |
| 117 | 1 Kasım | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ<br>CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI MARKİ RE-<br>ADING'E YAZI NO. 358. GİZLİ .....   | 267   |
|     |         | İlgi No. 115: Litvinov'un Ankara ziyareti. Türk<br>basını, bu ziyaretin iki ülke arasındaki köklü dost-<br>luğın pekiştirmek amacı taşıdığını, bu dostluğun<br>Yakın Doğu'da barış faktörü olduğunu yazıyor.<br>Tevfik Rüştü Bey, bu ziyaret sırasında, 1925<br>Dostluk ve Tarafsızlık Antlaşmasının süresinin<br>uzatılacağını söyledi. Litvinov, Türk-Sovyet dostlu-<br>ğunun iki ülke halklarının yüreklerine kök salmış<br>olduğunu söyledi; yeni yapılmış olan Ticaret<br>antlaşmasına ve ekonomik işbirliğine değindi.<br>Litvinov, 30 Ekimde Ankara'dan ayrıldı. Litvinov, |       |

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|     |         | Sovyet Hükümeti adına İsmet Paşa'ya yapılan daveti yineledi. (Bkz. No. 119)  |       |
| 118 | 1 Kasım | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI MARKİ READING'E YAZI NO. 359 .....   | 270   |
|     |         | Dördüncü dönem TBMM Cumhurbaşkanlığı tarafından açıldı. Gazi, konuşmasında, ekonomi, hükümete güven, dünya krizi karşısında yurttan barış dünyada barış konuları üzerinde durdu. Dış politikada İsmet Paşa'nın Atina ziyareti, Kral Faysal'ın Ankara ziyaretine değindi. Bu defa az alkışlandı. Fethi Bey ve eşi de Cumhurbaşkanlığı locasında idi.  |       |
| 119 | 1 Kasım | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI MARKİ READING'E YAZI NO. 361. GİZLİ. ....  | 271   |
|     |         | Litvinov'un Ankara ziyareti hakkında izlenimler ve yorumlar: Lord Athlone'un Ankara ziyaretinden sonra Sovyet Dışişleri Komiserinin bu ziyareti yapması Moskova için gerekli olmuştur. Ziyaret heyecansız geçmiştir. Litvinov, Türkiye'nin Milletler Cemiyetiyle flört etmesini hoş karşılamamış; Türklerin cevabı da onu tatmin etmemiştir. Litvinov'un bu ziyaretten pek memnun kalmadığı söyleniyor.  |       |
| 120 | 1 Kasım | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI MARKİ READING'E YAZI NO. 364. ....   | 272   |
|     |         | Litvinov ve eşi Ankara'da 29 Ekim kutlamalarında şeref konukları olarak hazır bulundular. Kordiplomatların Cumhurbaşkanlığı tarafından kabulünden sonra resmi geçit töreni yapıldı. Yenilik olarak dağ topları ve uçaksavar silahları geçirildi. İzçiler geçen yıllara göre daha kalabalıktı. <i>Hakimiyet-i Milliye</i> , bu gösterilerden Litvinov'un pek hoşnut kaldığını yazdı. Törenden sonra Gazi, Fethi Bey'le birlikte gitti. Ankara Palas'taki akşam yemeğinde Bay ve Bayan Litvinov ve kordiplomatik davetliydi. Yemeğin ardından Halk Partisi bir balo verdi. Ba- |       |

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|     |         | yan Litvinov balodaki Türk hanımların sık kıyafetlerinden pek etkilendi. Gazi, İngiliz ve Fransız askeri atışelerine, 'ülkeleriniz dünyanın yarından çoğunu fethetmekle insanlığa karşı hareket etmektedir' demıştır. Konuşmayı çeviren Fethi Bey, sesini alçaltarak, Binbaşı O'Leary'ye, 'bu sözleri hepten umutlusunuz umarım' demiş.   |       |
| 121 | 2 Kasım | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI MARKİ READING'E YAZI NO. 366, ÇOK GİZLİ .....   | 274   |
|     |         | Bugün öğleden sonra Bakanı görmek için Dışişlerinde bir saat bekletilmem üzerine Bakanlığı terk edip geri döndüm. Az sonra Tevfik Rüşdü Bey telefonla beni aradı, bir hata olduğunu söyleyerek özür diledi ve beni saat sekizde kabul etti. Telâşlıydı. Nedeni, Fransa'nın Suriye tahtını Kral Faysal'a önermesiymiş. Bakan, Fransa'nın Suriye politikasından endişeli, çünkü Fransa'nın Suriye'ye bağımsızlık vermediğini, orada kalmak niyetinde olduğunu, Kral Faysal'ın da Fransız politikasının masası olacağını düşünüyor; oysa İngiltere Irak'a bağımsızlık vermiştir. Türkiye, her ülkeyle dost olmak ve barış içinde geçinmek istiyor. Fakat Fransa, 'Küçük Antant'a katılmamış olan Türkiye'yi bağışlamıyor. Türkiye, Yakın Doğuda Versailles'ın 'jandarması' olmak niyetinde değildir... Bakan, bir azatten fazla konuştu. Doğrudan bir talepte bulunmadı, ama İngiltere'den bir güvence bekliyor gibiydi. Fakat Fransa'nın Suriye politikasından Türkiye'nin duyduğu kuşku ve kaygıları büsbütün gidermek kolay olmayacaktır. Tevfik Rüşdü Bey'in kuşku ve kaygılarının temelinde Paris Bankası'nın (Banque de Paris) politikası yatmaktadır. Bu banka ve Osmanlı Bankası, Türkiye'nin yabancıların mali kontrolü altına girmemeye ne kadar kararlı olduğunu pek kavrayamamaktadır. Fransız meslektaşını bu konuda bana tek kelime söylemedi. |       |

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| 122 | 3 Kasım  | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI MARKİ READING'E YAZI NO. 367 .....<br>30 Ekimde imzalanan Türk-Sovyet Protokolünün örneği ilişiktir.  | 276   |
| Ek  | 1 Kasım  | "LA REPUBLIQUE" (CUMHURİYET) GAZETESİ KESİTİ .....<br>Türk-Sovyet Antlaşmasının Uzatılmasına Dair Protokol .....<br>Türkiye ve Sovyetler Birliği Hükümetleri, 17 Aralık 1925 tarihinde Paris'te imzalamış oldukları Dostluk ve Tarafsızlık Antlaşmasının süresini uzatmaya karar vermişler ve bu antlaşma ile buna bağlı üç protokol, sürelerinin bitiş tarihinden itibaren beş yıl süreyle uzatılmıştır. Bu protokol onay tarihinde yürürlüğe girecektir. 30 Ekim 1931 tarihinde Anlara'da imzalanmıştır. (İmzalar: Türkiye adına Tevfik Rüşü (Aras) ve Hüseyin Ragıp (Baydur); SSCB adına Litvinov ve Souritz). | 277   |
| 123 | 28 Kasım | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON' A TEL. NO. 73. GİZLİ .....<br>Tatile çıkacağını bilen Cumhurbaşkanı, yanında bulunan sırdaşı Berlin Büyükelçisini bana gönderdi ve İslâm Konferansı konusunda Türkiye ile İngiltere'nin ortak hareket etmelerini önerdi. Gazi, kendi politikasını belirlemiştir, ama İngiltere'nin tutumunu öğrenmeden bir harekette bulunmayacağını bildiriyor. (Bkz. No. 124)   | 278   |
| 124 | 1 Aralık | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON' A YAZI NO. 397 .....<br>İlgi No. 123: Filistin'de toplanacak İslâm Konferansı konusunda Tevfik Rüşü Bey'e özetle şunları bildirdim: 'İngiltere, konferansta politik sorumluluğu ortaya atılmayacağını ve Türkiye'nin rahatsız edilmeyeceğini düşünmektedir. Halifelik konusu da gündeme gelmeyecektir. İngiltere, İmparator-  | 278   |

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|     |          | <i>İngünü düşünerek, Müslümanların dini işlerine karışmak istemiyor ve konferansın uzak duracaktır...</i> Tevfik Rüştü Bey, bildirdiklerinden hiç hoşnut kalmadı. İngiltere'nin konferansın "uzak durma" tutumunu sorguladı. Türkiye'nin konferansı yakından izleyeceğini, meselâ şeriat konusu tartışılırsa bunu Türkiye'nin içişlerine karışma sayacağını söyledi. Konuşmasından, İngiltere'nin bu konferansı yasaklamasını beklediği anlaşıyordu. Tevfik Rüştü Bey, verdiği bilgileri tabii Cumhurbaşkanına ve İsmet Paşa'ya arz edeceğini söyledi. Konferans aleyhinde Türkiye'de bir kampanya açılırsa, korkarım ki, İngiltere de eleştirilerden ve suçlamalardan nasibini alacak ve Türklerin İngiltere'ye gösterdiği dostluk frenlenecektir. |       |
| 125 | 9 Aralık | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO.416.....   | 280   |
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| 126 | 7 Ocak   | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 7.....  | 282   |
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1931 yılında Türkiye, dışarıda ve özellikle komşularıyla barış ve dostluk, içeride, kalkınmaya zarar vermeden sıkı ekonomik önlemler uygulama politikası izledi. Türkiye'nin politikası birçok bakımdan Sovyetlerin politikasına benziyor. Ama Sovyet Rusya kapitalizmi yıkmaya çalışırken, Türkiye, kapitalist ülkeleri model olarak alıyor ve onları geçmeyi amaçlıyor. Başlıca kaynağı tarım olan Türkiye, köylülerin vergi yükünü azalttı ve onları modern metotlar kullanmaya, kooperatifler kurmaya, yerli sanayi geliştirmek için de "yerli malı" tüketmeye özendirdi. Hedeflerine ulaşabilmesi için Türkiye'nin barışa ve sınırlarında güvenliğe ihtiyacı var. Güneyde Fransa'nın tutumu Türkleri sinirlendirdi. 1931'de Mustafa Kemal yeniden Cumhurbaşkanı seçildi. Etkinliğini barış için kullandı. Başka ülkelere karşı dostluk gösterildi. ABD'ye karşı dostluk arttı. Türkiye'ye üst düzey ziyaretler yapıldı. Bütçede kısıtlama yapıldı. İthalat azaltıldı. Yıl nispeten iyi geçirildi.

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*Giriş:* Türkiye ile dostluk bakımından Rusya yine birinci sırada. Sonra Yunanistan, Macaristan, Bulgaristan ve İtalya geliyor. Fransa ise büyük devletlerin en arkasında kalıyor. İran'la ilişkiler iyileşti. Japon Prensi Takamatsu, İngiliz Prensesi Alice ve eşi Lord Athlone; Irak Kralı Faysal; Bulgar Başbakanı Muşanov; Sovyet Dışişleri Komiseri Litvinov Ankara'yı; Türkiye Başbakanı ile Dışişleri Bakanı da Atina ve Budapeşte'yi ziyaret ettiler. İstanbul'da İkinci Balkan Konferansı toplandı. Türkiye'nin barışçı tutumu devam etti.



No

Tarihi

Kimden Kime Yazıldığı ve Özü

Sayfa

*Milletler Cemiyeti:* Türkiye, Milletler Cemiyetine (MC) girmek için daha istekli göründü, fakat "Batılı" devletler ile Rusya arasında kaldı. Konseyle daimi üyelik için ısrar etmeyeceğini, yarı-daimi üyelikle yetineceğini İngiltere'ye bildirdi ve destek istedi. Bu talebin desteklenemeyeceği cevabı verildi. Litvinov ise Türkiye'yi MC'den caydırmaya çalıştı. Başkaca bir gelişme olmadı.

*Avrupa Birliği* önerisiyle ilgili toplantıya Türkiye önce davet edilmemişti, sonra davet edildiyse de yine toplantı dışında tutuldu ve sonunda Tefdik Rüşü Bey Ön Komisyonunda ülkesini temsil etti.

*Balkan Federasyonu* konusunda Türkiye'nin şüpheliği azalmış görünüyor. Bu değişme, İkinci Balkan Konferansının İstanbul'da yapılmış olmasından kaynaklanıyor. Ama bu konferansın net sonuçları cılız oldu.

*İngiltere:* 1931'de Türk-İngiliz ilişkileri dostluk içinde geçti. Prenses Alice ile Lord Athlone'un Ankara'ya yaptıkları ziyaret Türkleri pek hoşnut etti. Şair Masfield Ankara Türk Ocağı'nda İngiliz şiiri konusunda konferans verdi ve iyi etki yaptı. Lawrence'i ve diğer "İngiliz ajanları"nı ima ettirecek tuzak bir iç gelişme de olmadı. İngiltere'deki kriz vs. de Türkiye'de sempatiyle yorumlandı. Türk Genelkurumayı İngiltere'ye hâlâ ihtiyatla, hatta kuşkuyla bakıyor. Aralık başında Kudüs'te toplanan İslam Konferansı Türk resmi çevrelerinin İngiltere'ye karşı dostluğunu bir ara tehdit ettiyse de sonu kötü olmadı.

*Kıbrıs:* Türkiye'den Kıbrıs'a bir öğretmen getirildi, fakat bu öğretmen çok geçmeden geri döndü. Başka öğretmen çağırılmadı. Türk basını Kıbrıs'taki ayaklanmaya az ilgi gösterdi ve haberleri vermekle yetindi, pek yorum yapmadı.

*Irak:* Yıl içinde, bazı sınır olaylarına rağmen Türk-Irak ilişkileri dostça kaldı. Kral Faysal Temmuzda Ankara'ya resmi bir ziyaret yaptı ve ziyaret çok başarılı geçti. Çeşitli konular görüşüldü. Irak

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|     |        | Başbakanı Nuri Said de bazı konuları görüşmek üzere yıl sonunda Ankara'ya geldi.  |       |
|     |        | <i>Filistin</i> : Türk-Filistin ticaret anlaşması konusunda bir gelişme olmadı.   |       |
|     |        | <i>Afganistan</i> : Türkiye, Kâbil Askeri okulunda yalnız Türk öğretmenler kullanılması için ısrar etti. Kral Nadir Şah ise bunu onaylamadı.  |       |
|     |        | <i>Arnavutluk</i> : Gazi, İkinci Balkan Konferansı dolayısıyla Arnavut Kralına da bir telgraf gönderdi ve "Majesteleri" diye hitap etti. Böylece Türkiye Arnavutluk monarşisini tanımış oldu ve ama iki ülke arasındaki ilişkiler henüz olması gereken düzeye gelmedi.  |       |
|     |        | <i>Belçika</i> : Türkiye ile Belçika arasında iki anlaşma imzalandı.  |       |
|     |        | <i>Brezilya</i> : Türkiye'ye atanan ilk Brezilya Elçisi güven mektubunu sundu.  |       |
|     |        | <i>Bulgaristan</i> : Bulgar Kralı ve Kraliçesinin Türkiye'yi ziyaret edeceği söylentileri çıktı, ama ziyaret gerçekleşmedi. Aralık ayı başında Bulgar Başbakanı Muşanov, eşiyle birlikte Ankara'ya resmi bir ziyaret yaptı. Ziyaret her iki tarafta hoşnutluk yarattı ve Türk-Bulgar dostluğu gerçek oldu. Türk-Bulgar Ticaret ve Denizcilik Anlaşması yürürlüğe girdi. |       |
|     |        | <i>Çin</i> : Türkiye ile Çin arasında dostluk antlaşması imzalandı. Fakat henüz onaylanmadı. Çin'deki Türk maslahatgüzarı bütçede tasarruf nedeniyle geri çekildi.  |       |
|     |        | <i>Çekoslovakya</i> : Türkiye ile Çekoslovakya arasında imzalanan iki anlaşma onaylandı.  |       |
|     |        | <i>Danimarka</i> : Türkiye-Danimarka Ticaret ve Denizcilik anlaşması yürürlüğe girdi.   |       |
|     |        | <i>Mısır</i> : Türk-Mısır ilişkilerinde yumuşama oldu. İki ülke arasında Ticaret Anlaşması ve İkamet sözleşmesi müzakere edildi.  |       |
|     |        | <i>Estonya</i> : Türk-Estonya Ticaret Anlaşması yürürlüğe girdi.  |       |

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|     |        | <i>Finlandiya:</i> Fin Elçisi Türkiye'ye geldi, iki ülke arasında doğrudan ilişkiler kuruldu.   |       |
|     |        | <i>Fransa:</i> Türkiye-Fransa Dostluk Antlaşması imzalandı ama Fransa tarafından henüz onaylanmadı. Suriye'de kalan Türk emläki ve Türkiye'de Suriye-lilere ait emläk sorunu çözülemedi. Suriye sınırındaki kaçakçılık Türkiye'de tepki yaratıyor. Osmanlı borçları sorunu da var. Türkiye-Fransa Ticaret Antlaşması yürürlüğe girdi. |       |
|     |        | <i>Almanya:</i> Türkiye-Almanya ilişkileri dostça ve fakat daha ziyade ekonomiyle sınırlı kaldı. Suçluların İadesi antlaşması onaylandı, Konsolosluk Antlaşması yürürlüğe girdi.  |       |
|     |        | <i>Yunanistan:</i> Ekim 1930'da Venizelos'un ziyaretinden beri Türk-Yunan ilişkileri pek samimidir. 1931'de İsmet Paşa, Tefik Rüşti Bey ile birlikte Atina'ya resmi bir ziyaret yaptı. Mübadil Rumların Türkiye'yi ziyaret etmelerine izin verildi.   |       |
|     |        | <i>Hicaz-Necet:</i> Türkiye ile İbni Suud Krallığı ilişkileri dostçadır ve iki ülke arasında bir Dostluk Antlaşması var.  |       |
|     |        | <i>Macaristan:</i> Türk-Macar ilişkileri pek dostça sürüyor. 1931'de Türkiye Başbakanı, Dışişleri Bakanı ile Budapeşte'ye resmi bir ziyaret yaptı ve M. Valko ve Kont Bethlen'in Ankara ziyaretlerini İade etti. Ziyaret başarılı geçti.  |       |
|     |        | <i>İtalya:</i> Türk-İtalyan ilişkileri çok dostça. Arada tek sorun Meis yakınındaki adacıkların kime ait olduğudur. İsmet Paşa İtalya'ya davet edildi, ama ziyaret henüz yapılmadı. Konsolosluk Antlaşması onaylandı.   |       |
|     |        | <i>Japonya:</i> Ocak ayında Prens Takamatsu Ankara'ya resmi bir ziyaret yaptı. Japon mallarının dumpingi Türkiye'de tepki yarattı ve ithalata kota kondu. Ticaret antlaşması onaylandı, ama henüz yürürlüğe girmedi.  |       |
|     |        | <i>Litvanya:</i> Türkiye-Litvanya Dostluk Antlaşması onaylandı.   |       |

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*Hollanda:* Türkiye-Hollanda Ticaret Anlaşması imzalandı.

*Norveç:* Türkiye-Norveç Ticaret Anlaşması onaylandı.

*İran:* 1930'da gergin olan Türk-İran ilişkileri 1931'de düzeldi. İki ülke toprak değiş tokuşuyla sınır düzeltilmesi yaparak. Arada bazı pürüzler kalmış. Tefik Rüşti Bey İran'a davet edildi.

*Polonya:* Cevat Bey Türkiye'nin Varşova Büyükelçiliğine atandı. Türkiye-Polonya Ticaret ve İkamet Anlaşmaları imzalandı.

*Romanya:* Türkiye-Romanya Ticaret Anlaşması yürürlüğe girdi.

*Sovyetler Birliği,* hâlâ Türkiye'nin "büyük dostu" dur. Ancak Rusya için ideal bir sistem olan komünizm Türkiye'ye uymuyor. Sovyet Dışişleri Komiseri Litvinov, Ekim ayında Ankara'yı ziyaret etti. İki ülke arasında imzalanan Ticaret anlaşması yürürlüğe girdi ve Denizcilik Protokolünün süresi uzatıldı.

*İspanya:* Türkiye, İspanya Cumhuriyetini ilk tanıyan ülkelerden biri oldu. Hakem Anlaşması onaylandı, Ticaret Anlaşması imzalandı.

*İsveç :* Türkiye-İsveç Ticaret Anlaşması yürürlüğe girdi.

*İsviçre:* Ticaret Anlaşmasıyla İkamet Sözleşmesi onaylandı.

*ABD:* Türkiye-ABD ilişkileri dostça devam ediyor ve Türkiye'deki Amerikan eğitim kurumları çok geliyor. Amerikan mali çevrelerinin ilgisini çekmeye çalışan Türkiye, Saraçoğlu Şükrü Bey'i ABD'ye gönderdi. Türk-ABD İkamet Sözleşmesi imzalandı.

*Yugoslavya:* Türk-Yugoslav ilişkilerinde, geçen yıldan daha fazla bir yaklaşma olmadı. Makedonya'da el konulan Müslüman emlakı sorunu çözüm bekliyor. Bulgar Başbakanının Ankara'ya yaptığı ziyaret Yugoslav basınında eleştirildi.

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|     |        | <b>III-İçişleri</b> .....   | 305   |
|     |        | <i>Giriş:</i> Menemen olayının gerginliği 1931 yılına taşı. Sert önlemler alındı, 28 kişi asıldı. Bu arada Cumhurbaşkanı halkın nabzını tutmak için yurdu dolaştı. Gazi'nin üç ay süren yurt gezilerinin ardından genel seçimlerin yenilenmesine karar verildi. Mecliste 30 sandalye muhalefet adaylarına ayrıldı ve 20 muhalif seçildi. İçerde sükunet sağlanınca Hükümet, dış ilişkileri geliştirmeye ve mali krize eğilmeye yöneldi. Bütçeden 36 milyon TL. kesinti yapıldı. Memur sayısı ve maaşlar azaltıldı. Gümrük ve Tekel Bakanlığı ile Tarım Bakanlığı kuruldu. Parasızlığa rağmen milli savunma yüksek standartta tutuldu, demiryollarını ve eğitimi geliştirmeye para ayrıldı ve Avrupa ülkeleriyle karşılaştırılınca Türkiye'de daha az sıkıntı yaşandı. |       |
|     |        | <i>Kürtler:</i> 1931'de Kürt ayaklanması olmadı. Tedbirler alındı. Şeyh Mahmut Irak'a teslim edildi. İran'la sınırın düzeltilmesi için müzakereler başla-dı ve devam ediyor. Bir yıl önceki ayaklanmaya katılan Kürtler yargılandı. İngiliz Büyükelçiliğinden iki görevli Doğu Anadolu'yu dolaştı. İçişleri Bakanı da o bölgeyi ziyaret etti. Doğu Anadolu'da tek tük kanunsuzluklar hâlâ görülüyor.  |       |
|     |        | <i>Eğitim:</i> İlkokul çağındaki bütün çocukların yalnız Türk okullarına gitmelerini öngören bir yasa çıkarıldı. Türkiye'de Latin eğitim sisteminden Anglo-Sakson eğitim sistemine yönelme eğilimi baş gösterdi.  |       |
|     |        | <i>Azınlıklar:</i> Rumlara karşı muameleler iyileşti. Ermenilerin durumunda değişme yok. İsmet Paşa'ya karşı bir Ermeni suikast hazırlığı ortaya çıkarıldı.   |       |
|     |        | <i>Kamu Güvenliği, Suçlar ve Hapishaneler.</i> 1931'de Türkiye'de şiddetli bir karışıklık çıkmadı. Hapishane avlusunda bütün mahkûmlar bir arada tutuluyor. Firarlar pek zor olmuyor. Yine de mahkûmlar ıslah ediliyor. Adliye teşkilâtında yabancı danışmanı kalmadı.  |       |

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|     |        | <b>IV-Ticari ve Ekonomik İşler</b> .....  | 310   |
|     |        | <p>İthalata kota kondu. Bakan, ticaret dengesizliğinin azalacağını, Türk parasının istikrara kavuşacağını ve yerli sanayinin gelişeceğini söyledi. Kota koyarken tüccara bir süre tahminahydı. Girişim yapıldı. Yeni kotalar daha liberal oldu.</p> <p><i>Maliye:</i> 1931-32 bütçesi gelirlerinde % 16 azalma oldu. Giderlerde kısıtlanmaya gidildi. Osmanlı borç taksitleri de azaltıldı. (Son üç bütçenin karşılaştırmalı istatistikleri). Maliye Bakanı, son beş yılda bütçe gelirlerinin tahminlerin altında gerçekleştiğini söyledi. Bu yıl bütçenin hem gelirleri, hem giderleri kısılacak. Ticaret dengesizliği azalacak. Yine de dengeli bütçe yapmak zor olacak gibi görünüyor.</p> <p><i>Tarım ürünleri:</i> İhracata dönük ürünlerde iyileşme, fiyatlarda ise düşme var. (1930 ve 1931 yılları ürün miktarlarını ve fiyatlarını gösteren istatistikler)</p> <p><i>Demiryolları</i> yapımı hızla ilerliyor: 580 kilometrelik Ankara-Kayseri-Sivas hattı tamamlandı. 380 kilometrelik Samsun-Sivas ve 220 kilometrelik Kütahya-Balıkesir hatları bitti sayılır. Ötekiler ilerliyor veya bitmek üzere. <i>Karayolları</i> için de ödenekler ayrılmıştır.</p> <p><i>Sanayi</i> yavaş yavaş gelişiyor. Yatırım için sermaye olmayışı gelişmeyi yavaşlatıyor; yine de küçük fabrikalar, atölyeler kuruluyor; yerli malı özendiriliyor ve bazı ürünlerin ithalatı azalıyor.</p> <p><i>Ticaret:</i> Kota konması İngiltere'den ithalata ciddi darbe vurdu. (Son beş yılla ilgili karşılaştırmalı istatistik tabloları.). Türkiye'nin ihracat gelirlerinde bu yıl görülen azalma, dünya fiyatlarındaki düşüşten ileri gelmiştir.</p> |       |
|     |        | <b>V-Deniz Kuwetleri</b> .....  | 318   |
|     |        | <p>İtalya'ya sipariş edilmiş iki destroyer, üç sahil muhafaza botu ve iki denizaltı Türkiye'ye teslim edildi. İki destroyerin daha İtalya'da yapımı</p>   |       |

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sürüyor. Eğitimde yeterli gelişme olmadı. Deniz Kuvvetleri bütçesinde artış öngörüldü. Yunanistan ve Rusya ile Denizcilik anlaşmaları yapıldı. "Yavuz" Malta'ya ziyaret edecek. İngiliz gemileri bu yıl yalnız Gelibolu Yarımadasındaki savaş mezarlıklarını ziyaret için Türk sularına geldi. İki Türk deniz subayı İngiltere'de staj gördü. Türk hükümeti kurmay eğitimi için İngiltere'ye subay göndermek istedi. Bu istek kabul edilmedi. Türk deniz subayları Sovyet Rusya, Fransa, İtalya ve Japonya'da da staj görüyor. Türk Deniz Kuvvetlerinde Alman hocalar da var.

#### VI-Kara Kuvvetleri

320

Birliklerin eğitiminde ilerleme oldu; üniformaları iyileşti. Doğuda ciddi bir olay çıkmadı. Bütçe yetersizliği yüzünden büyük çaplı manevra yapılamadı; yalnız tümen çapında manevralar yapılabilirdi. Güney sınırından kaçakçılığı önlemek için önlemler alınıyor. Yüksek komutanlar arasında pek değişiklik olmadı. Salih Paşa I. Kolordu Komutanlığına, Kenan Paşa VII. Kolordu komutanlığına atandı. Milli Savunma Bakanlığı ve Genelkurmay Başkanlığı binaları tamamlandı. Yıldız'daki Harp Akademisine artık deniz subayları da katılıyor. Ordunun motorlu taşıtlara, özellikle hafif araçlara ihtiyacı var. 1929 yılında sipariş edilen toplar ve uçaksavarlar halen orduya teslim edilmektedir. Bütçe yüzünden ağır toplar sipariş edilemiyor. Az sayıda uçak satın alınabildi. 1932'de yeni siparişler verilecek.

#### VII-Çeşitli Konular

321

*Osmanlı borçlarında sorun çıktı.* Türkiye taksiti tam ödeyemedi ve bir çözüm bulunması için görüşme istedi. Konsey, karar veremedi; Türkiye'nin iflas edeceğini düşündü, görüşmeye yanaşmadı. Bazıları da Türkiye'nin borcunu ödeyebileceğini düşündü. İngiltere, görüşmelere başlanmasından yanaydı. Maliye uzmanı M. Rist, görüşmelere başlanmasını tavsiye etti. Sonunda Ankara'da



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görüşmeler başladı. Türk önerileri kabul edilmedi. Anlaşmaya varılamadı.

*Uyuşturucu ticareti:* Türk hükümeti uyuşturucu kaçakçılığına karşı önlemler alacağını bildirdi. Ama kaçakçılık tam önlenemedi.

*İngiliz kuruluşları ve İngiliz kolonisi:* İstanbul'da ve İzmir'deki iki İngiliz hastanesinin ve İzmir'deki üç Anglikan kilisesinin statüsünde bir değişiklik olmadı ama, parasızlık yüzünden hastaneler başkalarına kiralandı. İstanbul'da 2.600 İngiliz vatandaşı var. Bunların 1.100'ü İngiltere kökenlidir. Bunların da 700-800 kadarı asıl İngiliz kolonisini oluşturuyor. Yayı 150-200 kadar aile reisi: İstanbul'da Moda, Bebek ve Beyoğlu semtlerinde oturuyorlar. Bunlar hakkında bilgiler. (Büyük) Savaş ve sonuçları, İngiliz kolonisi için felâket oldu. İngiliz vatandaşları imtiyazlı durumlarını kaybettiler. Koloninin bugünkü durumu pek parlak değil... (İstanbul'daki İngiliz kolonisi ve bazı aileler, bunların yaşamları vs. hakkında geniş bilgi).

*Haber Servisleri ve Propaganda:* Tasarruf için Matbuat Umum Müdürlüğü kapatıldı. Türkiye'de bir tek haber ajansı Anadolu Ajansı'dır. "Hakimiyet-i Milliye" ve İstanbul gazetelerinin çoğu hükümetten dolayı ve doğrudan destek alıyor. Türk Ocağı, Halk Partisi'yle birleştiğinden şimdi kültürel propagandayı bu parti üstlendi. Ticari propagandayı "Türk İhracat Ofisi", turizm propagandasını da Türk Turing Kulübü yürütüyor.

*Türkiye'nin 1931 Yılında İmzaladığı Anlaşmalar:* Listedeki, Türkiye'nin 1931 yılında 21 ülke ile yapmış olduğu 35 anlaşmanın adları, konuları, imza tarihleri, onay belgelerinin teatisi ve yürürlüğe giriş tarihleri verilmektedir. Aynı listede, yine 1931'de TBMM'nin kabul etmiş olduğu 18 yasanın sayılarının, yayım tarihlerinin ve konularının dökümü yer almaktadır.

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| 127 | 27 Ocak  | İNGİLTERE'NİN TAHRAN ELCİSİ HOARE'DAN<br>DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO.<br>46.....   | 337        |
|     |          | Türkiye Dışişleri Bakanı Tevfik Rüştü Bey (Aras), İzmir Mebusu Celâl Bey (Bayar) ile birlikte 18 Ocak günü Tahran'a geldi. 24 Ocakta yayınlanan bildiride, iki ülke arasında sınır düzeltilmesi için anlaşma sağlandığı; ikamet, ticaret ve suçluların geri verilmesi anlaşmaları için müzakerelere başlanmasına karar verildiği belirtilmektedir. Ziyaret çok başarılı geçmiş, geçmişten gelen güvensizlik ve şüpheler giderilmiştir. Tevfik Rüştü Bey, bana, sizin de ( İngiltere Dışişleri Bakanının da) Mayıs'ta Ankara'ya ziyaret edeceği yolunda bir haber aldığını söyledi. |            |
| Ek  | 24 Ocak  | "MESSAGEUR DE TEHERAN" GAZETESİ KESİTİ<br>(İran) Dışişleri Bakanlığı'nın Resmî Tebliği .....   | 339<br>339 |
|     |          | Tahran'a gelen Dr. Tevfik Rüştü Bey, Şehinşahi Hazretlerine Türkiye Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal'in kardeşlik mesajını sundu; Türk hükümetinin dostluk mesajını getirdi. Görüşmeler sonunda Türkiye ile İran arasındaki sınırın düzeltilmesine dair bir anlaşma ve bir hakem anlaşması imzalandı. Taraflar ayrıca bir ikamet ve ticaret anlaşması yapılması arzularını dile getirdiler.  |            |
| 128 | 5 Şubat  | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G.<br>CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'<br>A YAZI NO. 53.....  | 340        |
|     |          | Bu Ramazanda birçok camide Kuran Türkçe okundu. Bu yenilik İslam dinî konusunda Türkiye'de resmi tutumu gösteriyor. Hükümet, dindar halk kitlelerini yeni rejime çekmeyi, Türk milliyetçiliğiyle birlikte dine modern bir görünüş vermeyi amaçlıyor, denilebilir. (Bkz. No. 129).  |            |
| 129 | 12 Şubat | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G.<br>CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'<br>A YAZI NO. 60.....  | 341        |

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|        |          | İlgi No. 128: Ayasofya Camii'nde Kadir Gecesi hakkında bir not ilişiktir. Kuran'ın Türkçe olarak okunmasıyla dindarlık yaygınlaştırılıyor izlenimin doğrulanıyor.  |       |
| Ek.    | 6 Şubat  | (İNGİLİZ BÜYÜKELÇİLİĞİ İKİNCİ KÂTİBİ) BRAMWELL'İN NOTU .....   | 342   |
|        |          | 3 Şubat'ta Ayasofya Camii'nde Kadir Gecesi izledim. Bu yılki gece geleneksel eski Kadir Gecelerinden farklıydı. Camide tahminen 20-30.000 kişi toplanmıştı. Kuran ve Mevlut okunurken müminler istedikleri gibi hareket ediyorlardı. Kalkıp dolaşanlar, çömelip oturanlar, bağdaş kuranlar, Kible'den başka tarafa bakımlar, hafız okurken konuşanlar bile vardı. Ayasofya'da Kur'an ilk defa Türkçe okunuyordu ve birçok insan merakla buraya toplanmıştı. Gazi'nin de geleceği söylentisi çıkmıştı ama O gelmemişti. |       |
| 129bis | 7 Mart   | FOREIGN OFFICE'DE STEPHEN GAZELEE'DEN YARBAY SCORGIO'YA .....  | 343   |
|        |          | "Çanakkale Savaşı'nın Resmi Tarihi" ni Gazi'ye takdim etmek istiyoruz. Bu nüshasını deri ciltletilerek gönderilmesini rica ederim. (domuz derisi olmasın ha!). -(Bkz. No. 130).  |       |
| 130    | 11 Mart  | YARBAY SCORGIO'DAN FOREIGN OFFICE'DE S. GAZELEE'YE .....   | 344   |
|        |          | "Çanakkale Savaşı'nın Resmi Tarihi" ciltletilip gönderilecektir.   |       |
| 131    | 30 Mart  | FOREIGN OFFICE'DE GAZELLE'DEN B.ELÇİ CLERK'E YAZI .....  | 344   |
|        |          | Gazi'ye sunulacak kitabın takdim yazısını sıptadık. Yazı sizce de uygun mudur?   |       |
| 132    | 11 Nisan | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANİ JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO.127 .....  | 345   |
|        |          | Türkiye'nin mali bağımsızlığını şı veya bu şekilde kontrol altına almayı amaçlayan bir kredi anlaşmasına Türk Hükümetinin hiçbir zaman imza atmayacağı görüşünde olduğunu yazılarında hep  |       |

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|     |          | <p>arız etmiştim. Bu ülke kendi imkânlarıyla yaşayabili, çünkü halkın büyük çoğunluğu kanaatkârdır, 'bir lokmaya, bir hurkaya hü deyebilir' kamsındaydım. Fakat son olarak izinden döndüğümde burada moralin çok düşük olduğunu gördüm. Türk hükümetinin mali bakımdan çaresizlik içinde, Gazi ile İsmet Paşa arasındaki gerginliğin de kopma noktasında olduğu söyleniyor. Dış kredi bulamazsa Türkiye'nin yakında çökeceği ileri sürülüyordu. Tefik Rüşti Bey, mali sıkıntı içinde olduklarını gizlemedi; ama Milli Savunma harcamalarını üçte bir kısarak bütçeyi dengeleyebileceklerini söyledi. Dış borçlarını ertelenişler. Dış borç almak için ise bekleyecekler. <i>Milliyet</i> de bütçeyi dengelemek için borç alınmayacağını yazıyor. Türkiye, bağımsızlığından fedakârlık ederek borç almak niyetinde değil. Osmanlı borçları konusunda pratik bir çözüme ulaşılacaktır, sanıyorum. 31 Mayısta sona erecek 1931-32 bütçesi 40 milyon TL kadar açık verecek. Bunun 20 milyonu geçen yılın tasarrufundan karşılanacak, yarısı da Bakanlık bütçeleri kısılarak karşılanacak. Böylece bu yıl atılacak.</p> |       |
| 133 | 21 Nisan | <p>FOREIGN OFFICE'DE STEPHEN GAZELEE'DEN İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'E YAZI .....</p> <p>Gazi'ye takdim edilecek kitap ilişktedir. 25 Nisanda çıkacak ikinci cildi ayrıca gönderilecektir. İlk fırsatta Gazi'ya takdim edebilirsiniz.</p>  | 348   |
| 134 | 28 Nisan | <p>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO.154 .....</p> <p>Başbakan İsmet Paşa'nın Sovyet Rusya ziyareti. Başbakan 23 Nisanda Ankara'dan hareket etti, istasyonda Gazi tarafından uğurlandı ve 10 Mayısta dönecek. AA, tarihte ilk defa bir Türk Başbakanı Rusya'yı ziyaret ediyor, diye yazıyor ve Türkiye'nin, Rusya ile samimi ilişkileri sürdürürken Batılı ülkelerle aynı şekilde ilişkilerini geliştirebileceğini belirtiyor.</p>   | 349   |

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| 135 | 8 Mayıs  | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 157.....  | 350   |
|     |          | Serbest Fırka'nın feshinden beri Fethi Bey ve arkadaşları açıktadır. İstanbul'da oturan Fethi Bey hâlâ Gazi'nin güvenine sahip. Eski Serbest Fırka üyelerinden Nuri Bey, Mehmet Emin Bey gibi bazıları Halk Partisine kabul edildi. Meclis'teki "bağımsızlar" grubu dağılmıştır ve pek ilgi çekmemektedir.   |       |
| 136 | 21 Mayıs | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 177 GİZLİ.....  | 351   |
|     |          | Bugün Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından kabul edildim ve Çanakkale Şavaşı'nın Resmi Tarih'i'ni kendisine takdim ettim. Gazi beni yalnız olarak kabul etti. Kitabı takdim etmek için görevlendirildiğimi anlattım. Pek duygulandı ve bu nazik düşüncesinden dolayı İngiliz Hükûmetine yürekten teşekkürlerini iletti.  |       |
| Ek  | 21 Mayıs | ÇANAKKALE SAVAŞI HAKKINDA GAZİ'NİN SÖYLEDİKLERİ.....   | 353   |
|     |          | "Gelibolu Yarımadası'nda 19. Tümen komutanıydım ve tümenini talim yaptırıyordum. Bir gün, Conkabayırı tarafında bir bölüğe talim yaptırırken tek başıma o tepreye çıktım. Birden Türk askerlerinin Arburnu'ndan bana doğru geldiklerini gördüm. "Düşman geliyor" dediler. Cephaneleri kalmadığını söylediler. Süngü takıp yere yatmalarını emrettim. Ne olduğumu anlayamayan İngiliz birliği de aynı anda yere yattı. Conkabayırı muharebeleri böyle başladı..." Gazi, İngilizlerin Sıvda tarafından çıkartma yapacaklarını önceden üst komutanlara arzemiş, fakat bu görüşünün kabul edilmediğini de anlatmıştır. |       |
| 137 | 28 Mayıs | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 183.....  | 354   |

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|     |           | Çanakkale Savaşı Tarihi'ni Cumhurbaşkanına takdim edişim hakkında <i>Hakimiyeti Milliye</i> 'de bir başyazı çıktı. Fransız <i>Temps</i> gazetesi de Türkleri sınırlendiren bir yazı yazmış. Dışişleri Müsteşarı Numan Bey (Menemencioğlu) memnuniyetini dile getirdi.                         |       |
| 138 | 31 Mayıs  | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 184.....   | 355   |
|     |           | Çanakkale Savaşı Resmi Tarihi'nin Gazi'ye takdimi hakkında Dışişleri Bakan Vekili Şükrü Kaya'dan sıcak bir mektup aldım. <i>Hakimiyeti Milliye</i> 'de de yayınlanan mektubun örneği ilişiktedir. Bir ara cevabı verdim. Majesteleri hükümeti de hoşnutluğunu bildirirse de iyi olur.         |       |
| Ek  | 28 Mayıs  | TÜRKİYE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKAN VEKİLİNDEN (ŞÜKRÜ KAYA'DAN) İNGİLİZ BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'E MEKTUP .....   | 355   |
|     |           | İngiltere Hükümeti adına Gazi'ye takdim etmiş olduğunuz kitaptaki ithaf yazısı, yalnız bir centilmenlik değil, aynı zamanda bir dostluk örneği olarak hem Gazi'yi hem de Türk Hükümetini pek duygulandırmıştır. Majeste Kral'a Gazi'nin en hararetiyle teşekkürlerini iletmenizi rica ederim. |       |
| 139 | 3 Haziran | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 193.....   | 356   |
|     |           | Büyükelçilikte düzenlediğim Kral'ın yaş günü resepsiyonuna İtalya'dan henüz dönmemiş olan Türk Başbakanı ve Dışişleri Bakanı katılamadılarsa da TBMM Başkanı ve Dışişleri Bakanı Vekili katıldılar ve dostluk gösterdiler.  |       |
| 140 | 9 Haziran | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 200.....   | 357   |
|     |           | Fransız "Temps" gazetesi, 4 Haziran sayısında, İtalya Anadolu'da kendisine bir yer ararsa bunun Fransa tarafından da iyi karşılanacağı yolunda bir  |       |

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| 141 | 21 Haziran | <p>makale yayımlandı. Bu yazı Ankara'da tepkiyle karşılandı. Yunus Nadi, yazıya cevap verdi; İngiltere'nin Irak'a yaptığı gibi Fransa'nın da Suriye'ye bağımsızlık vermesini telkin etti. Fransız Büyükelçisi, "Temps" daki makalenin Fransız hükümetinin görüşünü yansıtmadığını söyleyecekti saurum; ama bu gibi yayınlar Fransız meslektaşının Ankara'daki işlerini kolaylaştırıyor.</p> <p>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 207.....</p> <p>Hicaz Kralının oğlu Emir Faysal 8 Haziranda İstanbul'a geldi. Birkaç gün burada kaldıktan sonra 12-15 Haziran günlerinde Ankara'da Türk hükümetinin misafiri oldu. Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından kabul edildi ve onuruna bir akşam yemeği verildi. Resmi tebliğde, yapılan dostça görüşmelerden, görüşler arasındaki ahenkten ve bu ziyaretin Yakın Doğu barışını güçlendirdiğinden söz ediliyor. Emir Faysal'a Türkiye'nin askeri kaynakları ve imkânları da gösterildi. "Türkiye, Osmanlı imparatorluğundan ayrılan Müslüman ülkelerin tam bağımsız olmalarını istiyor ve "manda" rejimlerinden hoşlanmıyor." Ziyaret dolayısıyla Türk basını bu temayı işledi ve Hicaz ve Necid'i övdü.</p> <p>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 249.....</p> <p>Türk Tarihini Tetkik Komisyonu bir resmi Tarih kitabı yayınlamıştı. Gazi'nin isteğiyle 2-11 Temmuz tarihlerinde de Ankara'da bir Tarih Kongresi topladı. Gazi tarafından izlenen konuşmacılar, çağdaş uygarlığın Türk temeline dayandığı tezini savındular. Yalnız Zeki Velidi, Türk soyunun evrenselliği yolundaki Gazi'nin teorisinin bilimsel olarak savunulamayacağını söyledi ve tepkileri üzerine çekti. Amerikan Büyükelçisi de masraflarını şahsen karşılayarak</p> | 358   |
| 142 | 21 Temmuz  | <p>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 249.....</p> <p>Türk Tarihini Tetkik Komisyonu bir resmi Tarih kitabı yayınlamıştı. Gazi'nin isteğiyle 2-11 Temmuz tarihlerinde de Ankara'da bir Tarih Kongresi topladı. Gazi tarafından izlenen konuşmacılar, çağdaş uygarlığın Türk temeline dayandığı tezini savındular. Yalnız Zeki Velidi, Türk soyunun evrenselliği yolundaki Gazi'nin teorisinin bilimsel olarak savunulamayacağını söyledi ve tepkileri üzerine çekti. Amerikan Büyükelçisi de masraflarını şahsen karşılayarak</p>   | 360   |



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|     |            | Kongre bildirilerini İngilizce de yayımlatmayı önerdi ve önerisi kabul edildi. Türk milletine yeni bir güven ve gurur kaynağı verilmek amaçlanıyor sanırım.  |       |
| 143 | 21 Temmuz  | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 250.....  | 363   |
|     |            | Askeri ataşenin Abbas Hilmi Paşa ile yaptığı konuşmalar hakkındaki raporu ilişiktir. Paşa'nın Gazi ve İsmet Paşa hakkında söylediklerinin bir bölümü bilinen şeylerdir; söylediklerinin diğer kısmına ise tam katılmıyorum.  |       |
| Ek  | 18 Temmuz  | (İNGİLTERE ASKERİ ATAŞESİ) BİNBAŞI O'LEARY'DEN BÜYÜKELÇİ G. CLERK'E.....   | 364   |
|     |            | Son günlerde görüştüğüm Abbas Hilmi Paşa, Kavalalı bir Türk olduğunu söylüyor ve Rumelili olarak Gazi'ye sempati besliyor. Bugünkü rejimi eleştirmesi ise Anadolu Türklerinin geri olduğu inancına dayanıyor. Gazi'nin gücünden epeyce kaybettüğünü söylüyor. Abbas Hilmi Paşa'nın Ankara Hükümeti, Başbakan, Dışişleri Bakanı, diğer bazı bakanlar hakkında söyledikleri. |       |
| 144 | 24 Temmuz  | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 258.....  | 366   |
|     |            | Bir İtalyan filosu İstanbul'a resmî bir ziyaret yaptı. Amiral 18 Temmuz günü Yalova'da Gazi tarafından da kabul edildi. Ertesi gün Taksim'deki Cumhuriyet anıtına çelenk koydu. Filo 23 Temmuzda İstanbul'dan Brindisi'ye hareket etti.  |       |
| 145 | 29 Ağustos | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 299.....  | 367   |
|     |            | Yakında İstanbul'da bir Dil Kongresi toplanacak. Gazi son zamanlarda dil üzerine zihin yoruyor, araştırmalar yapıyor. Eski Türk kültürü Avrupa uygarlığının anası sayıldığına göre Türk dili de Avrupa dillerinin anası sayılıyor ve ona göre teori-   |       |

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|     |          | ler üretiliyor. Gazi dil ve tarih konularına kendisini kaptırınca mali ve ekonomik sorunları ihmal ediyor.  |       |
| 146 | 18 Eylül | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI, NO. 310.....  | 370   |
|     |          | Bir İngiliz filosu 16 Eylülde İstanbul'a geldi, top atışlarıyla selamlandı ve sıcak biçimde karşılandı. Filo Karadeniz'e geçerken, Dolmabahçe sarayında kalan Cumhurbaşkanı 21 pare top atışıyla selamladı ve Selimiye kıyısından da aynı şekilde cevap verildi.  |       |
| 147 | 18 Eylül | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI, NO. 311.....  | 371   |
|     |          | İş Bankası Genel Müdürü Celâl Bey (Bayat) Ekonomi Bakanı oldu. Söylendiğine göre Celâl Bey, devletçiliğin karşısında özel sektörü savunduğundan, görüşlerini uygulamayı denemesi için Ekonomi Bakanı yapılmıştır. Bu atama, İstanbul'daki sanayi ve ekonomi çevrelerinde memnuniyetle karşılanmıştır.   |       |
| 148 | 1 Ekim   | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI, NO. 326.....  | 373   |
|     |          | Eski Ekonomi Bakanı Mustafa Şeref Bey dar görüşlüydü, müzakerelerde yabancılara zorluk çıkarıyor, Türk ekonomisinin sorunlarına da çare bulamıyordu. Gazi, Celal Bey'in şikâyetlerinin haklı olduğu kanısına vardı ve bakan değiştirildi. Bu talimin doğrusu Gazi ile İsmet Paşa arasındaki anlaşmazlık açığa çıkıyor denilebilir. Milli Eğitim Bakanının değişmesi ise pek o kadar ciddi değildir. |       |
| 149 | 13 Ekim  | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI, NO. 334.....  | 375   |
|     |          | İlk Türk Dil Kurultayı 26 Eylülde Dolmabahçe sarayında açıldı. Cumhurbaşkanı yalnız açılışta  |       |

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| 150 | 2 Kasım | <p>değil, oturumlarda da hazır bulundu ve başlatıldığı reformuna yakın ilgisini gösterdi. Kordiplomatik davet edilmiş; fakat Sovyet Büyükelçisi gibi hazır meslektasının Kurultayda hazır bulundu. Katıksız Türkçenin temsilcileri olarak bazı köylüler de oradaydı. TBMM Başkanı Kazım Paşa Kurultay başkanlığına seçildi. Milli Eğitim Bakanı, Kurultayın tavsiyelerini uygulamak için gerekli önlemleri alacaklarını söyledi. 6-7 bin yıllık Türk uygarlığından söz edildi. Agop Mutayan adlı esrar-engiz bir Ermeni profesör de Türkçenin Sümer diliyle ilişkilerine değinen bir konuşma yaptı. Konuşmacılar İsa'dan binlerce yıl önce Türklerin bütün uygar ülkelere hükmettiklerini ileri sürdüler. Hüseyin Cahit (Yalçın) ise hata edildiğini ileri sürdü. Türkçenin etimolojini incelemeyi bilginlere bırakmak gerektiğini, Türk dilini Arap ve Fars kurallarından temizlemenin doğal olduğunu, ancak yabancı kelimelerin tarihi zarureter dolayısıyla Türkçeye girdiğini savundu. Son iki oturumda Türk Dil Kurulu tüzüğü onaylandı ve Dil Kurultayının iki yılda bir toplanmasına karar verildi. Kurultayın ardında Milli Eğitim Bakanı üniversiteyi, Halk Evi'ni, eğitim kurumlarını dolastı ve dil devrimi için çalışmalarını istedi. Halk dilinden kelimeler derlemeleri için 12-15 bin kadar öğretmene görevlendirildiği haber veriliyor.</p> | 378 |
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İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 354.....

TBMM 1 Kasım'da alışılmış törenle açıldı. Cumhurbaşkanı'nın bu yılki açış konuşması önceki konuşmalarından farklı ve renksiz idi. Dış ilişkilerle değinirken hiçbir ülkenin adını anmadı. Konuşma kararlı bir tondaydı, milletvekilleri sessizce dindiler. Gazi demiryolu programının devam edeceğini söyleyince alkışlandı. Türk dilinin kendi güzelliğine ve saflığına kavuşturulacağı yolundaki sözleri de alkışlandı.

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| 151 | 2 Kasım | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 355.....<br>Cumhuriyet bayramı kutlandı. Cumhurbaşkanını kordiplomatığı kabul ettikten sonra resmi geçit töreni yapıldı, akşam bir davet verildi. Davette İran Dışişleri Bakanı Feroughi Han da hazır bulundu. Geçit töreninde Türkiye'nin askeri gücü sergilendi. 60 kadar uçak da gösteriye katıldı. Geçit resminin sonuna doğru halk kordonu aştı ve biraz karışıklık oldu. (Bkz. No. 152)  | 379   |
| 152 | 2 Kasım | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 356.....<br>İlgi No. 151: Cumhuriyet Bayramı resmi yemeğinde Gazi, Sovyet ve İngiliz Büyükelçilerine dostluk gösterdi. Musul sorununun hallinden sonra İngiltere'nin Türkiye'ye gösterdiği dostluğun samimi olduğuna Gazi inanmış görünüyor. Gazi, öteki elçilere, özellikle Fransız, Amerikan, Polonya Büyükelçilerine de ilgi gösterdi. Sonra İtalyan Büyükelçisiyle konuştu. Yemekten sonra baloya geçilirken, Mısır elçisinin fesini çıkarttı. Elçi hemen çekilip gitti. Balo sabah saat 04.00'e kadar sürdü. Gazi görüşlerini yabancı elçilere duyurmak istiyor ve bu davetler onun için bir fırsat oluyor. | 379   |
| 153 | 4 Kasım | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN FOREIGN OFFICE'DE LANCELOT OLIPHANT'A YAZI. KİŞİYE ÖZEL .....<br>Cumhuriyet Bayramı yemeğinde ve baloda Gazi'nin tutumu hakkında ek bilgi ve yorum. Yılda bir yapılan bu davet Ankara'daki yabancı temsilcilerin Gazi'yle yüzyüze karşılaşmaları için bir fırsat oluyor. Gazi'nin bana gösterdiği dostluğu da O'nun politikasına anlayış göstermiş olmamıza da yandırıyor. Dolayısıyla Gazi üzerinde etkili olabilecekmişim gibi bir hayale kapılmayalım.   | 384   |

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| 154 | 9 Aralık  | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A TEL. NO. 19 .....  | 386   |
|     |           | Mısır, fes olayı hakkında Türkiye'ye nota verdi. Türkiye böyle bir olay olmadığını ileri sürüyor.   |       |
| 155 | 10 Aralık | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 399 .....   | 386   |
|     |           | Fes olayı büyüyor. Mısır elçisinin fesinin çıkartılması üzerine, Gazi'ye saygıdan, Ankara sessizdi. Mısır notası üzerine Türk basını, sessizliğini bozdu, olayı inkâr ediyor ve <i>Daily Herald</i> gazetesi ile Reuter ajansının konuyu çarpıttıklarını ileri sürüyor. Basına göre Gazi, Mısır elçine fesini çıkarıp rahat etmesine izin vermiş. Aradan 12 gün geçtikten sonra <i>Daily Telegraph</i> bu konuyu çarpıtarak yazmış, Reuter ajansı da bunu haber yapıp Mısır'a ulaştırmış. Amaç, Türkiye ile Mısır arasında soğukluk yaratmakmış. Bu yalan haberler üzerine Mısır basını ayağa kalkmış ve Mısır Hükûmeti de Türkiye'ye nota vererek özür dilenmesini ve ilerisi için de güvence verilmesini istemiş. Mısır'a hakaret olmadığına göre özür dilemek de söz konusu olamaz. Mısır hükûmeti özür diye direnmezse Türkiye konuyu kapamış sayacık. Türkiye, konunun uzatılmasını istemiyor. |       |
| 156 | 10 Aralık | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN FOREIGN OFFICE'DE HELM'E YAZI GİZLİ .....  | 388   |
|     |           | Gazi, "Bozkurt" kitabına sinirlenmiş. Akşam gazetesinde cevap verilecekmış. Fes olayında ise Türkiye bir şamar oğlu buldu: Londra basınına ve Reuter'e saldırıyor. Basınımız ve Armstrong, İngiltere'nin adını kötüye çıkarıyorlar.   |       |
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| 158 | 16 Aralık | <p>çıkarıp rahat etmesine müsaade etmiş. Bir hakaret söz konusu değildir. Bu görüş, Mısır notasına verilecek cevabı de özünü oluşturacak.</p> <p>İNGİLTERE'NİN KAHİRE YÜKSEK KOMİSERİ LORAINÉ'DEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A TEL. NO. 224. GİZLİ .....</p> <p>Fes olayı ciddileşiyor. Türk maslahatgüzarı ile görüşüm. Türk hükümeti ilerisi için güvence vermek niyetinde değil, Mısır'la ilişkileri kesmeyi bile göze alabilecek gibi. Mısır'ın şu veya bu şekilde tatmin edilmesinin uygun olacağını söyledim. Başbakan Sıdkı Paşa da Türkiye ile kavgaya etmek istemediğini, fakat notayı geri çekmeyeceklerini söyledi. Benimle yine görüşecek. (Bkz. No. 159)</p> | 390   |
| 159 | 20 Aralık | <p>İNGİLTERE DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'DAN KAHİRE YÜKSEK KOMİSERİ LORAINÉ'E TEL. NO. 247 .....</p> <p>İlgi: No. 158: Fes olayındaki tutumunuzu onaylıyorum. Bu olayın dostça çözüme bağlanması için nüfuzunuzu kullanmayı sürdürünüz. (Bkz. No. 160).</p>  | 391   |
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| 161 | 26 Aralık | <p>İNGİLTERE'NİN KAHİRE YÜKSEK KOMİSERİ LORAINÉ'DEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A TEL. NO. 232. GİZLİ .....</p> <p>İlgi No. 160: Fes olayıyla ilgili Mısır notası yeterince yumuşaktır. Türkler bunu reddedemezler sanırım. (Bkz. No. 162).</p>  | 393   |

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| 162  | 28 Aralık | İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'DAN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'A TEL. NO. 35 .....  | 394   |
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| 163  | 29 Aralık | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A TEL. NO. 21 .....  | 394   |
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| 164  | 29 Aralık | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 428. GİZLİ .....  | 395   |
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| 165  | 31 Aralık | İNGİLTERE'NİN KAHİRE YÜKSEK KOMİSERİ LORAINÉ'DEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 1136. GİZLİ .....   | 396   |
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|      |           | mutlahalesi Mısır elçisinin üzüntüsünü gidermemiştir. Eğer Mısır hükümeti önlememiş olsaydı olayın Mısır'daki yankıları çok ciddi olacaktı. İki ülke arasındaki ilişkilere önem veren Mısır Hükümeti, ilerde benzer bir olayın tekrarlanması yağından emin olmak istemektedir ...   |       |
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|      |           | Mısır Dışişleri Bakanlığı, Tevlik Rüstü Beyin Mısır elçisine yaptığı açıklamaları senet sayar. Bu açıklamaları ve Türk hükümetinin dostluk arzusunu dikkate alan Mısır Hükümeti olayı kapamış sayar...  |       |
| 166  | 31 Aralık | ANKARA'DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN FOREIGN OFFICE'DE MR. HELM'E ÖZEL MEKTUP. Kayıt No. 29/33/32 ...  | 399   |
|      |           | Nınnan Beye (Menemencioglu) bir İngiliz vatandaşının "Bozkurt" adlı bir kitap yazmış olmasına üzüldüğümü söyledim. Türk vatandaşlarının da çok sevdikleri Gazi'ye yapılan saldırıdan üzüntü duydukları cevabını verdi ve fakat bundan bir şey istemedi. Konu Türkiye'de güncelliğini koruyor. Acaba biz kendiliğimizden Gazi'yi öven makaleler yazdıramaz mıyız? <i>Indépendance Belge</i> gazetesi Türkleri aleyhinde yayın yapınca eski Belçika elçisi de gazeteye Türkleri hoşnut edecek bir demec vermiştir. (Bkz. No. 182) |       |
| 167  | 31 Aralık | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI J. MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 432 .....  | 401   |
|      |           | <i>Indépendance Belge</i> gazetesi Kasım ayında Türkleri aleyhinde ağır bir yazı yayınladı. Bu yazı Türkiye'de tepki yarattı. Belçika elçisinin girişimi üzerine Belçika'nın Ankara'daki eski elçisi Leclercq, aynı gazeteye Türkleri hoşnut eden bir demec vermiş ve gazete Gazi'yi öven bir de başyazı yayınlamıştı. Leclercq'ın demeci Ankara'da çok takdir edildi.  |       |

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| 168         | 2 Ocak  | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 1 .....  | 402   |
|             |         | Kızılay'ın Yeni yıl balosunda Gazi, Mısır Elçisiyle dostça konuştu. Artık fes olayı kapanmış demektir. <i>Milliyet</i> gazetesinde de Mahmut Bey (Soydan) sözde olayın halledildiğini belirten bir başyazı yayınladı. (Bkz. No. 169).  |       |
| 169         | 7 Ocak  | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN FOREIGN OFFICE'E RENDEL'E ÖZEL MEKTUP. Kayıt No 10/2/33 ..  | 403   |
|             |         | İlgi No. 168. Yılbaşı balosuna fessiz gelmiş olan Mısır elçisi Hamza Bey ile Gazi arasında geçen ilginç bir konuşmaya tanık oldum. Fes olayı artık kapanmıştır. (Bkz. No. 184)   |       |
| 170         | 9 Ocak  | İNGİLTERE'NİN MERSİN KONSOLOSU MATTHEWS'DEN BÜYÜKELÇİ G. CLERK'E YAZI NO. 3 .....  | 403   |
|             |         | Çukurova Kurtuluş Bayramı Mersin, Tarsus ve Adana'da kutlandı. Bu yılki törenler biraz sönüktü. Kalpaklı çeteciler, efeler, tüfekleri, kılıçlarıyla yine geçit resmindeydi. Ama, bu yıl yaşanan kuraklık Ramazan ayı kutlamalarını da etkiledi.  |       |
| 171         | 21 Ocak | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 29. GİZLİ .....   | 405   |
|             |         | Türkiye'de başlatılmış olan Türkçe ibadetin yerini yine Arapça almaya başlıyor. Bunda Gazi'nin üzerinde etkisi olan Diyanet İşleri Başkanının da rolü var. Ezan ise hem Türkçe hem Arapça okunuyor. Camilerin ve din görevlilerinin sayıları azaltılıyorsa da İslam dinine dokunulmuyor. |       |
| 172         | 4 Şubat | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 43 .....  | 406   |

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|     |         | Gazi ve önde gelen bazı kimseleyi yerel makamların çalışmalarını teftiş amacıyla yurt gezilerine çıkarıyorlar. Şimdiye kadar şuraları ziyaret edildi: Eskişehir, Bursa, Balıkesir, Kütahya, Adana, Gaziantep, Mersin, Antalya ve İzmir. İsmet Paşa da Afyon, Isparta, Antalya ve ilçelerini dolaştı. TBMM Başkanı Kâzım Paşa'nın da ayrı bir gezi programı var. |       |
| 173 | 6 Şubat | "DAILY TELEGRAPH" GAZETESİNİN HABERİ<br>Türkiye'de dinî ayaklanma. "Allah" yerine "Tanrı" Gazi'nin dilden ve dinden Arapça kelimeleri temizleme çabasına karşı Bursa'da başkaldırı çıktı. Bu olaya çok önem veren Gazi Bursa'yı ziyaret etmiş ve başka taraflara da gitmişti. Geri döndü.   | 408   |
| 174 | 7 Şubat | "DAILY TELEGRAPH" GAZETESİNİN HABERİ<br>Türkçe ibadete öfke. Ayaklanma yayılıyor<br>Mustafa Kemal'in ibadetten Arapçayı kaldırma gayreti İzmir'de de tepkiyle karşılandı. İçişleri ve Adalet Bakanları olay yerine gitti.   | 409   |
| 175 | 7 Şubat | "TIMES" (LONDRA) GAZETESİNİN HABERİ ....<br>Kuran'ın Türkçe Okunması Bursa'da protesto edildi. Bursa Ulu camisinde Türkçe ibadeti protesto eden cemaat Vali konağına yürüdü. Daha önce Bursa'yı ziyaret edip İzmir'e geçmiş olan Gazi hemen Bursa'ya döndü.   | 409   |
| 176 | 8 Şubat | "TIMES" (LONDRA) GAZETESİNİN HABERİ ....<br>Kuran'ın Türkçe okunması hükümet emri<br>Gazi, Kuran'ın Türkçe okunmasının Ulucami'de protesto edilmesini Bursa'ya dönüp araştırdı. Bu konuda hükümet emri olmaması yüzünden anlaşmazlık çıktı. Şimdi ibadetin Türkçe yapılması için bütün camilere emredildi.  | 410   |
| 177 | 8 Şubat | "DAILY TELEGRAPH" GAZETESİNİN HABERİ<br>"Allah" kelimesine savaş. Gazi'nin buyruğu uygulanacak. Karşı çıkan birçok kişi tutuklandı.<br>Türkiye'de ezan ve ibadet Türkçe oluyor. Mustafa Kemal Paşa, fanatikler Cumhuriyet adaletinden kaçamayacak dedi. Birçok kimse tutuklandı.  | 410   |

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| 178 | 16 Şubat | İNGİLTERE'NİN TRABZON KONSOLOSU<br>FALANGA'DAN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ<br>CLERK'E YAZI. NO. 10 .....   | 411   |
|     |          | Türkçe ezan ve kamet aleyhindeki hareketi<br>kınamak için Halkevi'nde bir toplantı yapıldı.<br>Konuşmalardan sonra Gazi'ye bir sadakat telgrafı<br>gönderildi. Bütün müezzinlerin ezan ve kameti<br>Türkçe okumaları emredildi. Karşı çıkan iki<br>müezzin tutuklandı.  |       |
| 179 | 17 Şubat | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G.<br>CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN<br>SİMON'A YAZI. NO. 61. GİZLİ .....   | 412   |
|     |          | Türkçe ezan ve kamet konusunda sertleşme var.<br>Bazı din adamları istifa etti. Bursa'da 'Topal' Halil<br>adında biri ezanı Arapça okumuş. Namazın<br>ardından Arapça ezan isteyen kalabalık bir grup<br>önce Evkaf Dairesine, sonra Valiliğe gitmiş. Polis<br>kalabalığı dağıtmış ve bazılarını tutuklamış. Olaya<br>önem veren Cumhurbaşkanı Bursa'ya giderek bizzat<br>tahkikat yapmış. Ardından uyarı niteliğinde<br>sert bir bildiri yayınlamıştır. Cahil gericiler Cum-<br>huriyet adaletinden kurtulamayacaklar demiştir.<br>Bursa müfettişü azledildi. Gelişmeler ayrıca arz edi-<br>lecektir. Basın, yurdun hemen her tarafından<br>gönderilen rejime bağlılık telgrafları yayınlamak-<br>tadır. Hükümet de kısmen hatalıdır diyebilen yok.<br>1931'deki Menemen infazlarının tekrarlanmaya-<br>cağı umulmaktadır. |       |
| 180 | 22 Şubat | İNGİLTERE'NİN TRABZON KONSOLOSU<br>FLANGA'DAN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ CLERK'<br>E YAZI. NO. 12 .....   | 415   |
|     |          | Ezan ve kameti Arapça okumakta ısrar eden bir<br>müezzin daha tutuklandı.   |       |
| 181 | 23 Şubat | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G.<br>CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN<br>SIMON'A YAZI. NO. 64. GİZLİ .....   | 416   |
|     |          | İzmir Başkonsolosunun bildiğine göre, Gazi,<br>İzmir'den acelele ayrılmış. İzmir'de de ezanın   |       |

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|     |         | Türkçe okunması hoşnutsuzluk yaratmış ve Tuncaslan'ın bir hoca tutuklanmış. Bursa olayı resmi çevreleri sınırlandırmıştır.  |       |
| 182 | 18 Mart | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 96 .....  | 417   |
|     |         | İlgi No. 166: Türk basını "Bozkuurt" kitabının yazarı Armstrong'a yeniden saldırdı. Buna karşılık <i>Daily Herald</i> gazetesinde "Avrupa'nın hasta adamı canlanıyor" başlıklı yazı hoşnutsuzluk yarattı.                                       |       |
| 183 | 22 Mart | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A TEL. NO. 10 .....  | 417   |
|     |         | Türkiye'nin Avrupa ülkesi sayılmaması Gazi'nin ve Hükümetin canını sıkıyor ve İngiltere suçlanıyor.   |       |
| 184 | 27 Mart | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A TEL NO. 1 .....  | 418   |
|     |         | Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi dün gece Mısır elçiliğinde düzenlenen Kralın yaş günü davetine katıldı ve fes olayını nazikçe onarmış oldu. (Bkz. No. 186)   |       |
| 185 | 30 Mart | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 107 .....   | 418   |
|     |         | Bursa olayı sanıkları Çorum'da yargılandı. 5 hoca birer yıl hapse mahkum edildi. Olay artık kapanıyor. Bu arada bütün ülkede Arapça ibadetin yerini Türkçe ibadet aldı.   |       |
| 186 | 30 Mart | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 108 .....   | 419   |
|     |         | İlgi No. 184: Gazi'nin beklenmedik biçimde Mısır elçiliğindeki davete katılması, hem fes olayının nazikçe onarılması hem de Mısır'a karşı dostluk gösterisidir. Gece yarısında davete gelen Cumhurbaşkanı sabah saat 8'e kadar orada kalmıştır. |       |

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| 187 | 31 Mart  | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 114 .....   | 420   |
|     |          | Silahsızlanmaya ilişkin İngiliz tasarısı Türk hükümetini sınırlendirdi. Tasarıda Türk Ordusunun Avrupa orduları arasında sayılmaması. Türkiye'ye Yugoslavya ve Romanya'dan daha az uçak tahsis edilmesi Türklerin onurunu rencide ediyor. Dışişleri Bakanına bazı açıklamalarda bulunduysa da Türk Dışişlerinde buna karşı soğuk davranıldığını hissettim. Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından yönlendirilen Tevfik Rüştü Bey, İngiliz tasarısında Türkiye'ye karşı kötü niyet bulunduğunu söyledi. Türkiye, Boğazlarda askersiz bölgeyi silahlandırmayı tasarlıyor ve İngiliz tasarısında da Türkiye lehine değişiklikler bekliyor. Gazi ve Türk Hükümeti, Türkiye'ye danışmadan bu ülkenin geleceği hakkında kararlar alınmasından hoşlanmıyorlar. |       |
| 188 | 20 Nisan | İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'DAN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'A. ŞİFRE TEL NO. 15. DAĞITIMI YAPILAMAZ ...  | 423   |
|     |          | BBC adına Vernon Bartlett, Mustafa Kemal'den bir demec almak istiyor. Yardımcı olunuz.  |       |
| 189 | 20 Nisan | FOREIGN OFFICE'DE COOTE'DAN BBC'DE SIEPMANN'A YAZI. P. 976/186/150 .....  | 423   |
|     |          | Mustafa Kemal'den bir demec alması için Bartlett'e yardımcı olmalarını Büyükelçiliğe yazdık.  |       |
| 190 | 27 Nisan | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI. NO. 147 .....   | 424   |
|     |          | Vernon Bartlett Ankara'ya geldi. Büyükelçilikçe kendisine yardımcı olundu. Gazi'den bir demec alamadıysa da Halkevi binasında Gazi'nin fotoğrafını çekebildi ve Ankara'da çeşitli kurumları gördü. Buradan iyi izlenimler edildi.   |       |

| No. | Tarihi     | Kimden Kime Yazıldığı ve Özü   | Sayfa |
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| 191 | 10 Mayıs   | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 173.....<br>Türkçe ezan ve ibadete karşı geldikleri için Bursa'da tutuklananlar Çorum özel mahkemesinde yargılandı. Sanıklardan bazıları altı ayla iki buçuk yıl arasında hapis cezasına çarptırıldı.   | 426   |
| 192 | 13 Mayıs   | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 180. GİZLİ.....<br><i>Milliyet</i> gazetesinde Kazım Karabekir Paşa'nın bazı notları yayınlandı. Paşa, Milli Mücadelede öncü rolü oynadığını savunuyor. <i>Cumhuriyet</i> ( <i>République</i> ) cevap veriyor.  | 426   |
| 193 | 21 Haziran | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 241.....<br>Ali Fuad Paşa TBMM'de boş yer için Konya'dan adaylığını koymuş, Gazi tarafından da desteklenmişti. 10 Haziran günü basın Paşa'nın bağımsız milletvekili seçildiğini duyurdu. Muhafif general-lerden birinin Meclise dönmesi ilginçtir. Bakalın bağımsız ve muhalif olarak kalabilecek mi. Paşa, İzmir suikastı dolayısıyla 1926 tutuklanmış, fakat beraat etmişti. Bağımsız adaylarda laik cumhuriyete bağlılık ve samimiyet arandığına göre, Ali Fuat Paşa bu vasıflara sahip demektir. Basın seçimi alkışlıyor. | 428   |
| 194 | 21 Temmuz  | BBC'DEN BARTLETT'TEN FOREIGN OFFICE'E HELM'E YAZI.....<br>Dün akşam Türkiye hakkında radyoda yaptığım konuşmanın örneği ilişktedir.  | 429   |
| Ek  | 20 Temmuz  | VERNON BARTLETT'İN RADYO KONUŞMASI: "AVRUPA'NIN GÜÇLÜ ADAMI: GAZİ".....<br>Gazi Mustafa Kemal başta olmak üzere, Türkiye'de insanlar artık bizim gibi giyiniyor. Türkiye'de neler olduğunu kavranak için başkent Ankara'yı görmek lazım. Orada Avusturyalılar ve   | 430   |



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|     |            | <p>Almanlar villalar yapıyor. Asya yakasında trenin Alman ve İsviçre trenlerinden farkı yok. On beş saatte Ankara'ya vardık. Çikolata renkli tepelere eski Ankara kurulmuş. Orada bütün bir tarih var. Yeni Ankara'yla farkı görmek için orayı da ziyaret etmek lazım. Tepenin eteğinde yeni şehir. Trafik fazla değilse de her kasakta çakı gibi bir trafik polisi görev başında. Büyük bir bina: İsmet Paşa enstitüsünde 900 kız, Paris modasına göre şapka, eldiven yapmayı öğreniyor. Resmi binalar pek güzel, sokaklar tertemiz. Son on yılda dünyada başka hiçbir ülke Türkiye kadar değişmemiştir. Savaşta Çanakkale'de İngilizlere karşı savaşmış olan Mustafa Kemal, savaş sonunda arkadaşlarıyla birlikte Sevr antlaşmasına karşı ayaklandı. Ankara'ya doğru yürümüş olan Yımanlıları denize döktü ve İstanbul kapılarına dayandı. Padişah bir İngiliz savaş gemisine sığındı ve Mustafa Kemal Türkiye'nin ilk Cumhurbaşkanı seçildi. Asker iken devlet adamı oldu ve çeşitli reformlar yaptı. Ankara başkent oldu. Arap alfabesinin yerini Latin alfabesi, frsın yerini şapka aldı. Mevzuat baştan başa değişti. Türkiye çağdaş bir ülke oldu. Ankara'da Mustafa Kemal ile görüşemedimse de kendisini yakından gördüm. Mustafa Kemal yarın sahnedan çekilse de yarınki Türkiye artık dünkü Türkiye olmayacaktır. Savaş sonrasında en büyük üç adamı Lenin, Mussolini ve Mustafa Kemal'dir ve Gazi'yi galiba en başa koyunam gerekecek.</p> |       |
| 195 | 16 Ağustos | <p>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 321 .....</p> <p>Millî Eğitim Bakanı Reşit Galip sağlık nedeniyle istifa etti. Bu bakan ile Devlet Başkanının arası açıldı. Bakan Gazi'nin önem verdiği dil reformunu ıhmal edip kendisini üniversite reformu işine vermişti. Bakan, son olarak Gazi'ye danışmadan kendi kendisini İnkılap Enstitüsü Başına getirmişti. Gazi buna da sitem etmişti.</p>   | 435   |

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| 196 | 16 Ağustos | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SİMON'A YAZI NO. 322 .....   | 437   |
|     |            | TBMM 31 Mayıs'ta Üniversite reformu kanunu kabul etti. Türk Hükûmeti, üniversitede reform yapmak için İsviçreli profesör Malche'e bir rapor hazırlamıştı. Kanun bu rapora dayanıyor. Buna göre eski üniversite lağvediliyor, yeni bir üniversite kuruluyor. 100 kadar profesörün görevine son veriliyor. Yerlerine Almanya'dan kovulmuş Yahudi ve liberal profesörler alınacak. Milli Eğitim Bakanı Reşit Galip epeyce düşman kazandı, çünkü Üniversiteden atılan profesörlerin çoğu Halk Partilidir. Bakalım yeni bakan Reşit Galip gibi gayretli çıkacak mı? Prof. Malche, raporlarında şahıs isimleri zikretmemeye özen göstermişti. Milli Eğitim Bakan Vekili Refik Bey, üniversite reformunun programa göre gerçekleştirileceğini açıkladı. |       |
| 197 | 23 Ağustos | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ G. CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SİMON'A YAZI NO. 334. GİZLİ.....   | 439   |
|     |            | (Fransa eski Başbakanı) Edouard Herriot Türkiye'ye yaptığı beş günlük ziyaretini tanımlayıp Odesa'ya hareket etti. Ziyaret özel nitelikte ise de Herriot, başbakan gibi ağırlandı. Dolmabahçe sarayında Gazi ile de uzun uzun görüştü.   |       |
| 198 | 2 Ekim     | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI J. MORGAN'DAN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SİMON'A YAZI NO.360 .....  | 440   |
|     |            | Görevi sona eren Büyükelçi Clerk Türkiye'den ayrıldı. Türkler, samimi bir dostu kaybettikleri için üzüldüler. Kordiplomatik de üzüldü. Cumhurbaşkanı ve Başbakan da kendisini veda için İstanbul'da kabul ettiler. Gazi dostluk gösterdi; Türk-İngiliz ilişkilerindeki yakınlıktan memnun olduğunu söyledi ve çeşitli konularda ondan fikir aldı. Ankara'da bir veda yemeği düzenlendi. Türk bakanlar ve görevliler onu uğurlamak için ika-  |       |

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| 199 | 9 Ekim  | <p>metgâha geldiler, ama istasyona gelmediler. Sanırım 28 Eylülde <i>Times</i>'da çıkan yazı buna neden oldu. Çünkü gazete, Cumhurbaşkanı Büyükelçiyi Dolmabahçe'de kabul ettiği için başkentin tekrar İstanbul olacağını ima etmişti. Basına verdiği demeçte Clerk, yedi yıl kaldığı Türkiye'den ayrılırken üzüldüğünü, bu yıllar içinde Gazi'nin önderliğinde Türkiye'nin ilerlediğini ve itibar kazandığını söylemiştir.</p> <p>TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ'NİN ONUNCU YIL-DÖNÜMÜ HAKKINDA FOREIGN OFFICE'DE MR. HELM'İN MAKAMA SERVİS NOTU.....</p>   | 442   |
| 200 | 11 Ekim | <p>Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin 10. Yılı 29 Ekimde kutlanacak. Ankara'da büyük hazırlık yapılıyor. Kral tarafından bir kutlama mesajı gönderilmesi telkin edildiyse de kabul edilmedi. Başka ülkeler Türkiye'ye özel heyetler ve mesajlar gönderirken İngiltere'nin göndermemesi Türkleri düş kırıklığına uğrattı; Kralın ya da İngiliz Hükümetin mesajı ise onları memnun eder.</p> <p>"DAILY MAIL" GAZETESİNİN YAZISI: "ON YILDA YENİ BİR TÜRKİYE YARATILDI." .....</p> <p>Mustafa Kemal'in ilk defa Cumhurbaşkanı seçildiğinden beri geçen on yıl içinde yeni bir Türkiye doğdu. Özel muhabirimiz Ernest Main Ankara'dan bildiriyor: Recep Bey (Peker) Partimiz, diyor, cumhuriyetçiliği ulusal egemenliğin temeli olarak benimser. İlkemiz, Devleti Devlet tarafından Devlet için yönetmektir. Bu, disiplin demektir. Türk milleti, barış için seferber edilmiştir. Türkiye, maziye sırt çevirmiştir. Bu, Gazi'nin büyük başarısıdır.</p> | 442   |
| 201 | 12 Ekim | <p>THE FINANCIAL NEWS GAZETESİNİN YAZISI: "TÜRKİYE'DE İLERLEME". .....</p> <p>Türkiye liderleri, sağlıklı bir ekonomik Devlet kurdukları için kendilerini kutlayabilirler. Cumhuriyet liderleri, ilk önce yabancı mali müdahaleleri, dolayısıyla siyasi baskıları bertaraf ettiler. Borç almadılar. Ancak Devlet maliyesini sağlıklı</p>  | 444   |

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esasa oturtuktan sonradır ki geçen yıl Moskova ve Roma ile kredi müzakerelerine başladılar. Yabancıların özellikle demiryollarında imtiyaz elde etme girişimleri geri çevrildi. Türkiye, 1950 kilometre yeni demiryolu yaptı. Bütçe dengelidir. Hatta 1926'dan beri bütçe her yıl gelir fazlalığı ile kapandı. Yalnız 1931-32 yılında bütçe açık verdi ki o zaman da hemen tedbir alındı. Vergilendirme daha bilimsel yapılıyor. Cumhuriyet liderlerinin ele aldıkları diğer konular, ödemeler dengesi ile ticaret dengesi oldu. Türkiye'ye düşen Osmanlı borcu hissesi düşürüldü. Sağlıklı esas kurulduktan sonra Türk halkı kendisini ekonomiye verdi. Özel sektör sanayide atılım yaptı. Türkler, bankacılıkta, sanayide ve ticarete haklı yerlerini aldı; Türk olmayanlar ise arka planda kaldı. Gazi'nin önderliğinde Türkiye'nin ekonomisi, Osmanlı ekonomisinden çok farklıdır.

202 13 Ekim

"EVENING STANDARD" GAZETESİNDE KENNETH WILLIAMS'IN YAZISI: "(MUSTAFA) KEMAL SÜRDÜREBİLECEK Mİ?" .....

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Türkiye, Cumhuriyetin 10. yılını kutlarken rejimini pekiştirmiş görünüyor. Acaba yeni Türkiye eskisinden çok farklı mı? Boğaz kıyısında demlenen bazı yaşlılar, bugünkü politikacıların Türklerin huyunu değiştiremeyeceğini söylüyor. Gazi'nin reformları pek hızlı oldu ve bunlardan bazıları kesindir. Mustafa Kemal, milletini yenileştirmeye, Batılaştırmaya kararlı. Belki en büyük reformu da din alanında. Türkler artık Türkçe ezan okuyor, Türkçe ibadet ediyor. Hitit, Sümer uygarlıklarının da aslında Türk uygarlığı olduğuna inanıyorlar. Orta Asya'yı fethetmeyi düşünmüyorlar. Ama kültürel etkilerinin bütün Türkçe konuşan topraklarda hissedilmesini istiyorlar. "İstanbul'da ya da Ankara'da çıkan bir gazetenin Ege Denizi'nden Çan Seddi'ne kadar bütün Türkler tarafından okunmalı" diyorlar. Türklerin bu reform gayretleri insanı elbette etkiliyor. Ama

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| 203 | 14 Ekim | TBMM'de muhalefete izin yok, gazetelerde eleştiri yok. Acaba hep eski tas, eski hanım mı?<br>İNGİLTERE'NİN ATİNA ELÇİSİ RAMSAYDEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANİ JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 438, GİZLİ .....   | 449   |
| 204 | 15 Ekim | Mustafa Kemal Venizelos'a demiş ki: "Türkiye savaşa girmek için elinden geleni yapacak; ama girmek durumunda kalırsa denizlere hükmeden ülkelerin yanında savaşacaktır."<br>"THE OBSERVER" GAZETESİNİN YAZISI: "MUSTAFA KEMAL PAŞA" .....   | 450   |
| 205 | 15 Ekim | Mustafa Kemal Paşa, on yıl önce Cumhurbaşkanı oldu; on yılda ülkesini diriltti, birleştirdi ve çağdaşlaştırdı; dışarıda düşmanlıkları dostluğa dönüştürdü...<br>"THE REFEREE" GAZETESİNİN YAZISI: "DOĞU'YU DEĞİŞTİRMEK" .....   | 450   |
| 206 | 16 Ekim | Türkiye Cumhuriyeti onuncu yılını dolduruyor. On yılda Türkiye tanımamayacak kadar değişti. Yeni Türkiye'nin yaratıcısı Mustafa Kemal'dir. Devletle dini birbirinden ayırdı. Dünya Müslümanları dehşete kapıldı. Diğer yenilikler birbirini izledi. Kadınları peçetden, çarşaftan kurtardı. Çok kadınla evliliği yasakladı. Kadınlar her çeşit meslek sahibi oldu. Eğitim laikleşti. Türk dili arındırıldı, Arapça ve Farsa kelimelerden temizlendi...Ekonomik hamleler yapıldı. Bugün Türkiye uygar dünyanın bir parçasıdır. Bugünkü Türkler geriye değil, ileriye bakıyorlar.<br>"THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" GAZETESİNİN YAZISI: "TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ'NİN ONUNCU YILDÖNÜMÜ" ..... | 452   |

| No. | Tarihi  | Kimden Kim Yazıldığı ve Özü  | Sayfa |
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|     |         | Gazi'ye borçlu olduğumu biliyor ve "diktatör" kelimesi ağza alınmıyor. Türkiye'yi bir ortaçağ devletinden çağdaş bir devlete dönüştürmek için on yıl yetmiştir. Kadınların alışkanlıkları ve yaşam biçimleri üzerindeki yenilikler Türkiye'nin geleceğini belki en derinden etkileyecektir. Kadınlar artık bütün mesleklerde erkeklerin yanında yer alıyor. Yargıç, avukat, doktor, dişçi, daktilo sekreter, pilot vs oluyorlar. Yeni Türkiye'nin yeni bir dili var. Alfabe gibi dil de değişiyor. Adeta kutlanmış gibi görünen Halifelik kaldırıldı, Halife sınır dışı edildi. Dinin dili de millileştirildi. Din serbest, yalnız din dernekleri yasak. Politikada iki partili sistem denendiyse de deneme başarısız kaldı. Halen Türkiye Cumhuriyeti tek partiliyse de faşist değildir. Ekonomik yaşamda da on yılda büyük yenilik oldu. Türkler, iş hayatına, ticarete, bankacılığa auldılar ve büyük başarı gösterdiler; dış yardım almadan 1700 kilometre demiryolu yaptılar. Bütçe denk, Türk Lirası istikrarlıdır. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti dünya ticaretindeki payını artırdı. Türk olmayan azınlıklar da Cumhuriyet rejimine uygun sağladılar. |       |
| 207 | 17 Ekim | <b>FOREIGN OFFICE MUHTIRASI: "TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİNİN ONUNCU YILININ KUTLANMASI"</b> .....  | 455   |
|     |         | Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilâhının ve Mustafa Kemal Paşa'nın ilk Cumhurbaşkanı seçilmesinin onuncu yılında, İngiltere Hükümetinin Türk Hükümetine bir kutlama mesajı göndermesi konusu. Bunun geçmişte örnekleri var. Örneğin İngiliz Kralı, 1928'de Polonya Cumhuriyetinin onuncu yılını kutlamıştı. Sovyet Rusya ve belki başka ülkeler Ankara'ya özel kutlama heyetleri; Fransa ve diğer devletler de kutlama mesajları göndereceklerdir. Bu durumda İngiltere'nin mesaj göndermemesi yadırganarak not edilecektir. <i>F.O.'ın notu: Mesaj göndermek iyi olur.</i>  |       |
| 208 | 21 Ekim | <b>"NORTHERN DAILY TELEGRAPH" (BLACKBURN) GAZETESİ KESİTİ: "YENİ TÜRKİYE"</b> ....   | 456   |

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|     |         | Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin onuncu yılını kutlama hazırlıkları ilerledi. Yeni Türkiye, savaştan önce bu ülkeyi tanımış olanlara ilginç gelebilir. İstanbul hâlâ Doğunun sihirli şehridir. Ama orada artık bir tek fes göremezsiniz. Kadınlar sokakta yüzleri açık dolaşırlar. İstanbul'da artık o kudretli sultanlar da yoktur; kadınlar ve erkekler Sarayburnu'nda, Gülhane Parkında ıpık Londra parkında dolaşır gibi dolaşırlar. Kemal Paşa'nın gücü ve vizyonu en fazla Ankara'da görülür. Ankara, eskiyle yeminin en çarpıcı karışımıdır. Çağdaş Türk'ün Cumhurbaşkanıya sevgisi de en çok burada gözle görülür.  |       |
| 209 | 22 Ekim | "THE OBSERVER" GAZETESİ KESİTİ: "TÜRKİYE'NİN ONUNCU YAŞGÜNÜ: BİR ON YILA YÜZYILLAR SİCİDİRİLDİ." .....  | 458   |
|     |         | Kemalizm on yılını doldurdu. Gazi Mustafa Kemal, savaş sonrasının büyük simaları arasında yerini aldı. Değişiklik birkaç görüntüyle gözler önüne serilebilir. Örneğin Galata köprüsünden geçenlerin on yıl önceki kozmopolit halini aruk çağdaş bir görünüm almıştır. Bugün köprüden geçenlerin yüzde 99'u Türktür, ama giyim kuşamlarıyla herhangi bir İngiliz şehrinin halkından farksızdırlar. Büyük camiler yerli yerinde ama artık şayramlar hariç eskisi kadar dolup taşmıyor. Türk kadınları Beyoğlu'nda serbesçe dolaşıyor, onların çocukları futbol oynuyor, kızları üniversiteye gidiyor. Çok çalılık, fes, Arap alfabesi kalmadı. Fanatik Kürtler ayaklandı. M. Kemal, iki üç yılda Türkiye'nin iç sorunlarını düzeltti. Türk-İngiliz ilişkilerini sağlam temele oturttu. Barışçı bir dış politika izledi ve bunun sonucunda Balkanlarda 'Yakın Doğu Lokarno'su' oluşturuldu. Bayındırlık işlerinde büyük gelişme sağlandı ve geniş bir demiryolu şebekesi kuruldu. Yeni alfabenin kabulüyle eğitimde büyük bir atılım gerçekleştirildi. Gazi, geleceğe güvenle bakabilir. |       |



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| 210 | 25 Ekim | "THE MANCHESTER EVENING NEWS" GAZETESİ KESİTİ : "BİR ZAMANLARIN 'HASTA ADAM'I ÖRNEK YARATTI".....   | 459   |
|     |         | Türkiye Cumhuriyeti onuncu yılını kutluyor. Türkiye'nin 15 milyonluk nüfusunun 14 milyonu Asya'da yaşıyor, başkenti de İstanbul'dan Anadolu'daki Ankara'ya taşındı. Ama Avrupa işlerinde Türkiye'yi yine hesaba katmak gerekiyor. Çünkü Türkiye güneydoğu Avrupa politikasında hâlâ önemli bir faktördür ve geçen yıl Milletler Cemiyeti'ne de katılmıştır. Son on yılda Türkiye olağanüstü bir değişim geçirmiştir. Bu değişim Mustafa Kemal sayesinde olmuştur. Türk-Yunan nüfus mübadelesiyle de Türkiye, homojen bir nüfusa kavuşmuştur. Türkiye'deki değişim bir makale çerçevesinde anlatılamaz. Mustafa Kemal, Batı modelinde bir devlet kurmayı amaçlıyor. Bu amaçla, eski alfabe bırakıldı, Halifelik kaldırıldı, devlet işleri tamamen laikleştirildi, din işleriyle devlet işleri ayrıldı. Laikleşmeyle birlikte kadının statüsü değişti. Kadın peçeyi bıraktı, toplum hayatında aktif rol aldı. Türkiye'de tek partili bir rejim vardır, ama Türk halkı Mustafa Kemal'in liderliğini gönüllü olarak kabul etmektedir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ilk yıllarındaki başarılarını Sovyetlere borçludur. Türkiye artık 'Hasta Adam'ı değil, örnek ülkedir. |       |
| 211 | 26 Ekim | "THE DAILY MAIL" GAZETESİ KESİTİ: "TÜRKİYE, KÜLTÜR İÇİN KUZEYE BAKIYOR". ERNEST MAIN'IN YAZISI.....   | 462   |
|     |         | Türkiye'nin son on yıldaki şaşırtıcı ilerlemesinin sırrı nedir? Son olarak bunu araştırmak için Türkiye'de dolaştım. Bunun sırrı Mustafa Kemal'dir. 1908'den beri fışkıran silah altında ve savaşta olan Türkiye, 1918'de hepten dize getirildikten sonra kendisini bir defa daha savaşın içinde buldu. Çanakkale savaşında isim yapmış olan Mustafa Kemal Anadolu içlerine çekilerek milleti örgütlemeye koyuldu. Birden bire karanlıklar içinde bir yıldız parladı ve Türk milleti, yeni lider  |       |

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|     |         | rinin önderliğinde yunan biçimde ulusal bilince erişti. Bundan sonra on yıl boyunca milliyetçilik ve devrim ilkeleri benimsendi. Yeni yeni lider ihlâli planladı. Bir gün fesi kaldırdı, ertesi gün Türkiye'de her erkek Avrupalı kıyafetle göründü. Kadınlar konusunda bir yasa çıkarılmadıysa da, kadınların da Avrupalı kadınlar gibi giyinecekleri belirtildi. Bu da gerçekleşti. Anadolu içlerinde hâlâ eski kıyafetle kadınlar görülüyorsa da genç bayanlar ve kızlar Londra kızları gibidir. Restoranlar da şık kadınlarla doludur. Daha önce bu hanımlar 13-14 yaşlarında çarşafa bürünürdü. Bugün ise yüzme, jimnastik yapmaya, kış sporlarına gidiyorlar. Din için de aynı şeyler söylenebilir. Gazi bir hamlede laikliği ilân etti. Halife sürüldü. Şimdi kimse camiye gitmeye veya günemeye zorlanmıyor. Eğitimde aynı şekilde hareket edildi ve hızla Latin yazısına geçildi. Alfabe, fonetik esasına dayanıyor; o kadar kolay ki şimdi daha çok Avrupalı Türkçe öğreniyor. Türk ulusu Latin kültürü yerine kuzey (nordik) kültüre bakıyor. Belki en büyük manevi ihlâl, başkentin İstanbul'dan Ankara'ya taşınması olmuştur. Çünkü İstanbul, sıkı çalışmak için fazla güzeldir, lükse düşkündür, geleneklere çok bağlıdır ve Bizans çöküntüsü demektir. Yeni Ankara ise güzeldir, yeni bir Amerikan şehri gibi gelişmektedir ve orada herkes kendisini yoğun işe vermiştir. Yeni Türkiye'nin yaşam biçimi Ankara'dan yayılıyor. Türkiye'nin odak noktasıdır Ankara. |       |
| 212 | 27 Ekim | "EVERYMAN" DERGİSİ RESİTİ: "TÜRKİYE".....<br>Pazar günü (29.X.1933) Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin onuncu yaş günüdür.<br>On yılda Türkiye Doğulu bir ülke olmaktan çıkıp Batılı bir ülke oldu. Sade bir alfabe Türkçeye uymayan Arap alfabesinin yerini aldı. Mustafa Kemal'in dış politikası da şaşırtıcıdır. O, son düşmanı Yunanistan'a elini uzadı. İçerde de düzeni sağladı. Eşkiyalığın kökü kazındı. Zaten dünyanın en seçkin bir gücü olan ordu donatıldı. Demiryolları  | 465   |

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|     |         | tslah edildi ve yeni demiryolları yapıldı. Ankara demiryoluyla yalnız Eskişehir'e (Bağdat demiryoluna) değil, artık Samsun'a, Karadeniz'e de bağlanmış bulunmaktadır. Bu arada bir Türk prensle evli olan bir İngiliz kızı Ankara'da istatengiz biçimde öldü. Artık Türkiye'de Pierre Loti'nin eski şark manzaralarına pek rastlanmıyor. Abdülhamid döneminin tespihleri, fesleri, harem ağaları tarihe karıştı. Çok eşlilik yasaklandı. Kızlar Üniversiteye gidiyor. Nargile, modası geçmiş haremde boş duruyor; Türkler şimdi ticaretle, işle uğraşıyor...   |       |
| 213 | 27 Ekim | "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" GAZETESİNİN KESİTİ: "ESKİ VE YENİ TÜRKİYE".....  | 466   |
|     |         | 29 Ekim için Türkiye afişlerle süslendi. Afişler, eski Türkiye ile yeni Türkiye arasındaki çarpıcı farkları gözler önüne seriyor. Afişin biri bugünkü evlenmenin yanında dünkü üç karılı bir adamı gösteriyor; bir diğeri bugünün yargıcıyla dünkü kadını. Bunlar, bugün yargıç koltuğunda oturan Türk kadınına da hatırlatıyor tabii.   |       |
| 214 | 27 Ekim | "THE NEWS CHRONICLE" GAZETESİNİN KESİTİ: "BİR MİLLETİN YENİDEN DOĞUŞU: TÜRKİYE YENİ DÖNEMİ KUTLUYOR.".....   | 467   |
|     |         | Türkiye, Pazar günü Cumhuriyetin 10. Yılı kutlayacak. Hazırlıklar altı gündür sürüyor. Ankara bir gelin gibi süslenecek; İstanbul ise Cumhuriyete bağlılığını gösterecek. Üç gün üç gece halk bayram edecek, eğlenecek. Devlet daireleri ve iş yerleri kapanacak. Işıklandırılacak minarelere Cumhuriyet sloganları asılacak. Ankara, Balkan ülkelerinden ve özellikle Sovyetler Birliğinden gelen özel heyetleri ağırlayacak. 300 Yunan izcisi Atina'dan Ankara'ya gelecek ve Türk izcileriyle birlikte resmi geçişte yer alacak. Törene üç kolordu ile 400 uçak katılacak. Vatandaşlara Onuncu Yıl Marşı ezberletildi. Gazi'nin kendisi de bir konuşma yapacak. Altı genç oyun yazarına Cumhuriyet yücelten piyesler yazma görevi verildi. |       |

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|     |         | Okullar üç gün kapanacak. Denizyolları ve demiryolları biletlerinde % 50-80 kadar indirim yapılacaktır. Bir genel af da bekleniyor. Anma pulları çıkarılacak. Bayrak satışları ekmeek satışları gibi huzh gidiyor.  |       |
| 215 | 27 Ekim | "THE TIMES" GAZETESİ KESİTİ: "TÜRKİYE'DE BAYRAM ŞENLİKLERİ. SOVYET HEYETİNİN GELİŞİ" .....  | 469   |
|     |         | Ankara'da Cumhuriyetin 10. Yılı kutlamalarına katılacak olan Sovyet heyeti bugün (26 Ekim) Siyastopol'dan İstanbul'a geldi. Molotoff ve Litvinof'un yokluğunda heyetin başında Vorosiloff bulunuyor. Heyetin gelişi Türk-Sovyet dostluğunun bir göstergesi. Heyetin İstanbul'dan geçişleri sırasında buradaki Beyaz Rus kolonisi gözetimi altında tutuldu. Onuncu yıl dolayısıyla hemen herkes evini ışıklandıracak ve bayrakla donatacak. Bir af yasası çıkarıldı: Mahkumların birçoğu salıverilecek. Eski saltanat mensupları, 150'likler, eşkiyalar, kaçakçı-lar ve görevleri sırasında suiistimal yapmış olanlar af dışında bırakıldı. Aftan yararlanacaklar arasında eski Başvakil Rauf Bey (Orbay) ve eski İzmir valisi Rahmi Bey de var. |       |
| 216 | 28 Ekim | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANİ JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 400. ....   | 470   |
|     |         | Son iki ayda Yunan, Yugoslav, Romen, Macar ve Sovyet liderleri Türkiye'yi ziyaret etti. Ankara önemli bir siyasi merkez haline geldi. Komşuları Türkiye'ye kur yapıyor. Mali bakımdan fakir olmasına rağmen Türkiye, Yakın Doğunun lideri olmuştur, denilebilir. Politikasının güvencesi Rus dostluğudur. Gazi, Türkiye demektir. Güçlü ordusu ve disiplinli halkıyla Türkiye, Yakın Doğu'daki üstünlüğünün yalnız komşuları tarafından değil, uzaktaki devletlerce de teslim edilmesini doğal saymaktadır.   |       |
| 217 | 28 Ekim | "THE TIMES" GAZETESİNİN KESİTİ: "TÜRKİYE'DE ON YILLIK CUMHURİYET" .....   | 471   |

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29 Ekim 1923 günü Gazi, hükümet şeklini değiştirmeye karar verdiğini aniden TBMM'ne duyurdu. Mebuslar hemen oturup Cumhuriyet ilân etmekle kalmadılar, Gazi'yi de ilk Cumhurbaşkanı seçtiler. O günden bugüne geçen on yıl, mebusların Gazi'ye güvenmekle doğru bir iş yaptıklarını gösterdi. Dünya, Türkiye Cumhuriyetinde yapılan sansasyonel reformları bilmektedir. Uzun Osmanlı tarihi döneminde Sultanlar, Rumlar, Ermeniler, Araplar hakkında çok şey söylenmişti; ama Türk köylüsü, gerçek Anadolu Türkünün adı sanı pek duyulmamıştı. Ama bu Türkler bitti sanıldıkları anda bile Yunanlıları denize dökerek gücü kendilerinde bulabildiler. Cumhuriyet döneminde Türk köylüsü artık köle gibi yaşamaya hiçbir zaman razı olmayacak, tefecilerin eline düşmeyecektir. Ziraat Bankasının köylüye açtığı kredi 1923'ten 1933'e 8 milyon liradan 34 milyona çıkmıştır. Hükümet de hızla demiryolu yapmaktadır. Hükümet, yeni sanayi de teşvik ediyor. Gazi, "köylü memleketin efendisidir" demiştir. Başkentini İstanbul'dan Ankara'ya taşınmasında da -stratejik gerekçelerin yanı sıra- bu görüş etkili olmuştur. Modern Türkiye'nin yöneticileri yalnız içeride reformlar yapmakla yetinmemişler, fakat aynı dış ülkelerle ilişkileri iyileştirmeyi de gerekli görmüşlerdir. Türkiye bugün hem bütün büyük devletlerle hem de komşularıyla sorunlarını çözmüş bulunmaktadır. Dış politikada en büyük zafer Yunanistan'la yaklaşma olmuştur. Cumhuriyet Türkiye'si, dışarıdan yardım almadan borçlarını ödemiş ve Türk lirasını istikrara kavuşturmuştur. Türkiye bir yıldönümünü kutlamaktadır, bu ülkede halkın da katıldığı böyle bir anlamlı kutlama ilk defa yaşanıyor.

218

28 Ekim

"THE TIMES" GAZETESİNİN RESİTİ: "TÜRKİYE'DE ON YIL" .....

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Türk halkı yarından başlayarak üç gün boyunca Cumhuriyetin ilânının onuncu yılını kutlayacak,

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bayram edecek. Türkler, geçen on yılda düş kırıklığına uğramadılar; imparatorluklarını kaybettiler ama cesaretlerini kazandılar ve bir lidere kavuştular. Cumhuriyetten bekledikleri ölçülüydü: Yurtta barış dünyada barış; eşkiyalığa karşı güvenlik; hafif vergi... Umutları fazlasıyla karşılandı. İçeride barış ve huzur sağlandı. Cumhuriyet ile yabancı ülkeler arasındaki ilişkiler düzeldi. Türkiye Milletler Cemiyeti'nin değerli bir üyesi oldu. Musul sorunu, Fransa (Suriye) ile İran ile sınır anlaşmazlıkları dostça halledildi. Türkler ve Yunanlılar pek dost oldular ve ittifak imzaladılar. Dahası, ülkede köklü değişiklikler yapıldı. Laiklik gerçekleştirildi, Şeriat hukukunun yerini laik hukuk aldı. Mali alanda KİT'ler tartışılabilirse de Türkiye artık dışa bağımlı değil, büyük ölçüde kendi kendine yeterlidir. Vergiler köylü yararına hafifletilmiştir. Bütçe dengelidir. Fakat Cumhuriyet en büyük zaferleri eğitim alanında ve sosyal reformlarda kazanmıştır. Kadınların durumunda da şaşırtıcı değişiklik olmuştur. Türk kadını artık Avrupa'daki kardeşleri gibi yaşamın her alanında yerini almaktadır. Tek partili otoriter rejimi eleştirenler yok değilse de kabul etmek gerekir ki Türk insanı Abdülhamid dönemine veya İttihat ve Terakki dönemine kıyasla bugün çok daha özgür ve çok daha güvencedir.

219 28 Ekim "THE MORNING POST" GAZETESİ KESİTİ:  
"TÜRKİYE'NİN ON YILLIK DEĞİŞİMİ" .....

475

Pazar günü Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 10. Yıldönümü kutlanacak. Bu tarih, yalnız yeni bir hükümet biçimin doğuşunu değil, aynı zamanda yeni bir halkın doğuşunu simgeler. On yılda ülkenin görünüşü değişti. Ulusal savaşta askere cephaue taşınmış olan Anadolu kadını da haremdeki kadın da özgürlüğe kavuştular ve Devlet hayatında ve sosyal hayatta yerlerini aldılar; belediye seçimlerine katıldılar. Diğer reformlar da Türkiye'nin çehresini değiştirmeye katkıda bulundu. Latin alfabesinin alınması, yazı

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| 220 | 28 Ekim | <p>değişikliğinin ötesinde anlam taşır. On yılda giyim kuşam, yazı, dil tamamen değişti. Türkiye’de ekonomik ve politik değişim de pek büyük oldu...</p> <p><b>"THE DAILY MIRROR" GAZETESİ KESİTİ: "GAZİ KAŞLARINI ÇATINCA BÜTÜN TÜRKİYE İTAAAT EDİYOR."</b>.....</p> <p>Ankara’da yeni bir kadın heykeli var; son köklü değişikliklerin simgesi. Heykeldeki kadın, peçesiz ve çarşafsız; İslamiyet ve harem öncesindeki Türk kadınına anımsatıyor, Türklerin kendi saf Türk geçmişlerinde dönmeleri pek etkileyici bir olaydır. Evlerde kafesler ve tüller kayboluyor. Bunların kaldırılması için bir yasa yoktur, Gazi’nin kaşlarını çaınası kâfi gelmiştir. Aile hayatı değişmektedir. Çok eşlilik sona ermiştir; Türkiye İsviçre Medeni Kanunu uygulamaktadır. Batılaşma henüz tam değildir. Parlamento seçimleri hariç, eski rejimden yeniyi geçiş hemen hemen tamamlanmıştır.</p>   | 477   |
| 221 | 28 Ekim | <p><b>"THE YORKSHIRE POST" GAZETESİ KESİTİ: "TÜRKİYE’NİN YENİDEN DOĞUŞU"</b> (H. E. WORTHAM’IN YAZISI) .....</p> <p>On yıl önce bu akşam (28 Ekim akşam) Mustafa Kemal Paşa harekete geçti. Bazı arkadaşlarını Çankaya köşküne davet etti. ("Yarın cumhuriyet ilân ediyoruz" dedi) . Ertesi gün 101 pare top atışıyla Cumhuriyetin ilâmı kutlandı. Gazi Paşa oybirliğiyle Cumhurbaşkanı seçildi. Türklerin bütün yaşam biçimlerini değiştirmek için ilk zamanlar sert demir yumruk kullandı. Halifeyi attı. Abdülmecid Efendi İsviçre’ye gitti. Laik bir yönetim kurmak için çeşitli adımlar atıldı. Fes atıldı. Batılaşma yönünde kararlılıkla yüründü. En büyük değişim Latin alfabesinin alınması oldu. Arapça, Farsça kelimeler de sözlükten atıldı. Böylece on yılda Türkiye değişti. Rumlar, Ermeniler gitti. Artık Türkiye nüfusunun % 93’ü Türk. Ekonomi karanlıksa da Cumhuriyetin dış politikası barışçı oldu. Sırf bunun için dahi olsa on yıldaki Cumhuriyeti kutlarız.</p> | 429   |



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| 222 | 28 Ekim | <p>"THE WESTERN MAIL" (CARDIFF) GAZETESİ KESİTİ: "BİR MİLLETİN YENİDEN DOĞUŞU".</p> <p>Gazi Mustafa Kemal'in güçlü liderliğinde Türkiye'nin Cumhuriyet oluşunun üzerinden on yıl geçti ve bu süre içinde millet (Türk milleti) yeniden doğdu. Padişahların Türkiye'si savaşta çökmüştü, barış arayışları beş yıl sürdü ve sonunda Cumhuriyet geldi. Ama ülke hâlâ demokrasiye hazır değil. (Mustafa) Kemal'in başarıları büyüktür. Ülke zengin değil. Birinci sınıf savaşçı olan Türkler diğer alanlarda pek başarılı değillerdir. (Mustafa) Kemal temeli atmıştır, sonrasını zaman gösterecektir.</p>   | 482   |
| 223 | 28 Ekim | <p>"THE DAILY TELEGRAPH" GAZETESİ KESİTİ: "TÜRKİYE: DİKKATE DEĞER ON YILIN MUCİZESİ" (GRACE ELLISON'UN YAZISI) .....</p> <p>1922 sonunda Ankara'ya gittim. Gazi Mustafa Kemal'i inceleme fırsatı buldum. O tarihte Gazi, Başkumandan; Ankara da tahkim edilmiş bir Asya köyü idi. Mustafa Kemal, "biz Orta Çağ'da yaşıyoruz" diyordu. Halk toprağı işleyerek yaşıyordu. Yollar yol değildi. İlkel kağınlarda ya da yaylılarda seyahat ediyordunuz. Ankara'da sadece iki otomobil vardı. İlkel bir handan başka kalacak bir yer yoktu. Gazi, "beş yıl sonra yine geliniz, değişikliği o zaman görürsünüz" demişti. Beş yıl sonra yine gittim. Türk kadınları ve Avrupalılar için balovardı. Gazi, "Pekiye" dedi, "şimdi ne diyor-sunuz?" Şimdi, dil hariç, savaş öncesi Türkiye'nin her şeyi Müzenin raflarına kaldırılmışı! Değişim şaşırtıcıydı...Türkiye Doğulu bir devletten Batılı bir devlete dönüşmüştü. Çünkü tembel Türkler bugün çalışkan işçiler olmuşlardı. Ankara her Türk'ün iftihar ettiği bir başkent olmuştu. Gazi, ömrü boyunca Türkiye için çalışmıştır. Eskiden Gazi kalpaklıydı, şimdi sık Batı elbisesi giyiyordu. Sadece "İstiklâl Madalyası" takıyordu. Kadınlar hakkındaki düşüncesini sordum. "Halkın yarısını köle gibi tutarak geri kalan yarısıyla gerçek demokrasi kuramazsınız" dedi. Kadını özgürlüğe</p> | 483   |

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|     |         | kavuşturduktan ve erkeğe şapkayı giydirdikten sonra, yasaları da değiştirmek gerekmişti. Sadece bu bile dev bir reformdu. Alfabe değiştirilmiş, okuma-yazma kursları açılmış, dinle Devlet ayrılmış, kadınlar üniversiteye alınmış. Genel Müdür ve yargıç olmuşlardır.   |       |
| 224 | 28 Ekim | "THE FINANCIAL TIMES" GAZETESİ KESİTİ:<br>"TÜRKİYE'NİN ON YILLIK GELİŞMESİ". .....<br>Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin onuncu yıl kutlamalarında rejimin ekonomik başarıları da övülecektir. Ülkede, sosyal ve politik reformların yanı sıra ekonomik değişim de az değildir. Devletin de halkın da ekonomik zihniyeti değişmiştir. Türk bankalarında halkın tasarrufları artmıştır: 1920'de 3.5 milyon olan bu tasarruflar bugün (1933'te) 34 milyona çıkmıştır. Sanayileşme artmıştır. Sanayi Teşvik Kanunundan önce Türkiye'de 130 fabrika vardı, bugün 2200 fabrika var: İstanbul'da 507, İzmir'de 181, Ankara'da 30. Halk girişimci olmaya başlamıştır, ki eskiden bu bilinmezdi. Bu gelişmeyi önce devlet özendirmiş ve kançalamıştır. Gazi ve Başbakan İsmet Paşa, denik bütçe konusunda ısrarcı ve başarılı olmuşlardır. Yalnız bir yıl, 1926'de bütçe açığı görülmüştür. On yıl boyunca bütçe gelirleri sürekli artmıştır. Türk lirası istikrarlıdır. Ancak ticaret dengesine dikkat edilmezse ekonomik sorun yaşanabilir. 1932'de ihracat ithalatı biraz aşmıştır. Onuncu yılında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ekonomik yapısı sağlamdır ve halk ekonomik faaliyetlere daha fazla katılmaktadır. | 186   |
| 225 | 28 Ekim | (TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ'NİN ONUNCU YILI DOLAYISIYLA) YÜZBAŞI ED. WALKER'İN LONDRA'DA, BBC RADYOSUNDA AKŞAM SAAT 9.15'TE YAPTIĞI KONUŞMA .....<br>Yarın Türkiye'nin her tarafında Cumhuriyetin onuncu yılı kutlanacak. On yıllık Cumhuriyet döneminde Türkiye'de demiryolları uzunluğu iki kat arttı. Konforlu vagonla Haydarpaşa'dan Anka-  | 188   |

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ra'ya gidiyoruz. Ankara istasyon binası Bağımsızlık Savaşında Mustafa Kemal'i karargâhıydı; bu savaş sonunda bütün tarih değişti ve Türkiye Cumhuriyet oldu. İstasyondan şehre gidiyoruz. Şık taksiler eski arabaların yerini almış. İşte Meclis binası. Yarın burada resmî geçit töreni yapılacak. On yıl önce Gazi burada başına ödül konmuş bir "ası" durumundaydı. Ankara caddelerinde dolaşıyoruz. Herhangi bir Avrupa başkenti gibi. Eski şark kılık-ları gitmiş. Kadınlar modaya göre giyinmiş. Hocalar bile sarıklarını, feslerini bırakmış. İzciler, öğrenciler. Ankara hoş görünüşlü bir şehir. Çevresi Anadolu bozkırı. Gazi bugün dünyanın seçkin bir siması. Onun önderliğinde Türkiye modern bir devlet oldu. Gazi on yıldır barış politikası izliyor, onun en büyük başarılarından biri Yunanistan'la imzalanan antlaşmadır. Bir süre önce bir yabancı elçiye, "yarın ölsem yerimi alacak bin Türk çıkar" demiş. Kulak misafiri olan İngiliz Büyükelçisi Clerk de "Ekselans bin kat mübalâğa ediyorsunuz" demiş. Clerk galiba haklıydı. Gazi'nin uzun yaşaması Avrupa barışının yararına-dır.

226 28 Ekim İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI. NO. 402

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Cumhuriyetin onuncu yılı kutlamaları yarın başlayacak ve üç gün sürecek. Her ev bayrak asacak ve süslenecek. Bayrak satıcıları sokaklarda tabur tabur. Her köyde Cumhuriyet meydanları oluşturulup nutuklar söylenecek. Ankara'da istasyondan Çankaya köşküne kadar bayraklar, afişler asıldı. Afişlerde sloganlar: "Denk Bütçe, Düzgün Ödeme, İşte Cumhuriyet Maliyesi" veya "Ben Bir Türk'üm, Ne Mutlu Banı!", veyahut "Asker, Mille-tin Özüdür" Yeni İçişleri Bakanlığı binasında da bir yazı okunuyor: "Gazi bizden biridir; En büyüğümüzdür; Hepimizdir." Kahvelerde, lokantalar-daki afişlerde de Batılı kıyafetlerin Asya kıyafetlerinden daha üstün olduğu belirtiliyor. Ovaya kurulmuş çadırlarda komşu illerden getiril-

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|     |         | len askerler, İstanbul'dan getirilen denizciler kalıyor; izciler, üniversite öğrencileri de okullara yerleştirildi. Elçilikler, Büyükelçilikler de ısıklandırılarak mı, yoksa sadece bayrak mı asacaklar? Bu konuda hâlâ fikir birliği yok. Halk herhalde yıldönümünü coşkuyla kutlayacaktır.   |       |
| 227 | 28 Ekim | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 405. ....   | 492   |
|     |         | Bayındırlık Bakanı Hilmi Bey (Uran) istifa etti, yerine Fuat (Ziya) Bey atandı. Haber aldığıma göre bakanın istifasını Gazi istemiş. Yeni bakan Maliye Bakanına da vekâlet edecek. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Genel Sekreteri Hikmet Bey (Bayur) milletvekili olmak için istifa etti, yerine Ruşen Eşref (Unaydın) geçti.   |       |
| 228 | 28 Ekim | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 403. ....   | 493   |
|     |         | Sovyet Heyeti: Cumhuriyetin onuncu yıldönümü dolayısıyla Molotoff ve Litvinoff'un Ankara'ya gelmeleri bekleniyordu; fakat gelemeycekleri anlaşıldı. Yerlerini Vorosiloff aldı. Yürümiye aşkın kişiden oluşan Sovyet heyeti, 26 Ekimde İstanbul'da gösterişli biçimde karşılandı, ertesi sabah Ankara'ya ulaştı ve Ankara Palas'a yerleşti. Dışişleri Bakanı heyeti ağırlıyor. Heyetin ileri gelenleri Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından kabul edildi. Not: Heyetin İstanbul'a geldiği gün Çar yanlısı 30-40 Rus bir gece gözetim altında tutulmuş. |       |
| 229 | 28 Ekim | İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR JOHN SIMON'DAN TÜRKİYE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI DR. TEVİK RÜŞTÜ BEYE TEL. ....   | 494   |
|     |         | İngiltere Hükûmeti adına, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilânının onuncu yıldönümünü kutlarım.   |       |
| 230 | 28 Ekim | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA'DA ESKİ BÜYÜKELÇİSİ GEORGE CLERK'TEN TÜRKİYE CUMHURBAŞKANI GAZİ MUSTAFA KEMAL'E TEL. ....  | 495   |

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| 231 | 29 Ekim | Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin onuncu yılı dolayısıyla Ekteşânsılama en hararetili tebriklerimi sunarım.<br>"SUNDAY EXPRESS" GAZETESİNİN KESİTİ:<br>"ON YIL ÖNCE BUGÜN (MUSTAFA) KEMAL İKTİDARA GELDİ" (FRANCIS MUSGRAVE'İN YAZISI) .....  | 495   |
| 232 | 29 Ekim | 1923'te Cumhurbaşkanı seçilmiş olan Mustafa Kemal'in öyküsü yeni Türkiye'nin öyküsüyle aynıdır. O günden bugüne Türkiye'nin manzarası değişmiştir. Fes gitmiş, şapka gelmiş; Beyoğlu'nda Müttefik askeri kalmamıştır... Bu değişimi Gazi sağlamıştır. Mustafa Kemal, Padişahı devirmiş, Latin alfabesini almış, kadınlara özgürlüğünü vermiştir. Türkiye'ye gidenler her yerde Gazi'nin etkisini görürler. 1923'te Türkiye'nin yıllık ihracatı 84 milyon liraydı, bugün 300 milyona çıkmıştır...<br>"THE OBSERVER" GAZETESİ KESİTİ: "NEŞELİ ANKARA" .....          | 497   |
| 233 | 30 Ekim | Ankara coşku içinde. Cumhuriyetin 10. Yaş günü kutlanıyor. Sovyet heyetinin gelişi büyük gösterilere neden oldu. Heyet, Türk ve Sovyet renkleriyle süslenmiş dev zafer takından geçerken coşku doruğa ulaştı. On binlerce insan Ankara'ya akıyor. Mustafa Kemal, Meclis'te kordiplomatîğin tebriklerini kabul edecek. Sonra stadyumdan bir nutuk yayınlayacak. Ardından resmi geçit. Törene 300 uçak katılacak. Bunlar arasında Rusların hediye ettiği dört uçak da bulunacak.<br>"THE DAILY TELEGRAPH" GAZETESİ KESİTİ:<br>"YENİ TÜRKİYE'NİN SEVİNÇLİ GÜNÜ" ..... | 498   |
|     |         | Türkiye Cumhuriyeti 10. Yıl kutlamalarına başladı. Ankara'da Mustafa Kemal, iyi donanımlı askerin selâmını aldı. Sir John Simon bir kutlama telgrafı gönderdi. Londra'da Türk Büyükelçisi Münir Bey gazetemize bir demec verdi ve Gazi'nin barış için çalışmasını belirtti. Bugün Gazi yabancı devlet adamlarını, diplomatları ve askeri ataşeleri kabul ediyor. Artık Türkiye'ye "Avrupa'nın Hasta  |       |

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|     |         | Adanı" denemez, Halk yeni Onuncu Yıl marşını söyledi. Gökür 300 uçak uçtu. Pilotlar arasında ilk kadın pilot da vardı. Sovyetler, yaş günü hediyesi olarak Türkiye'ye beş savaş uçağı verdi. Gazi'nin yapacakları daha bitmemiştir.  |       |
| 234 | 30 Ekim | "THE DAILY TELEGRAPH" GAZETESİ KESİTİ: "GAZİ'NİN BARIŞ UĞRUNDAKİ SAVAŞI" (Büyükelçinin Demeci) .....   | 499   |
|     |         | Türk Büyükelçisi Mehmet Münir Bey (Ertegün) 'Daily Telegraph'a bir demec verdi : "Basın, özellikle İngiliz basını bu yıldönümünü pek güzel verdi. Türkiye'nin iç politikası halkın yaşamı standartlarını yükseltmek, dış politikası ise barışsever milletlerle yarışmaktır" dedi. Büyükelçi, Gazi'nin büyük başarısının onun barışçı politikası olduğunu belirtti. İçerde de kadının statüsünün değişmesini ekledi. Savaş sanatını iyi bilen Gazi'nin, bunu şimdi barış uğrunda savaşa kullandığını da söyledi.  |       |
| 235 | 30 Ekim | "THE IRISH INDEPENDENT" GAZETESİ KESİTİ: "TÜRKİYE'NİN ONUNCU YAŞ GÜNÜ".  | 500   |
|     |         | On yıl önce Türkiye Cumhuriyeti doğdu. Ardından savaş sonrasında en büyük ve en başarılı ihtilâli yaşandı. Mustafa Kemal, 14 milyonluk ülkesini Ankara'dan yönetiyor. Türk ihtilâli politik reformlardan daha derindir. Halkın bütün sosyal sistemini değişti. (Mustafa) Kemal'in kendisinin de karatahta başında halka Latin harflerini öğretmesi sembolik anlam taşır. Türkiye daha Türk ve daha Avrupalı oldu. Çok kadınla evlilik kalktı, kadın özgürlüğe kavuştu, toplumda yerini aldı. Fanatik Kürtlerin direnmesi bir yana, devrim barış içinde gerçekleşti. M. Kemal, çağın en büyük adamlarından biridir. |       |
| 236 | 30 Ekim | "THE EDINBURGH EVENING DESPATCH" GAZETESİ KESİTİ: "BAŞARILI DİKTATÖRLER" ...   | 501   |
|     |         | Dünya Mussolini'yi daha çok tanır, ama Mustafa Kemal'in devrini daha çarpıcıdır. Avrupa'nın  |       |

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| 237 | 30 Ekim   | <p>hasta adamı Batılmış ve tanınmaz derecede değişmiştir.</p> <p><b>"THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" GAZETESİ KESİTİ: "TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ" .....</b></p> <p>Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin 10.Yılı din coşkuyla kutlandı. Mustafa Kemal, İslam tarihinde eş görülmemiş şaşırtıcı bir devrimle ülkesini değiştirdi. İhtihatçıları başarısızlıklarından ders çıkarmayı da bildi. Yeni Türkiye tamamen millî temeller üzerine oturtuldu, din temeline değil. Yeni Türkiye, kompakt, katıksız olmalıydı. Bir milyondan fazla mübadil Rum Yunanistan'da gönderildi. Ermeni sorunu ebediyen halledildi. Yunanistan 1930'da yeni Türkiye ile barıştı ve birkaç ay önce de iki ülke bir antlaşma imzaladı. On yıl önce Türkiye 17. Yüzyıla göre yaşıyordu. 17. Yüzyıldan kalma kapitülasyonlar hâlâ geçerliydi. Mustafa Kemal bunların hepsini değiştirdi. İsviçre Medeni Kanunu Mecelle'nin yerini aldı. Kadınlar açıldı. Fes atıldı, şapka alındı. Bunlar asıl iç değişikliklerin sembolik anlamıdır. Mustafa Kemal kendisine "diktatör" denmesinden hoşlanmaz, o Gazi'dir.</p> | 502   |
| 238 | Ekim 1933 | <p><b>"THE EMPIRE REVIEW" DERGİSİNİN KESİTİ: "BUGÜNKÜ TÜRKİYE" (METTAH İMZALI YAZI) .....</b></p> <p>Son on yılda Türkiye'de olağanüstü değişiklikler oldu. 1922'de bir padişahın yönettiği ülkede bugün Mustafa Kemal Cumhurbaşkanı; Ankara'da mütevazî bir evde yaşar. Halk kendisine inanmış, onun için reformlara tepki göstermemiştir. Modernleşme aslında 1908'de başlamıştır. Türkiye'de yenileşme, Büyük Petro zamanında Rusya'daki veya Japonya'daki yenileşmeden belki daha büyüktür. 1918 Ankara'sı ile bugünkü Ankara karşılaştırılınca Türkiye'deki metamorfoz daha iyi kavranır. Belki en çarpıcı yenilik Türk kadınının durumudur. Türk erkeği de değişmiştir. Türk tarihi artık başka açıdan değerlendiriliyor.</p>   | 504   |



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başka gözle görülüyor. Türk dili de Arapça ve Farsça kelimelerden arındırılıyor. Eğitim laiktir ve hem erkek hem kız çocuklar için zorunludur. Çocuklar demokratik fikirlerle eğitiliyor. Okuma yazma bilmeyenlerin oranı 1922'de % 90 idi, bugün % 25. Resim, heykel gibi sanatlar eskiden yasaktı, bugün Hükümetçe özendiriliyor. Türk adalet sistemi baştan başa ıslah edildi. Tarım çağdaşlaşıyor, makineleşiyor ve sulama için 1929'da 100 milyon lira ayrıldı. Hükümet, ticareti ve sanayi geliştirmeye çalışıyor. Yerli Sanayiî Koruma kanunu çıkarıldı ve bunun sonucu son üç yılda fabrika sayısı 370'ten 2.200'e çıktı. Türk mühendisler 3000 küsur kilometre demiryolu yaptı. Bir ticaret filosu kuruldu. Türk lirası sağlam, bütçe denk. İşçiler de unutulmuyor. Yeni bir iş kanunu hazırlanıyor. Türkiye, Milletler Cemiyeti'ne de katıldı; komşularıyla ilişkilerini düzeltti. Yüzyılın başında Türkiye bölgenin en geri kalmış ülkesiydi, bugün ise en ilerici ülkedir.

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| 239 | 30 Ekim |
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**TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİNİN ONUNCU YILINI KUTLAMAK İÇİN, EDWARD WALKER'İN 30 EKİM 1933 PAZARTESİ GÜNÜ YAKIN VE ORTA DOĞU DERNEĞİNDE VERDİĞİ KONFERANS METNİ** .....

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Dün Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin kuruluşunun onuncu yılı törenlerle kutlandı. Kutlamalar üç gün sürecek. On iki yıl önce bir asi durumunda olan Mustafa Kemal, şimdi kurtarıcı Gazi olarak alkışlanıyor. Yarımkı tarihçiler Türkiye'deki olağanüstü değişimi bir liderin eseri olarak değerlendirecek. Bu olağanüstü liderin ne gibi zorlukları aştığını anlayabilmek için 30 Ekim 1918 mütarekesinden (Mondros) sonraki gelişmeleri hatırlayalım: 15 Mayıs 1915'te Yunanlılar İzmir'e çıkıyor, aynı gün Mustafa Kemal Doğu'daki Üçüncü Ordu Umumi Müfettişliğine atanıyor. Anadolu köylüsünü ayaklandırıyor. Sivas Kongresini topluyor ve Misak-ı Milli'yi hazırlıyor. İstanbul'da toplanan son Osmanlı Meclisi bunu kabul ediyor. İngilizler

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|     |        | mebusları tutuklıyor, Mustafa Kemal, 23 Nisan 1920'de Ankara'da Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'ni topluyor ve Hükümet kuruyor. Sevr antlaşması üzerine Anadolu halkı Mustafa Kemal'in saflarında birleşiyor, Yunanistan'da da Kral Konstantin tahta çıkıyor ve Venizelos yurt dışına kaçıyor. Yunanistan Anadolu'da büyük bir taarruz başlatıyor. İtilaf Devletleri de Yunanistan'dan desteği çekiyor. Yunan orduları geri püskürtülüyor. Sakarya zaferinden sonra bazı Devletler Mustafa Kemal'e yaklaşmaya başlıyor. Fransa, Ankara hükümetiyle gizli bir anlaşma imzalıyor. Fethi Bey Londra'ya geliyor, ana Lloyd George veya Lord Curzon tarafından kabul edilmiyor. Mustafa Kemal, Büyük Taarruz hazırlıklarına başlıyor. 26 Ağustos 1922'de başlayan taarruzla Yunan orduları bozguna uğrattılıyor. Yunanlılar Anadolu'dan çekilince Müttefikler Boğazlar bölgesinde muzaffer Türk Ordusu ile karşı karşıya kalıyor. Daha doğrusu Lloyd George ile Mustafa Kemal karşı karşıya kalıyorlar. 11 Ekim 1922'de mütareke imzalanıyor. Ardından Lozan konferansı başlıyor. Bu arada TBMM saltanatı kaldırıyor. Sultan Vahdettin İstanbul'dan kaçıyor. Abdülmecid Halife oluyor, 24 Temmuz 1923'te Lozan'da Barış Antlaşması imzalanıyor. Ondan sonra, 29 Ekim 1923'te Cumhuriyet ilân ediliyor, Mustafa Kemal ilk Cumhurbaşkanı seçiliyor. 2 Mart 1924'te Halifelik kaldırılıyor ve Abdülmecid efendi ülkeyi terk ediyor. O sıralar birçok kimse Mustafa Kemal'in padişah ve halife olacağını düşündü (ve yanlışıldılar). O ise kendi siyasi partisini kurdu ve bu yüzden tenkide de uğradı. Devlet Başkanı olarak siyasi partilerin üstünde olması ve tarafsız kalması istendi. Oysa gerçek şudur: Türkiye, yürümeyi öğrenmeden koşamazdı; yani bu ülke tam demokrasiye henüz hazır değildi. Gazi, 1924-1925 yıllarında içerde ve dışarıda ciddi güçlüklerle karşılaştı: Muhalefet Partisi, Şeyh Said ayaklanması, Musul sorunu...Sıkıyönetim ilân |       |

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|     |         | edildi. Bu arada kıyafet reformu yapıldı, şapka kanunu çıkarıldı. Fesin yasaklanması bazı çevrelerde tepkiyle karşılandı. Kadınlar da peceyi atıma-ya özendirildi. Bundan sonra sıra hukuk reformuna geldi. İsviçre Medeni Kanunu alındı. Çok kadını evlilik yasaklandı, medeni nikâh, mirasta kadın erkek eşitliği vs. geldi. İtalyan Ceza Kanunu, Alman Ticaret kanunu alındı. Bundan sonra belki en önemli reform, Latin alfabesinin alınması oldu. Ankara inşa edildi. Biraz istatistik: Türkiye'de 1923'te 18.000 kilometre karayolu vardı (13.000 kilometresi kömü durumundaydı); bugün iyi durumda 30.000 kilometre yol var. Türk hükümeti 10 yılda şirketlerden 1.600 kilometre demiryolu satın aldı, bunlar için 159 milyon ödedi. On yılda demiryolu yapımı şaşırtıcıdır. Bugün demiryollarının uzunluğu 3.500 kilometredir, gelecek yıl 4.000 kilometre olacak. Türk gemileri 1923'te 35.000 ton yük taşıyabiliyordu, 1933'te 110.000 ton taşıyor. Ticaret dengesi lehtedir, 1932'de 15 milyon fazlalık vermiştir. Cumhuriyetin ilân edildiği yıl 4.000 okul, 336.000 öğrenci vardı; bugün 6000 okulda 542.000 öğrenci okuyor. Son olarak Gazi'nin barış uğrunda çalışmaları da hatırlayalım: Türkiye, on yılda 40 dostluk antlaşması imzaladı ki bunların sonuncusu Türk-Yunan antlaşmasıdır. Avrupa devletleri yazık ki Türkiye ile Yunanistan'ı örnek alamıyorlar. Türkiye bugün Milletler Cemiyeti'nin aktif bir üyesidir. |       |
| 240 | 31 Ekim | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A. YAZI NO. 411. GİZLİ .....   | 519   |

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 10. Yılı kutlamaları başarıyla sonuçlandı. Törenler, kordiplomatüğün Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından kabulüyle başladı. Dün-ayen Sovyet Büyükelçisi hepimiz adına Gazi'ye tebriklerini sundu. Gazi'nin cevabı ilişiktir. Sonra yarışlar izlendi. Vorosiloff, Karahan ve diğer ileri gelen Ruslar Gazi'nin yanındaydı. Yarışların

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|     |         | ardından resmî geçit için tribüne geçildi. Gazi'nin Türk ulusuna sesleniş radyoyla da yayımlandı. Konuşmadan sonra Onuncu Yıl Marşı söylendi. Marşı, askerın görkemli geçiş izledi. Türk askeri etkileyiciydi. Askerlerin ardından hemşireler, kızlı erkekli üniversite öğrencileri, sporcular, daha il-ginci at sırtında ya da yaya köylüler, hatta hocalar da geçti. Milletin bu sade temsilcileri, zaten keyfi yerinde olan Gazi'yi pek duygulandı. Bu arada uzak ufuklardan çıkıp gelen 80 kadar uçak alçalıp seyircilerin üzerinden uçtu.  |       |
| Ek  | 29 Ekim | TÜRKİYE CUMHURBAŞKANININ KORDİPLO-MATİK DUAYENİNE CEVABI .....<br>Sayın Büyükelçi, Kordiplomaüğün tebrikleriyle iyi dileklerine ve sizin güzel sözlerinize hararetle teşekkür ederim. Bugün Cumhuriyetin onuncu yılını kutluyoruz. Siz de şahsen bunun doğuşuna ve gelişmesine tanık olduk. Sizi duayen ve dost olarak selâmlarken mutluyum; kordiplomatik üyelerini de saniniyetle selâmlarım. Dış politi-kanız barış içinde ülkemizi geliştirme amacından hiç sapmamıştır. Bütün ülkeler için de bu gelişmeyi diliyoruz. Sayın misyon şefleri, tebrikleri ve dilekleri için minnettarlığımızı hükümetleri-nize arz etmenizi dilerim. Türk ihulâli yapıcıdır, yurtseverlik eseridir, insanlık idealine bağlıdır. Bu ihulâlin sanatkâri olarak dünyaya dostça bakı-yorım. | 521   |
| 241 | 1 Kasım | DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI DR. TEVFİK RÜŞTÜ BEY DEN (ARAS) İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR JOHN SIMON'A TEL .....<br>Majesteleri Hükümetinin tebriklerine ve iyi dilek-lerine Türk Hükümeti hararetle teşekkür eder. Cumhurbaşkanımız telgrafınıza pek memnun oldu. Türk halkı da Büyük Britanya'nın mut-luluğunu ve refahını diler.   | 522   |
| 242 | 1 Kasım | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SI-MON'A, YAZI. NO. 412 GİZLİ .....  | 523   |

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|     |         | Onuncu yıl balosunda alışlınsın üzerinde kalabalık vardı. Her yıl verilmekte olan resmi aksam yemeği bu yıl kaldırıldı. Gazi, gece yarısından sonra Başbakan ve Vorosiloff ile birlikte baloya geldi; Tevfik Rüşti Bey'in kızını Dışişlerinden bir gence (Fatin Rüşti) nişanladı ve saat 03'te balodan ayrıldı. Onuncu yıl kutlamaları iki gün daha devam etti. Ankara şehri gündüzleri süslü, geceleri ışıklıdır. Her yerde toplantılar, konuşmalar yapıldı, gazeteler 60 sayfa olarak çıktı ve Cumhuriyetin başarıları anlatıldı. 30 Ekimde Ziraat Enstitüsünün resmi açılışı yapıldı. Aynı gün Genelkurmay, askeri kulüpte, Rus konuklar onuruna bir çay partisi verdi. 31 Ekimde yeni modern hastanenin açılışı yapıldı. Hastanenin her şeyi mükemmel ama sadece bir hemşiresi var o da Alman. Kutlamalar süresinde her ülkeden mesajlar geldi. İngiltere'den gelen mesaja içten teşekkür edildi. <i>Times</i> gazetesinin makalesine de geniş yer verildi. Almanya, Macaristan, Yunanistan, Bulgaristan, Yugoslavya ve Romanya'dan gelen özel heyetler ülkelerinin iyi dileklerini getirdiler. Türkiye'nin dış temsilciliklerindeki katımlara da basında yer verildi. Prestiji artan genç Türkiye Cumhuriyeti dünya devletleri arasında yerini aldı. |       |
| 243 | 1 Kasım | "THE NEW BRITAIN" GAZETESİ KESİTİ: "TÜRKİYE'NİN DEĞİŞMESİ".<br>Moskova hükümeti Türkiye'ye altı uçak hediye etti. Onuncu yıl kutlamaları üç gün sürdü. Mustafa Kemal önderliğinde Türkiye'nin değişmesi (metamorfoz) en büyük başarılarından biridir. Türkiye bugün bir Avrupa ülkesi gibidir. Kadınların özgürlüğü pek çabuk gerçekleşti. Birkaç bin siyasi suçlu affedilecek.   | 524   |
| 244 | 2 Kasım | TÜRKİYE CUMHURBAŞKANI GAZİ MUSTAFA KEMAL'DEN LONDRA'DA İNGİLİZ BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'E TEL<br>Çok teşekkür eder ve dostça anılarını iletirim.  | 525   |

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| 245 | 2 Kasım | İNGİLTERE NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI<br>MORGAN D'AN DİŞİSLERİ BAKANI JOHN SI-<br>MON A. YAZI NO. 113 .....   | 525   |
|     |         | 1 Kasım'da Cumhurbaşkanının bir konuşmasıyla<br>TBMM açıldı. Konuşmada, son aylarda Türkiye'ye<br>ziyaret yapmış olan ülkelerin adları anıldı. Gazi<br>Rıfz dostluğunu sıcak biçimde anınca alkışlandı.<br>Türkiye ile ittifak imzalanmayan Bulgaristan'ın tu-<br>nunu ise hoşnutsuzluk varımı. Gazi, sanayileşme,<br>denk bütçe ve milli savunma üzerinde de durdu.  |       |
| 246 | 2 Kasım | "THE LIVERPOOL POST" GAZETESİ KESİTİ:<br>"TÜRKİYE'DE GELİŞME" .....   | 526   |
|     |         | Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 10 yılda başarılarının<br>özetı yayınlandı. İçinde bol bilgi ve istatistik var.<br>Temel değişikliklere bölümler ayrılmış. Türk Or-<br>dusu, "milletin en büyük gururu" deniyor.  |       |
| 247 | 3 Kasım | "EVENING NEWS" (GLASGOW) GAZETESİ<br>KESİTİ: "ON YIL ÖNCEKİ VE BUGÜNKÜ<br>TÜRKİYE" (JENNY H. HANSON'UN YAZISI) .....  | 527   |
|     |         | Siyasal ufku İngiltere kıyıların aşmıyan sokaktaki<br>adam için Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 10. Yıldönü-<br>mü bellü bir şey ifade etmez. Ama geçen son on<br>yıl içinde, Gazi Mustafa Kemal önderliğinde<br>çağdas tarihin en büyük destanı yaratılmıştır.<br>Ankara artık Türkiye'nin temelli başkentidir ve<br>dün bir ortaçağ kasabası iken bugün artık modern<br>bir şehirdir. Yeni Ankara'nın ve Türkiye'nin inşaa-<br>sında bazı İskoçların da emegi vardır. Glasgow'lu<br>J. Burns-Cameron İskoçya'da Türkiye'nin fahri<br>konsolosudur. Türkiye - İskoçya ticaret ilişkileri de<br>gelişmektedir. Son olarak Türk banka müdürleri<br>İskoçya'daki bankaları incelediler. Türkiye hem<br>bir pazar, hem de bir sosyal gelişme öyküsüdür.<br>Glasgow, başka mallar yanında Türkiye'ye Singer<br>dikiş makineleri satmaktadır. Türkiye'nin birçok<br>değerli ilıracı malları ve madenleri vardır. Gazi bu<br>ülkeye ne mi yaptı? Kadınları özgürlüğe kavı-<br>tırdı, İesi kaldırdı, adaleti sisteminde köklü<br>değişiklik yaptı, eğitim sistemini geliştirdi, yolları, |       |

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|     |         | kanalları yaptı. Gazi ülkesini uyandırdı. Başlıca şehirleri elektrik, demiryolu vs. Türk milletini en büyük övünç kaynağı oldu, deniz kuvvetleri güçlendirildi. Türkiye'nin politikası "Yurtta barış, dünyada barış" ır. Türkiye on yılda modern dünya ülkeleri arasında yerini aldı.  |       |
| 248 | 3 Kasım | "THE SPECTATOR" DERGİSİNİN YAZISI: "TÜRKİYE NİN YENİDEN DOĞUSU" .....  | 529   |
|     |         | Dünya Savaşı sonunda Türk İmparatorluğu parçalandı, onun yerinde güçlü bir millî devlet doğdu. Modern Türkiye bir mucizedir. Bu değişimde Mustafa Kemal'in büyük payı var. Eski Türkiye, devletler arasında sürekli bir entrika konusuydu. Köküne kadar çürümüştü. İtilafçılar buna derman bulamadı. Mustafa Kemal, Anadolu Türklerinin milliyetçiliğine dayanarak Yunan ordularını ülkeden defetti ve Saltanatı kaldırıp Cumhuriyetin ilanı ederek 1923'te Türk Tarihi yeniden başlattı. Bir bakıma bu bir başlangıçtı, fakat doğru bir başlangıçtı. Reformlar yapmayı sürdürdü. Mustafa Kemal Türkiyesi başkaları için bir tehlike oluşturmuyor. Türkiye ile Yunanistan da barıştı, antlaşma imzaladı. "Hasta Adam" gitti, onun yerini etkili bir Devlet aldı. |       |
| 249 | 4 Kasım | İNGİLTERE'NİN KAHİRE YÜKSEK KOMİSERİ P. LORAIN'DEN DİŞİSLERİ BAKANİ JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 962 .....  | 531   |
|     |         | (Kahire'deki) Türk Elçisi 29 Ekim akşamı bir resepsiyon vererek Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin onuncu yılını kutladı. Eşimle birlikte davete katıldım. Fakat hiçbir Mısırlı Bakanın katılmadığını havretle gözledim. Türk Elçisi Mısırlıların bu davranışını kasıtlı bir hoykot olarak gördüğünü gizlemedi. Arayı yumuşatmak amacıyla, Mısırlıların bu davranışlarının Türk hükümetinin hoşuna gitmeyeceğini Başbakanı duyurdum. Başbakan, özür dilemesi ve gerekli açıklamayı yapması için Protokol Şefini Türk elçisine gönderdi. Türk Yardım Derneğinin 30 Ekim akşamı düzenlediği geceve  |       |



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|     |          | Mısırlı Bakanlar da katıldılar. Ama Türk elçisi bu davete geçten geç geldi ve Mısırlı Bakanlara mesafeli davrandı. Sonunda soğukluk ortadan kalktı. Mısır Hükümeti hatalıydı, ama umarım ki Türk Hükümeti de bunu bir sorun yapmaz.   |       |
| 250 | 10 Kasım | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A. YAZI NO. 433. GİZLİ.....  | 533   |
|     |          | 29 Ekim törenlerine katılan Sovyet heyeti, İzmir, Çanakkale, Bursa, Mudanya'yı da ziyaret ettikten sonra 6 Kasım'da İstanbul'a geldi ve 10 Kasım sabahı Rusya'ya hareket etti. Rus havacılar da Eskişehir'deki havacılık okulunu ziyaret ettiler. Sovyet konuklar İstanbul'da coşkuyla karşılandı. Tevfik Rüşü Bey (Aras) gece gündüz onlarla beraberdi. Milli Savunma Bakanlığı konuklara sırlarını da açtı. Sovyet heyeti gördüklerinden pek etkilendiğini söyledi. Sovyet konuklar diğer heyetleri gölgede bıraktı. Gazi, 1 Kasım konuşmasında Sovyet dostluğunun "dünya barışının önemli bir faktörü" olduğunu söyledi. İsmet Paşa da Türk-Sovyet dostluğunu övdü. Vorosilov da bu dostluğun daha da gelişeceğini söyledi. Türk bildirisinde İsmet Paşa'nın 1932'de Moskova ziyareti-nin Vorosilov tarafından iade edildiğini belirtti. İki taraf da dünya barışı için Türk-Sovyet dostluğunun daha da geliştirileceğini teyit ettiler. Vorosilov'un bu ziyareti sırasında iki ülke arasında yeni bir anlaşma yapılmadığı açıklandı. Türkiye, Rus yardımlarını alıyor, ama Ruslara daha fazla bağlanmıyor. <i>F.O.'in notu: Türkiye daha fazla Rusya eğilimli görünüyorsa da yeni Türkiye ile yeni Rusya arasındaki bu yakınlık şimdilik gerçek bir tehlike oluşturmuyor.</i> |       |
| 251 | 11 Kasım | İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MORGAN'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI JOHN SIMON'A. YAZI NO. 440. GİZLİ.....  | 538   |
|     |          | Ankara'daki eski Alman Büyükelçisi Nadolny, bu defa özel temsilci olarak Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin   |       |

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| 11  |          | onuncu yıl törenlerine katıldı. Cumhurbaşkanını ta-<br>rafından kabul edildi ve Alman Cumhurbaşkanı<br>Hindenburg'ın özel kutlama mesajını Gazi'ye<br>sundu.<br><br>TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİNİN ONUNCU YILI<br>DOLAYISIYLA ALMAN CUMHURBAŞKANIN-<br>DAN TÜRKİYE CUMHURBAŞKANINA TEBRİK<br>MEKTUBU (ÇEVİRİ) ..... 538  |       |
| 252 | 13 Kasım | Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin onuncu yılı dolayısıyla en<br>samimi tebriklerimi sunarım. Önderliğiniz altında<br>Türkiye'deki gelişmeleri derin bir ilgi ve hay-<br>ranlıkla izledik. Alman halkı, zor zamanlarda Türk<br>halkından gördüğü dostluğu unutmuyor. Milleti-<br>nize daha da mutlu bir gelecek dilerim.<br><br>"NEWCASTLE JOURNAL" GAZETESİ KESİTİ:<br>"TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİNİN YARATICISI<br>MUSTAFA KEMAL ON YILLIK YÖNETİMİNİN<br>ÖYKÜSÜ". (PARLAMENTER T.B. MARTIN'IN<br>YAZISI) ..... 539   |       |
| 253 | 18 Kasım | Osmanlı İmparatorluğu öldü ve onun yerinde yeni<br>bir Cumhuriyet kuruldu. Yeni Türkiye'nin kuru-<br>cusu olan Mustafa Kemal, Çanakkale Savaşında<br>üne kavuştu; 1919'da Anadolu'ya geçip<br>Bağımsızlık Savaşının liderliğini üstlendi; iktidara<br>gelince Türkiye'yi yeniden yarattı. Devleti mo-<br>dernleştirdi, kadınları özgürlüğe kavuşturdu.<br>Yapıkları devasa bir başarıdır. Türk gençliğinin<br>ona tapmasına şaşmamak gerekir. Daha da<br>önemlisi, Gazi, Türkiye'yi barışa kavuşturdu,<br>yurtta barış dünyada barış anlayışını getirdi. Dün<br>muzaffer general idi, bugün kendisini barış<br>davasına adanmaktadır.<br><br>İNGİLTERE'NİN MOSKOVA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ<br>VİSKONT CHILTON'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI<br>JOHN SIMON'A YAZI NO. 629, GİZLİ ..... 542 |       |
|     |          | Ankara'da Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin onuncu yıl<br>törenlerine katılan Sovyet heyetinin dönüşünün<br>ardından Kalinin'in Mustafa Kemal'e ve Molotov-<br>'un İsmet Paşa'ya gönderdiği telgraffarın çevirileri  |       |

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|     |          | ilişiktir. Sovyet heyetinin Ankara ziyareti Sovyet basınında büyük ilgiyle karşılandı ve Türk-Sovyet dostluğuna ivme kazandırdı. Basın, iki ülke arasındaki farkları ise basında göz ardı edildi.   |       |
| FK  | 17 Kasım | "MOSCOW DAILY NEWS" GAZETESİ KESİTİ: "KALİNİN TÜRK HÜKÜMETİNE MESAJ GÖNDERDİ". .....  | 5-13  |
|     |          | Kalinin, Mustafa Kemal'e özetle şunları yazmıştır: 'Sovyet heyetine gösterdiğiniz dostluğa teşekkür ederim. Sovyet heyeti, Türkiye'nin büyük başarılarının görme fırsatı bulunmuş ve unutulmaz izlenimlerle dönmüştür. Bu ziyaret dostluğumuzu ve işbirliğimizi daha da pekiştirmiştir kanısındayım'. Molotov da İsmet Paşa'ya gönderdiği mesajında, ' Bu yüz yüze temalar ülkelerimiz arasındaki dostluğu ve işbirliğini daha da güçlendirecektir, inancındayım' demiştir. |       |

## BELGELER



## No. 1

*Mr T. B. Wildman, British Consul General, Amsterdam,  
to Sir Odo Russell, British Minister, The Hague.*

No.108/30.

AMSTERDAM, 14<sup>th</sup> January 1930

Sir,

I have the honour to report that when I was on leave in Paris from the 23<sup>rd</sup> to the 30<sup>th</sup> December last, I happened to meet Mehmed Ali Bey, an ex-Minister of the Interior of Turkey whom I knew when I was Vice-Consul in Constanza, Roumania.

2. This gentleman, who, I understand, is known to the Foreign Office, was outlawed by Kemal Pasha and fled to Roumania. In 1927 he wrote an article against the Turkish Government in the local press in Constanza, and, due to a protest from Angora, the Roumanian Government decided to remove him to an inland town.

3. Mehmed Ali Bey then went to Paris. How he managed to pay for his passage I do not know as ever since I have known him, (1925), he and his wife, who is British by birth, have been without money and have lived in very poor circumstances.

4. Mehmed Ali Bey informed me that he was editing a newspaper, "La République Enchaînée", to be published in Paris, the aim of which is to attack the present régime in Turkey. A copy of the first number of this paper is enclosed herewith.<sup>1</sup>

I have &amp;c.

T.B. WILDMAN

F.O. 371/14575/E. 387.

<sup>1</sup> Bu raporun altına Foreign Office'de şu not düşülmüştür:

By the fact of his marriage with an Englishwoman, this Turk is easily identified with the Mehmed Ali Kasim Bey who was Minister of the Interior for a few weeks in Damad Ferit Pasha's second Cabinet.

How this destitute Turkish exile can expect to run a Paris weekly, on the lines of La République Enchaînée is a complete mystery to me.

## No. 2

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 33

*(Confidential)*

CONSTANTINOPLE, January 22, 1930

*(Received January 22, 1930)*

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 53 of the 5<sup>th</sup> February last, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my annual report on the heads of missions in Turkey in 1929.

2. The work of building Embassies and Legations continues steadily. The Polish Legation, a large building in the style of a Russian or Polish country mansion of the time Alexandre I, rather effective but badly situated, is practically finished, and the Minister is expected to take up his residence there when he returns from leave towards the end of this month. A huge Persian Embassy, perched on a hill to which at present there is no road, is nearly finished, while the contractor is confident that the more modest house of His Majesty's Embassy will be ready by the beginning of next winter. In short, Angora is now definitely the capital of Turkey, and the Diplomatic Body is being more and more permanently established there. Material conditions of residence, roads, water, gas and electricity are now as good as, or even better than, those in Constantinople, but facilities for the ordinary amenities and distractions of life, theatres, music, books, golf and intelligent society, are still woefully lacking, while the cost of living is far higher than that in Constantinople and the food supply inferior. Still, the day has come when it is unnecessary to chronicle further the progress of Angora, which can now be taken as the definite home of missions accredited to the Turkish Government.

I have &amp;c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 371/14576/F.463.**F.O. 424/272, p. 7-11, No. 11.*

## Enclosure in No. 2

## Report on Heads of Foreign Missions (in Turkey in 1929)

## AMBASSADORS

## Russia.

M. Jacques Souritz, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 13<sup>th</sup> June, 1923. As soon as the reopening of diplomatic relations with His Majesty's Government was practically assured, M. Souritz made a point of showing his desire for renewing our personal relations, a desire to which I have willingly responded, for he is intelligent, his inner knowledge of the Turkish Government is probably better than that of any other diplomatist here and it is always possible to discuss with him the questions dividing our two countries in an objective and reasonable manner.

As doyen of the Diplomatic Corps, M. Souritz is not altogether satisfactory, for his Government's desire to pose as Turkey's first and special friend precludes him from joining the other heads of missions in offering any unwelcome representations to the Turkish Government.

M. Souritz is married to a pleasant Russian *bougeoise*, who has little or no bolshevism in her composition.

## Germany.

Herr Rudolf Nadolny, fully accredited Ambassador, presented credentials on the 31<sup>st</sup> March, 1925. Herr Nadolny is little loved either by the Turks or his staff or his colleagues. His overbearing tactlessness estranges the Turks, his lack of consideration estranges his staff, while these qualities added to a doubtful loyalty naturally do not endear him to his colleagues. So far as Turkey is concerned, he will go down to history as one of the chief protagonists of new Angora, whither the German Embassy was officially transferred in December 1928.

## Italy.

M. Luca Orsini Baroni, who had held the post of Italian Ambassador in Turkey with much success since November 1925, was transferred to Berlin in December. His successor Baron Pompeo Aloisi, whose last post has been Tokyo, has not yet arrived in Turkey, and the Embassy is in charge of the counsellor, M. Armando Koch. M. Koch, who is married, is of French extraction, an ardent, almost militant, Fascist. He is intelligent and voluble, and a source of copious, if sometimes inaccurate, information.



*United States of America.*

The Honourable Joseph Grew, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 12<sup>th</sup> October, 1927, after the signature of the agreement between the United States and Turkey, which made it possible for the former Government to replace its High Commissioner, Admiral Bristol, by an Ambassador. The change has been, from our point of view, all to the good. Mrs. Grew and the two daughters are, like the Ambassador, pleasant and good to look upon, and have made a welcome addition to Constantinople society.

(Mr. Grew is a loyal colleague and a great gentleman, and is deservedly respected alike by the Turks and by the American and foreign communities. 1928.)

*Afghanistan.*

General Gulam Djeilani Khan, who had come to this country as Minister in February 1926, was promoted to Ambassadorial rank after King Amanullah's visit to Turkey in May 1928. When King Amanullah fled from Afghanistan, the Ambassador proceeded to join him in Italy after publishing in the Turkish press a manifesto against British policy in his country. Though he subsequently returned to Turkey after Nadir Khan was proclaimed King, he is not to remain as Ambassador. It is said that the post will be given to one of Nadir Khan's brothers. The position of the Embassy is still, however, in an indeterminate condition.

*France.*

Count Charles de Chambrun, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 28<sup>th</sup> September, 1928. He deserves the gratitude of his Government for his achievements in the past year. On his arrival in this country he found himself faced with the problem of settling the Turco-Syrian frontier question, a task which, in view of the uncompromising attitude of the Turkish Government, seemed well-nigh hopeless. Nevertheless, he succeeded, and not only did the Turks go far to meet the French demands, but the general relations of the two countries are to-day far more cordial than they were a year ago. It would be niggardly to deny to M. de Chambrun his share of the credit in achieving these satisfactory results.

It was understood, on M. de Chambrun's arrival in this country, that he would spend the major part of his time in Angora. Nevertheless, he has tended to drift back to Constantinople, except when serious negotiations with the Turkish Government make his presence in Angora indispensable. The French Government have not yet embarked upon the construction of a proper Embassy at Angora.

M. de Chambrun, who is unmarried, is a pleasant and cultivated colleague who makes a point of doing service to the spirit of Anglo-French friendship.

*Persia.*

His Highness Mohammed Ali Khan Feruki, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 21<sup>st</sup> October, 1928. Feruki Khan, who, in addition to being Ambassador in Turkey, is Persia's representative to the League of Nations, did his utmost, but in vain, to avoid being permanently posted to this country. The long-drawn-out negotiations for a frontier agreement disgusted him with the Turkish Republic and all its ways. Owing to his frequent absences and the remoteness of the Persian Embassy in Stambul, I do not see much of Feruki Khan, but what I do see I like.

## MINISTERS

*Roumania.*

The Roumanian Government decided in June, for reasons of economy, to recall M. Georges Filality from Turkey, and the Legation has since been directed by a Chargé d'Affaires. It has recently been reported, however, that a new Minister is to be appointed in the person of M. Mitilineu, the present Minister in Vienna.

*Hungary.*

M. Tahy de Tahvar et Tarkeo, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 5<sup>th</sup> May, 1924.

M. de Tahy's impatience of the ways of the Turk does not diminish. 1928.

*Austria.*

M. August Kral, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 11<sup>th</sup> November, 1924. I have nothing to add to my predecessor's estimate of M. Kral, who, with his wife and grown-up daughter, are pleasant enough colleagues, though inclined to stop on at lunches and dinners long after the other guests, who are waiting for them to leave first, have ceased to enjoy themselves. 1927.

*Sweden.*

M. Wallenberg, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 1<sup>st</sup> August 1925. M. Wallenberg has lost no opportunity of airing his Turcophil views or encouraging his countrymen to enlarge their connexions with the country he appears to admire so much.

His wife's homeliness is to some extent made up for by her unheralded and extensive charity. 1927.

*Spain.*

Don Juan Servet y Vest, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1925. I regret that I have had but little contact with the hermit of Büyük-Déré, but, at such times as I have seen him, M. Servet has appeared to be pleasant and jovial. 1927.

*Netherlands.*

Baron de Welderen Rengers, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 5<sup>th</sup> August, 1925. Sir R. Lindsay reported on Baron Rengers in the following terms:

"(Baron Renger's last post was at Rome. Unlike the majority of one's diplomatic colleagues in Constantinople, he bears the hall-mark of a diplomatist *de carrière*. He does not approve of Constantinople as a post. He is fond of wine, and after dinner can be very diverting. Owing to the Dutch Legation being in charge of Austrian interests he has a certain amount of work to do, otherwise most of his time is spent in frequenting places where he can get the opportunity of a drink or of seeing a pretty woman. 1923.)

"(A lascivious fellow; a light weight. Mme. Rengers talks too much about her domestic difficulties. 1924)"

I agree with my predecessor's estimate. 1927)

*Czechoslovakia.*

(M. Milos Kobr, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 18<sup>th</sup> January, 1926. M. Kobr retains his love of a horse and of physical robustness, and Mme. Kobr still continues to cook the cakes for her fortnightly receptions during the Angora season. 1928.)

*Bulgaria.*

(M. Theodore Pavloff, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 5<sup>th</sup> May, 1927. M. Pavloff and his wife are favourable representatives of their country. He was, I understand, at one time a member of the Turkish Assembly in the Committee of Union and Progress days, an experience that no doubt helps him in his task. 1927.)

*Denmark.*

M. Otto Carl Mohr, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 2<sup>nd</sup> April, 1928.

Though I have found M. Mohr a friendly colleague, I confess I find it difficult entirely to forget the unsavoury reputation that he brought with him from Rio. M. Mohr has enlarged the Danish Legation at Constantinople, and entertains on a larger scale than the majority of the heads of missions. He is married to a pleasant-mannered, flaxen-haired lady, who is said to have inherited considerable wealth from her two former husbands.

#### *Belgium.*

(M. Louis Leclercq presented his credentials as fully accredited Minister on the 11<sup>th</sup> June, 1928. M. Leclercq was formerly counsellor in Rome, where he acquired a devotion to all the amenities of town life, which - were it not for the distraction of bridge - would make his annual four months' solitude at Angora rather hard for him to bear. He is simple and very friendly and is unmarried. 1928.)

#### *Poland.*

(M. C. Olszowski presented his credentials as fully qualified Minister on the 25<sup>th</sup> October, 1928. M. Olszowski hoped to be compensated for his transfer from Berlin to Angora by obtaining Ambassadorial rank. This hope has not yet been fulfilled, but the Minister continues to talk politics and Mme Olszowska remains cheerful. 1928.)

#### *Egypt.*

(Ibrahim Ratib Bey, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 25<sup>th</sup> October, 1928. Ibrahim Ratib Bey belongs to one of Egypt's wealthiest families, of Turkish origin. He showed pronounced pro-Turkish sympathies in 1914, and was a brother in arms of the Ghazi during the Dardanelles campaign. On his return to Egypt he became an ardent Zaghulist. He is extremely civilised, talks excellent French, and is married to an attractive Turkish lady. Ibrahim Ratib Bey is also accredited to Sofia and Bucharest. 1928.)

#### *Switzerland.*

(M. Henri Martin has been raised to the rank of Minister and presented his credentials on the 11<sup>th</sup> November, 1928.

While in Angora M. Martin is invaluable for obtaining information on points of detail and prides himself on the number of despatches which he writes to Bern; at Constantinople he is driven to circularise his colleagues; while on leave he breeds dogs in England. M. Martin would like to be taken for an Englishman. 1928.)

*Vatikan.*

(At such times as I have met Mgr. Rotta he has shown himself to be affable and friendly. He is shrewd and credited with a good insight into Turkish affairs and character. 1927)

*Greece.*

M.J. Papa was replaced in the course of the year by M. Polychroniadis, who arrived from Belgrade, his previous post, in November, and presented his letters of credence on the 30<sup>th</sup> November. I have only just met M. Polychroniadis, who is said to be tactful and conciliatory. He is married to a Serbian lady.

*Iraq.*

Sabih Bey Nishat died in July and was succeeded by Rauf Bey Chadirchi, a prominent Bagdad lawyer, who had previously held Cabinet office. Rauf Bey presented his credentials on the 29<sup>th</sup> December. From the little I have yet seen of him I am favourably impressed.

## CHARGES D'AFFAIRES

*Japan.*

The Japanese Embassy has been directed by a Chargé d'Affaires throughout the year. Mr. Ashida was succeeded in this capacity in November by Mr. Hioji Nihei. A new Ambassador has now been appointed, Mr. Isaburo Yoshida, whose last post has been Berne. He has not yet arrived in Turkey.

*Chile.*

M. Hector Briones Luco, the first Chilean diplomatic representative to be accredited to Turkey, arrived in this country in April to take up his duties as Chargé d'Affaires.

*Yugoslavia.*

M. Taditch resigned from his post of Minister in May, and his successor has not yet been appointed. The Legation is directed by M. Svetomir Gougouchevitch as Chargé d'Affaires.

*Albania.*

M. Jajuli, who acted as Chargé d'Affaires since M. Rauf Fitso's transfer in August 1928, was withdrawn by his Government in October ostensibly for reasons of economy, but in reality on account of the strained relations of the two countries.

*F.O. 371/14576/E.465.*

*F.O. 424/272, p. 7-11, No.11.*

## No. 3

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No.43.

*Confidential*

CONSTANTINOPLE, February 3, 1930

*(Received February 10, 1930)*

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the general report on Turkey for 1929.

2. These sections on military affairs, aviation, naval affairs and the economic situation has been prepared by Major Heywood, late military attaché, Captain Macdonald and Colonel Woods, commercial secretary, respectively, whilst the rest, with the exception of the general survey, for most of which I am indebted to Mr. Helm in Angora, has been the work of Mr. Troutbeck, second secretary, and Mr. Clarke, third secretary, of His Majesty's Embassy.

I have &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 371/14578/E.729.*

ENCLOSURE IN NO. 3  
ANNUAL REPORT ON TURKEY FOR 1929

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**1. GENERAL SURVEY**

There is nothing spectacular in the record of 1929. In the nature of things no single year in the future can witness such startling changes as took place in Angora during the five years following the signature of the Treaty of Lausanne. But, though, less spectacular, the progress made in the Turkish capital during the past year has been no less real than during any of its immediate predecessors. If 1928 was remarkable for the enclosing of properties, 1929 was even more so for the development of gardens. The Gazi and his Prime Minister set the example, and young trees and flowers suddenly appeared on what had previously been barren ground. Thanks to these garden activities and to an improved water supply, visitors to the capital, as well as its inhabitants, at last found it possible to believe the legend that the Anatolian plateau had once been one of the granaries of the world.

2. It is now possible to distinguish broadly the final lines of the new Angora, and its rulers have in 1929 been chiefly occupied in rounding off some of the all too numerous rough edges of their creation. Unlike other modern capitals, Angora has not been planned. It has merely happened, and the present, as well as the future, will have to pay for the omission. Only after the immediate necessities for the accommodation of Angora's 75,000 inhabitants had been met was a Town Planning Committee formed. This committee was very active early in the year and enlisted the assistance of French and German experts. Grandiose schemes were prepared and studied, and then in the autumn the serious economic crisis arose to

check the enthusiasm of the amateur town-planners which, after five months of high pressure, had already begun to wane. A plan for the general lay-out of the town has, however, been adopted, one or two of the new "avenues" have been widened, a considerable fire in the summer, which according to some was by no means accidental, has opened up a congested part of the old town, and preparations have been made for the construction of a complete Whitehall as soon as funds permit.

3. For in Angora the economic crisis has definitely struck home, though it is only by going beneath the surface that one is aware of the fact. In Angora there are no evident signs of the distress which prevails in several parts of the country. Many of the Deputies still seem to have money to burn, but Angora can no longer raid the public purse as she had previously been doing. In previous years, for her to ask was to receive. Now she has to wait her turn, and it is probable that both the country and the capital will thereby gain, for reflection will show how harebrained were some of the schemes of the would-be Angora builders. Construction has, however, by no means stopped. During the year two Turkish banks have completed imposing central establishments, the headquarters of the Turkish *Ocahs* has been finished, two huge buildings to house the Ministry of National Defence and the General Staff, central offices for the Red Crescent and some large apartment houses have been started, and schemes are on foot for the improvement of the streets which give all too much evidence of the haphazard manner in which they were made. Unfortunately, from the point of view of foreign residents, no progress has yet been made with the constitution of a sports club, and means of recreation remain, as before, completely lacking.

4. On the social side, the progress noted a year ago has been maintained. If there was no Anamullah to give a fillip to the gaiety of life in the capital, the Turks themselves, and perhaps most of all the Turkish women, now show very clearly the width of the gulf which separates them from the past. The wallflowers of 1927 became the dancing partners of 1929, and the Friday teas at the Palace Hotel have been crowded with Turkish families. Angora even got so far in the autumn as to provide a mannequin parade from Paris. This, it is true, was almost immediately followed by the launching of the "Buy Turkish" campaign, which, however, is too late to have much success in the realm of ladies' dress. The Turkish womenfolk have got their head and will not sacrifice their Parisien gowns to return to local broadcloth. That, at any rate, was the only impression that the observer could obtain on seeing the Turkish ladies in full force dance their way into 1930 with the same abandon with which they had a week earlier in the same place welcomed the *ghiaur* Christmas in the company of the few foreign diplomats condemned to spend the so-called festive season in the capital.

5. To sum up, the three outstanding features of a not very eventful year are: the continued development of Ankara as the political and social capital of the country, the growing realisation of the economic crisis and the rather amateur efforts made to meet it, and lastly, the effect on Turkey of the events in Afghanistan with which the year opened. Not that there was any risk of Mustafa Kemal having to tread the same path as did Amanullah. The Gazi had taken too many precautions against any such danger. Nevertheless, though the Turks will hardly admit it, Afghan events exercised a profound influence in the Turkish capital. The order very definitely went forth that, for the time being at least, there must be no further tampering with religion, and nothing more was heard of some minor reforms which at the end of 1928 were being seriously contemplated. The advance was stopped in case there should be strong enemy entrenchments ahead, and the order was given to consolidate.

## II. FOREIGN AFFAIRES

### *Introduction.*

6. Speaking at the opening session of the Grand National Assembly on the 29<sup>th</sup> October 1929, the President of the republic declared that the basis of Turkey's foreign policy was the idea of peace. This statement was greeted with loud applause. While the statement itself might be taken for lip-service paid by a modern Turkish statesman to pacificism, the spontaneous approval of the audience may be considered significant. It bears out what was said in the annual report for 1928, that Turkey's foreign policy is uniformly pacific. There is no contradiction between this fundamental policy and Turkey's equal determination to maintain and strengthen her means of defence. Peace is to-day a necessity to Turkey, for without it she cannot hope to develop on modern lines. But she has a further object in view than the negative one of seeking peace and ensuring it. She wishes to lead the Near and Middle East along the path of Western progress. For that, material development, both military and economic, are clearly called for.

7. During the past year certain forward steps have been made towards the consolidation of her international position. Her Syrian and Persian frontiers have been settled by agreements with France and Persia respectively. She has come to terms with her creditors on the question of the Ottoman Debt. The one outstanding question of importance which continues to defy solution is that of the exchange of populations with Greece. With Greece alone of Turkey's neighbours are relations still of an abnormal nature.

8. On the other hand, it can hardly be said that Turkey has made any progress in the past year in the establishment of a Near and Middle Eastern bloc under her aegis. The fall of Amanullah was undoubtedly a blow to her prestige as the

champion of Westernisation in the East, and she is shy of burning her fingers by giving premature support to Nadir Khan. It is true that relations with Iraq have not deteriorated, while those with Persia and Syria may be drawn closer with the signature of the agreements mentioned in the preceding paragraph. But in none of these countries have any signs appeared of a strengthening of Turkish influence, while in certain other countries of the Near and Middle East, notably Albania and Egypt, relations have undoubtedly deteriorated.

9. As to her general position, she remains as before, carefully balancing between Russia on the one side and Western Europe on the other. The visit of the British fleet in October was set off in December by the conclusion of a protocol to bind somewhat more closely her relations with the Soviet Government. Her progress is inspired from the West, and she refuses to be considered an oriental Power, but she cannot afford to alienate Russia. Entry into the League of Nations, though toyed with by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, still remains, little more than an academic question at present.

#### *Great Britain.*

10. The object of British policy in Turkey during the past six years may be summed up in a single sentence: to live down the occupation and gradually to re-establish confidence. A certain measure of success in this policy was recorded in the annual report for 1928. The past year has witnessed further progress, the culminating point being the remarkable success achieved by the visit of the Commander-in-chief of the British Mediterranean Fleet in October.

11. As the year ends relations are, on the surface, cordial. On the rare occasions on which the President of the Republic appears among the Diplomatic Corps, he makes it a rule to show marked friendliness to His Majesty's Ambassador. This attitude is reflected in that of the Prime Minister and most of the other prominent members of the Government. Indeed there is reason to believe, from the occasional confidences given by Turks in close touch with highest circles, that the Government genuinely desire closer relations with us. A prominent Deputy went so far as to say in confidence that those friendship with Great Britain was the cardinal point of the Gazi's foreign policy. Nevertheless, it is idle to suppose that the old suspicion is dead. The press for example, which expresses only such views as find favour in Angora, is never cordial. Even on the occasion of the naval visit it was no more than correct, and on occasions it is still liable to indulge in bitter criticism and misrepresentation of our policy. Troubles in Afghanistan, Egypt, Palestine and Iraq have each in turn during the past year been attributed to our nefarious influence, and this Embassy had only to show a humanitarian interest in the devastation caused by a fire in a Greek quarter of Pera for a violent attack to be

launched against the interference of His Majesty's Ambassador in the internal affairs of the country. There is still a body of influential opinion that has not forgotten the armistice period. Apprehension of Russia also necessarily makes for caution, and the fear always exists that any overtures to us might meet with a rebuff. At the same time, it seems to be true that the Government are becoming increasingly confident that we have no aggressive designs, whether territorial or otherwise, and no wish to alter existing frontiers. The President feels, perhaps, that Turkey could obtain what is becoming her prime necessity, *ie.*; money from us at smaller political cost than elsewhere. Pre-war experience may remind him that we may give disinterested assistance, while neither France, Italy, Germany nor Russia can ever be trusted to do so. At present however, this all remains somewhat speculative. We have not been approached with requests either for money or for moral support, and our successes can only be reckoned in the more nebulous realm of atmosphere.

12. The only exception is to be found in the increasing desire of the Turkish Government to have certain of their officers, in particular, flying officers, trained in England. Thus, in the summer no less than ten Turkish officers proceeded to England, of whom two were to receive *ab initio* training in R.A.F. schools, two to receive training in advanced flying, and the remainder to receive training in civilian flying schools. Meanwhile a few Turkish military and naval officers continue to take courses in England.

#### *Visit of the Mediterranean Fleet.*

13. As to Turkey's general relations with Great Britain, the truth probably is that there are two bodies of opinion in Government circles, one in favour of, and the other against, rapprochement with Great Britain. The Minister for Foreign Affairs is undoubtedly of the former school, and won a striking success in proposing and carrying through the visit to Constantinople of the British Mediterranean Fleet. The proposal was first definitely made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs at a party given at His Majesty's Embassy in Angora on the occasion of King's birthday, and shortly afterwards it was arranged that the visit should take place in October and the visiting squadron consist of a battleship (H.M.S. "Queen Elisabeth") and an aircraft carrier (H.M.S. "Courageous") with attendant destroyers. Some weeks before the visit was due, the Turkish Government began suggesting postponement, and it also seemed possible that the Gazi might find excuses for not receiving the Commander-in-chief. For a few days it seemed possible that the whole visit would have to be cancelled. However when the Turks realised that any shilly-shallying would definitely mean the cancellation of the visit, difficulties magically disappeared, and the squadron duly arrived at Constantinople on the 12<sup>th</sup> October. From the moment of the Commander-in-chief's arrival it was clear that the Turks meant to play up, and nothing could have been more cordial



than the reception given. The Turks were won over by Sir Frederick Field's personality as well as by the bearing of the officers and men of the squadron, while the acrobatic displays given by the officers of H.M.S. "Courageous," followed a day or so later by a ceremony at which Sir F. Field laid a wreath on the Monument of the Republic at Constantinople, roused feelings in the local population bordering upon enthusiasm. Perhaps the most significant comment upon the visit was made by the Soviet Ambassador, who spontaneously declared to His Majesty's Ambassador that he would not have believed such a success possible. Nevertheless, care must be taken not to exaggerate the impression left by the visit. It marked a definite advance along the path of friendship, but the future alone can say whether the effect will be lasting. One move has however, been made in the right direction, and that is the definite beginning of construction of an adequate Embassy building at Angora. So long as her representatives in the capital were lodged in a small draughty chalet, it was difficult to persuade the Turks that Great Britain took the new republic very seriously.

14. The negotiations for a new commercial treaty are dealt with in the economic section of this report.

#### *Palestine.*

15. It was mentioned in the annual report for 1928 that, in spite of reiterated representations, the Turkish Government refused to grant Palestine the benefits of the Lausanne Commercial Convention. The Turkish Government did not alter their attitude on this question during 1929, so that the convention expired without Palestine having ever enjoyed its benefits. Turkey's attitude in the matter, as was candidly admitted by officials of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, was dictated by her general policy of refusing to recognise Asiatic mandates. For this reason she would not admit that Palestine benefited automatically from treatment accorded to British Dominions, &c. At the same time she was quite prepared to accord that treatment in a separate instrument. When therefore, the Lausanne Commercial Convention expired in August and negotiations were undertaken to replace it by a new treaty, a separate draft *modus vivendi* was submitted to the Turkish Government to cover Palestine. This however, had not been concluded by the end of the year owing to the Turkish Government being fully occupied with the many other commercial treaties that they were in the course of negotiating.

16. For the rest, the Turkish Government showed no signs of harbouring any desire to bring Palestine once more under Turkish rule, and the attitude generally adopted in the press towards the disturbances which took place in that country during the summer was merely one of malicious detachment.



*Iraq.*

17. While little progress has been made during the past year in the cementing of relations between Turkey and Iraq by formal treaties, those relations have nevertheless been, on the whole, satisfactory.

*Visit of Sir G. Clayton to Angora.*

18. The late Sir G. Clayton, who made a special point of visiting Angora in February, when on his way to Bagdad to take up his appointment as High Commissioner, found the atmosphere most friendly. The Minister for Foreign Affairs spoke on the increasing improvement of conditions on the frontier and expressed his Government's desire in no way to obstruct the progress of Iraq under British guidance. The Turkish Government seem, to have entirely forgotten their designs upon Mosul, and Tefik Rüşti went so far as to throw out the suggestion of a new Locarno whereby Great Britain and Turkey might jointly guarantee a treaty of friendship between Iraq and Persia. Since then, however, nothing further has been heard of that particular suggestion, nor, indeed, of the proposal made by Tefik Rüşti Bey to the Iraqi Minister in June 1928 for the conclusion of a Turco-Iraqi pact of friendship.

*Commercial Treaty Negotiations.*

19. The negotiations for a commercial treaty, which were initiated in 1928, were continued in 1929, but suffered an unlucky check owing to the sudden death of the Iraqi Minister, who had been conducting them in Angora on behalf of his Government. In May Tefik Rüşti Bey formally proposed to Sabih Bey the conclusion in a single article of a commercial treaty and residence convention conferring most-favoured-nation treatment. Previously he had informed Sabih Bey that the great desire of the Turkish Government was that Turkey should be treated in Iraq in the same way as other nations, and had expressed the hope that Turkey would be able to grant to Iraq preferential treatment, over and above most-favoured-nation treatment. The question of preferential treatment raised the point whether Turkey would only be prepared to grant it on a basis of reciprocity. Here the terms of the Anglo-Iraqi treaties of 1922 and 1927 raised a difficulty, for under them the Iraqi Government were not at liberty to grant preferential treatment to Turkey. At the same time His Majesty's Government were anxious to prevent those instruments from acting as an obstacle to the improvement of Turco-Iraqi relations. After due consideration therefore, the High Commissioner at Bagdad was instructed to inform the Iraqi Government that, should it become apparent that the Turkish Government attached importance to Iraq being in a position to offer such special treatment to Turkish goods and that the fact that she could not do so was likely to constitute an obstacle to the establishment of friendly and stable

relations between Iraq and Turkey, His Majesty's Government would be prepared to approach the Council of the League with a view to obtaining for the Iraqi Government the right to accord reciprocal treatment to Turkish commerce.

20. However, the draft treaty which the Iraqi Government eventually drew up and presented to the Turkish Government merely contemplated giving Turkey most-favoured-nation treatment. The Turkish Government took no exception to this, their only comment being the proposal of an additional clause to provide for the grant of most-favoured-nation treatment in the matter of residence in Iraq. On this point Sir G. Clayton was instructed to suggest to the Iraqi Government that they should explain to the Turkish Government that it would not be possible for Iraq to undertake to give most-favoured-nation treatment in judicial matters to Turkish nationals in Iraq so long as the existing Anglo-Iraqi Judicial Agreement remained in force, and that the Iraqi Government should offer to insert in the proposed agreement an article in virtue of which they would merely undertake to give such treatment to Turkish nationals as soon as they were in a position to do so, i.e., when the existing Judicial Agreement had been abrogated. It may be mentioned that His Majesty's Government formally invited the Council of the League in March 1929 to approve in principle the abolition of the Judicial Agreement. Matters were still at this stage at the close of the year.

#### *Frontier Affairs.*

21. As stated in paragraph 18 above, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs expressed himself to Sir G. Clayton as fully satisfied with the situation on the Turco-Iraqi frontier. The past year was indeed at first characterised by a welcome absence of friction in those regions. The Turkish Government seem to have been generally satisfied that neither British nor Iraqi authorities were encouraging unrest among the Turkish Kurds. Moreover, they refrained from further comment upon the settlement of Assyrians and Nestorians in the frontier district and made no reply to a note addressed by the Iraqi Government to their representative in Bagdad in April informing him of a proposal to settle a number of Assyrian families in the Baradost area.

22. The meeting of the Permanent Frontier Commission in March 1929 passed off in an excellent atmosphere. The Iraqi delegation reported that they had been accorded hospitality on a far larger scale than at any previous meeting and that the discussions had proceeded very amicably. No new complaints were received from the Turkish side, and, apart from the discussion of old complaints, the meeting concerned itself chiefly with such questions as the inspection of damaged frontier pillars, the difficulties experienced by Iraqis in obtaining passports to enter Turkish territory and the question of temporary permits for members of bisected frontier villages, &c.

23. Unhappily however, this excellent atmosphere was not maintained at the meeting of the Commission held at Mosul in October. The Turkish Delegation there reverted once more to their old obstructive habits, with the result that no useful results could be reconciled. It appears that, in order to hide the chaotic state of the administration of the Turkish frontier areas and their impotence to take any effective steps to suppress the marauding brigands, of whom the Iraqi authorities had constantly to complain, the Turkish frontier officials had devised the ingenious tactic of passing all complaints from Iraq to the regular courts for action. There the complaints were usually dismissed for lack of evidence, as the Turkish frontier officials made no effort to prosecute the accused with vigour. This procedure was quite contrary to that adopted by the Iraqi frontier officials, who vigilantly suppressed all raiding into Turkey. In consequence, while the Iraqi Government had a long list of claims against the Turkish brigands, the Turks, on their side, had nothing to complain of except their entirely imaginary grievances against the Assyrians, towards whom their vindictive hatred remained unabated.

#### *Death of Sabih Bey.*

24. There is one unhappy event to record, and that is the sudden death in July of the Iraqi Minister at Angora, Sabih Bey, who had done much since his appointment to improve the relations of the two countries. He has succeeded at the end of the year by Rauf Chadirji, a prominent Bagdad lawyer, who had previously held Cabinet office.

#### *Italy.*

25. Having turned their back, at any rate for the time being, upon aggressive designs against Anatolia, the policy of the Italian Government in regard to Turkey has gone to the opposite extreme of binding the relations of the two countries by as intimate a cordiality as the natural suspicions of the Turkish Government will allow. Commercial penetration seems to be the end in view. The Turks, on their side, encourage the cordiality, but are less ready to give away any concrete advantages. On the surface then, the relations of the two countries in the past two years have been extremely amicable. Nothing could have been more friendly than the speeches exchanged between M. Mussolini and Tewfik Rüşü Bey during a visit paid by the latter to Rome in April. In June the Italian Government arranged a spectacular visit of seaplanes and destroyers to Constantinople. Signor Balbo, the under-secretary for Air, and General de Pinedo, the famous airman, both took part in the flight, and the opportunity was taken for the usual expressions of mutual esteem. Business of a more serious nature was contemplated when, in November, Count Volpi, formerly Italian Minister of Finance, paid a visit to Turkey, accompanied by a couple of secretaries. On his arrival at Angora he was received with ambassadorial honours, and serious discussions were held at the Ministry of

Finance regarding the creation of a Turkish national bank. The Count, it was learnt, made offers of large financial assistance for the furtherance of this project, but the conditions he attached were more severe than the Turkish Government were prepared to accept. The visit, therefore, ended without results.

26. Meanwhile, an Italian commercial delegation had proceeded to Angora in May to open negotiations for a new commercial treaty. These had not been concluded by the end of the year, but to tide over the interim period following upon the lapse of the Lausanne Commercial Convention, a *modus vivendi* agreement was signed in August providing for most-favoured-nation treatment.

27. Another question which had arisen between the two countries was the determination of the sovereignty of certain small islands off Castellorizo. As diplomatic discussion failed to reach a settlement of this question, it was decided to submit it to the International Court at the Hague.

28. The only other event that requires mention was the departure in December of Signor Orsini Baroni, who, as Italian Ambassador in Turkey since 1925, had upheld his country's interests with considerable success for four years. His successor had not arrived before the end of the year.

#### France.

29. The chief point of interest in Franco-Turkish relations in the past year was an agreement, which was finally reached in June, regarding the Syrian frontier and various subsidiary questions connected therewith. The negotiations had been long and arduous, and at the end of 1928 no settlement seemed to be in sight in view of the Turkish Government's determined refusal to accept the decision of the neutral President of the Frontier Commission regarding the definition of the "old road" which was to constitute the frontier between Nissibin and Jeziret-ibn-Omar. However, when negotiations were resumed in March 1929, on the return of the French Ambassador from leave, a more accommodating spirit was found to prevail, and in the end the Turkish Government agreed to the "Duck's Beak" being included in Syria. The French Government consented to a few minor concessions in return.

30. The agreement, as finally signed on the 22<sup>nd</sup> June, comprised:

- (1) A protocol respecting the supervision of the frontier, the regulations to be applied to the frontier, the fiscal measures to be applied to herds crossing the frontier and the control of nomads. In brief, each Government undertook to use all means in its power to prevent acts of brigandage against the other side. A frontier zone of 5 kilom. on each side of the border was to be created, and this zone was to be disarmed. A permanent frontier commission was to be constituted to deal with all

frontier questions incapable of solution by the actual frontier authorities.

- (2) A Protocol delimiting the frontier between Nissibin and the River Tigris. As stated above, the line left the "Duck Beak" in Syria.
- (3) A joint declaration on the maintenance of security in the frontier zone and on the continuance of traffic beyond Nissibin.
- (4) A letter addressed by the French Ambassador to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs regarding the repurchase of the Mersina-Tarsus-Adana Railway by the Turkish Government. Under the Franklin-Bouillon Convention of 1921, this railway had been exploited by the French company, but the concession was repurchased by the Turkish Government at the end of 1928. The French Government now agreed to recognise that transaction on certain conditions, including a guarantee by the Turkish Government of liberty of civil and military traffic from Derbesiye to Nissibin.

31. In spite of this guarantee on the part of the Turkish Government, the Turkish authorities for some time continued to place obstacles in the way of the free circulation of trains on this section of the line, but in October they eventually allowed freight and passenger and even troops trains to circulate freely as far as Nahmikia and Tell Ziwar, provided that authorisation was requested twenty-four hours in advance. On the other hand, the negotiations regarding customs procedure on the Nissibin Railway, which were initiated at Angora after the signature of the agreement of the 22<sup>nd</sup> June, made little progress, and no settlement had been reached at the close of the year.

32. It is to be hoped that the conditions in the frontier district, where each side has long accused the other of provoking brigandage, may now improve, and that Franco-Turkish relations in general may now be of a happier nature. A treaty of friendship and conciliation is already under negotiation which may be of happy augury for the future.

33. A commercial treaty was signed on the 29<sup>th</sup> August. This, briefly, provided for national treatment in matters of navigation, while France granted her minimum tariff on Turkish produce in return for reduced rates on a great number of articles of interest to French trade. There were no residence clauses in the treaty, such matters continuing to be determined by the Lausanne Residence Convention.

#### *Russia.*

34. Various clauses combined to ruffle the harmony of Turco-Russian relations during the past year. Of these, the most serious was the advice given by the Soviet



Embassy to the Turkish Government to give blind support to Amanullah, the ex-Amir of Afghanistan, during his struggles against his enemies. The Turkish Government followed the Soviet advice all too readily, with the natural result that the Soviet Embassy lost ground considerably after Amanullah's ignominious downfall. The commercial relations between the two countries also continued to give rise to friction, and the grievances of which Turkish merchants had complained in the previous year regarding the disabilities they encountered in Russia do not seem to have been eliminated. The Turkish Government endeavoured to meet these difficulties by entrusting the whole export trade to Russia to two Turkish banks, which would apparently form a limited liability company for the purpose. Negotiations were also initiated for a new commercial treaty, intended, it was understood, to replace that of 1927. But the year closed before the negotiations had been brought to a conclusion. It is permissible again to suspect that the Turkish Government feel some anxiety over Russian intrigues in the eastern vilayets. Two further Russian trade delegations have, for instance, been established in those parts in the past year, at Kars and Baiburt respectively, and the trade delegation at Trebizond has been increased. The latter has, moreover, started the practice of appointing local Turks at a good salary to conduct various commercial activities hitherto undertaken by Russians. There has been no corresponding increase in Russian imports to justify such measures, and the motive can only be political.

35. In spite, however, of such elements of friction, the fundamental relations between the two countries remain as before. Turkey shows no intention of embarking upon a serious quarrel with the Soviet Government, while the latter on their side continue to pose as standing on a special footing of friendship with Turkey. This was well illustrated by two incidents which took place towards the end of the year. The first was when the United States Government invited the Turkish Government, as a signatory of the Kellogg Pact, to join in representations to the Soviet and Chinese Governments in connection with the state of affairs in Manchuria. The Turkish Government were naturally disinclined to make any such unwelcome representations to the Soviet Government, and found a pretext to hand in the fact that the dispute appeared to be on a fair way to settlement. The second incident was a visit paid to Turkey by M. Karakhan in December. The difference in the attitude adopted by the Turkish press towards this visit and that made a couple of months earlier by the British fleet was marked. Whereas the press had been hardly more than correct in its references to the British visit, articles on the most fulsome nature filled its columns to welcome M. Karakhan as the representative of Turkey's "best friend." The press indeed, went further in its adulation than the Government, for, apart from the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, members of the Cabinet were rather conspicuous by their absence from the various functions arranged, and the Gazi himself left

Angora as soon as the date of the visit was fixed, and only returned just in time to give M. Karakhan an audience.

36. The concrete result of the visit was the signature on the 17<sup>th</sup> December of a protocol prolonging the Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality of 1925 for another three years, subject to the right to terminate it after two years. In addition, each party undertook not to conclude any political agreement with a State, the immediate neighbour by land or sea of the other party, without the latter's consent. The signature of the protocol was greeted with a fresh outburst of enthusiasm in the Turkish press.

37. A few items of general interest may be added. After his expulsion from Russia in January, Trotsky took up his residence in Constantinople. At first this was said to be only temporary until such times as he received authority to proceed to other parts of Europe. But no other country was prepared to receive him, and at the end of the year he was still in this country.

38. In February the Grand National Assembly passed a law providing for the ratification of a veterinary agreement signed on the 6<sup>th</sup> August, 1928, and in April a further law was passed for the ratification of a convention signed on the 6<sup>th</sup> August, 1928, dealing with the settlement of minor frontier disputes.

#### *Afghanistan.*

39. The fall of Amanullah was a blow to the Turkish Government. Acting on Russian advice and in accordance with their own ambition to champion the westernisation of backward Mahometan races, the Turks backed Amanullah unreservedly in his struggles against his enemies. Their Ambassador in Kabul was one of the strongest advocates of a "no compromise" policy, and journalists were given full rein to preach the same policy in the Turkish press. Amanullah's ignominious downfall came, therefore, as an unpleasant slap in the face to the Gazi and his Government. The large military mission which had been sent to Afghanistan as a result of Amanullah's visit to Turkey in May 1928, arrived to find the country in chaos and Amanullah himself in full preparation for flight. After a few months of unprofitable inactivity the mission accordingly returned to Turkey. For a time the Turkish Government were in two minds about withdrawing their Ambassador too, but finally they decided to let him remain with his Russian and Persian colleagues. Meanwhile, the Afghan Ambassador at Angora, after publishing a manifesto against British policy in his country, left Turkey to join his master in Italy.

40. This was the first serious check the republic had yet experienced in its proselytising policy, and the effect was seen in a temporary slowing-down of internal reforms in Turkey itself. A second immediate effect was an outburst of



bitterness against His Majesty's Government and still more against the Government of India, and the press was filled with denunciations of our unsavoury intrigues. The fact that our aeroplanes had evacuated nearly fifty Turks from Kabul received scant notice. As time went on, the Turkish Government seemed to realise that their own unqualified support of Amanullah had been a mistake, and the feeling against Great Britain gave way to one of resentment against the Soviet Government for their original advice, to which the Turks had listened all too readily.

41. As soon as Nadir Khan was proclaimed King of Afghanistan he telegraphed to the Turkish Government to announce the glad tidings. Tevfik Rüşdü replied expressing Turkey's sincere desire for the re-establishment of normal administration in an independent Afghanistan, and hope for the maintenance and development of friendly relations between the two countries in the spirit of the treaties that bound them. Beyond that the relations between the two countries had hardly been regularised by the end of the year. The position of the Afghan Embassy in Angora was, at any rate, still in an indeterminate condition.

#### *Persia.*

42. Recrudescence of Kurdish unrest early in the year impressed upon the Turkish Government the advisability of bringing to a conclusion the long-drawn-out negotiations with the Persian Government for a frontier agreement. An agreement was finally signed on the 9<sup>th</sup> April. The actual text has not yet been divulged even in confidence, but the agreement is stated to be in two parts, (1) an exchange of notes setting up a mixed commission to revise on the spot the few disputed points in the existing line, any disagreement to be settled by arbitration, and (2) a convention much on the lines of the British-Turkish-Iraqi Agreement of 1926, dealing with frontier security. As regards the frontier line itself, the Turkish Government refused to recognise the 1913 protocol, apparently for reasons of prestige more than for any intrinsic objection to the 1913 frontier; except for a few unimportant points, the frontier will remain unchanged. The Mixed Commission embarked upon its labours in the course of the summer. The frontier security convention set up a permanent frontier commission to meet twice a year, provided for continual inter-course and collaboration between the frontier officials of both parties, and laid down measures to prevent the journeyings of agitators.

43. Apart from the above there has been little to report on Turco-Persian relations during the past year. On the 25<sup>th</sup> April the foundation stone of the Persian Embassy building at Angora was laid by the Turkish Prime Minister. On the 16<sup>th</sup> May the Persian Majlis approved the Turco-Persian Protocol of the 15<sup>th</sup> June, 1928. In October the Persian Ambassador stated to the press that negotiations were in progress for the conclusion of an arbitration treaty.

*Egypt.*

44. It cannot be said that Turco-Egyptian relations have been harmonious during the past year. The Egyptians are for various reasons not too well-disposed towards the Turks. There is the natural antagonism between the Egyptian monarchy as conceived by King Fuad, and the revolutionary republicanism of modern Turkey, while the Turks suspect that the supporters of the Sultanate are received with over-great sympathy in high Egyptian circles. Added to this is the memory, still not forgotten in Egypt, of the old days of Turkish oppression. As to specific causes of grievances, there have been complaints on the Turkish side as to the terms of the Egyptian Nationality Law and other matters of a minor nature. But the chief matter of complaint was a decision given by the Egyptian Mixed Court of Appeal that the Mixed Courts were not competent to deal with suits between the Egyptian Government or subjects and a Turk. The decision caused great offence to the Turkish Government who were inclined to attribute it either to machination on the part of His Majesty's Government or to the unfriendliness of the Egyptian Government. His Majesty's Ambassador was able to persuade Tefik Rüstü Bey that the residency was entirely blameless, but it was less clear that His Excellency was satisfied as to the innocence of the Egyptian Government, and the Turkish Government even entertained the idea of not sending back their Minister to Cairo after his departure on leave. However, they finally decided to do so. On his way back Muhiddin Pasha stopped at Alexandria, where the King was in residence, and asked for the normal audience. For some days his request was unanswered, and finally, he was told that the King was slightly indisposed and would not be well enough to receive him immediately. He then proceeded to Cairo, whence he returned later for an audience subsequently arranged. When he proceeded to the Palace he was kept waiting after the time fixed for his reception. This he apparently considered to be a studied slight, and accordingly, he left the Palace without having his audience. The Egyptian Government then instructed their Minister at Angora to complain to the Turkish Government of Muhiddin Pasha's behaviour, and it seemed probable that the latter would have to be recalled, to the obvious embitterment of the relations between the two countries. Happily however, the incident was closed after an apology given by Muhiddin Pasha to the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the relations between the two countries are particularly harmonious, and little has been heard of any progress in the conclusion of a treaty of friendship which has been under discussion for some time.

*Arabia.*

45. A treaty of friendship between Turkey and the Hejaz Government was signed on the 3<sup>rd</sup> August. The Turkish Government are also said to be contemplating the negotiations of a treaty of friendship with the Yemen.

## Greece.

46. Turco-Greek relations have remained in an unsatisfactory condition during the past year, largely on account of the continued failure to reach a settlement of the various problems connected with the exchange of populations. So long as this perennial question continues to poison the atmosphere there can be little hope of improvement in the relations between the two countries. It would be foolish to assign to either of the two parties all blame for the present situation. Both sides are hard and unscrupulous bargainers, and both can make out a plausible case to show the untrustworthiness of the other. The Greeks complain, and no doubt with justice, that they never know where they stand with the Turks. A proposal made one day is followed the next by a new proposal entirely contradictory to the first. The Turks assert with equal justice that the Greeks have wholly failed to implement their undertakings in the past, and indeed, put their signature to undertakings which they knew at the time they could never execute.

47. Mutual recriminations thus continue, but the big factor in the situation seems to lie in the fact that the Turks have the whip hand. The Greek Government are clearly at fault in being unable to restore the Moslem properties on which they have settled a large proportion of their refugees, and the Turkish Government can and do retaliate by seizing the property of Constantinople Greeks. To this the Greeks have no adequate reply. The Turkish minority in Western Thrace can be turned to no account as a means of pressure. In the first place it is a poor population compared with the Greek minority in Constantinople, and secondly, any measures taken by the Greek Government against the Turkish minority in Thrace might only incite the Turkish Government to go still further and expel the whole body of Constantinople Greeks from the country outright. The arrival of these urban refugees would spell economic disaster in Greece, and the position would in no way be remedied by the expulsion of the Turkish agriculturists of Western Thrace. The Greek Government, therefore, regard the position with considerable and justified anxiety.

48. While the above seem to be the main factors in the situation, there are a few minor undercurrents which may be mentioned. Chief of these is the fact that the Turkish Government are not themselves at one in their attitude to the question. There are two parties, a party of conciliation, with the Minister for Foreign Affairs as its mouthpiece, and a group led by the Minister of Finance, which is all out, even at the risk of a further embitterment of relations, to exact the uttermost farthing from Greece. Another consideration is the interest in the question taken by Italy, and perhaps, though to a less extent, by France. Italy is certainly anxious to bring the two countries together, as may be seen from the annual report for 1928, her object being to form a *bloc* -Italy-Greece-Turkey- with which to overawe Yugoslavia. For a similar reason, France, fearing a threat to the

Little *Entente* system, is quite content to see Turkey and Greece remain at loggerheads. It is permissible to suspect that the intrigues of Italy and France have their effect upon the course of negotiations.

49. As for the negotiations that have taken place during the past year, it is unnecessary to review them at great length. In March the Turkish Government submitted proposals to settle the whole complex of problems involved. These proposals the Greek Government accepted in principle as a basis of settlement. Almost immediately, however, the Turkish Government produced further proposals contradictory to their former ones, and shortly afterwards proceeded to seize a number of Hellenic properties in Constantinople. The atmosphere was thus not particularly propitious for a settlement. Nevertheless, at the suggestion of the Turkish Government, the neutral members of the Mixed Commission were invited to Angora to aid in reaching an agreement. Discussions then proceeded with so much success that agreement actually appeared in sight, when suddenly the negotiations broke down to the refusal of the Turkish Government to admit the return of the Constantinople Greeks who had fled the country in the crisis of 1922 and subsequently. The Turkish Government insisted on the right to scrutinise each individual case, nor would they allow these persons to dispose freely of their considerable property in Constantinople.

50. The breakdown of the negotiations at first induced in the mind of the Greek Government a feeling of despair. They felt convinced, they said, that the Turks did not wish to have a settlement, and were merely working towards the expulsion of the whole Greek element in Turkey. After considering the possibility of an appeal to the League, they finally decided to address a further note to the Turkish Government proposing to submit all the questions under discussion to arbitrators chosen by the League of Nations or by the President of the Swiss Republic. The Turkish Government replied, proposing that the arbitrators should be the neutral members of the Exchange Commission, and that their terms of reference should be confined to enquiring into the non-application of the agreements concluded, its financial implications, and the best means of effecting their execution. A further exchange of notes followed, but brought matters no nearer solution. The Turkish Government took up the line that the Greek Government, in failing to restore to their Moslem owners the large properties expropriated for the benefit of the refugees, had palpably failed to fulfil their contractual obligations. Greece was therefore, in default, and could only get out of that position by coming to terms with Turkey. Arbitration was inapplicable to the case, but Turkey was willing to resume negotiations on the basis of the recognition by Greece of the *de jure statu quo* and her legal obligation to meet engagements which in practice she could not meet. Arbitration thus proving impossible, the Greek Government took the opportunity of a change in their Minister at Angora to

submit further proposals for a settlement. This was early in December, and little progress had been made before the end of the year.

51. While the atmosphere was thus clouded by the abortive negotiations on the exchange questions, it is not surprising that no progress was made during the year towards the realisation either of a treaty of friendship and arbitration, of which there had been talk during 1928, or of a naval pact, which has also been vaguely mooted for some time. Both sides were at pains to assert periodically that they had no aggressive designs against the other, but this did not prevent a certain nervousness, at any rate, on the part of the Greeks when the Turks in October completed the refitting of the "Yavuz" (the former German battle cruiser "Goeben"). A clamour was raised in the Greek press for the purchase, as a reply to this menace, of the cruiser "Salamis," which had been under construction for the Greek Government in German dockyards in 1914 but had never been delivered owing to the war. M. Venizelos however, seems to have kept his head throughout and succeeded in averting what expert opinion agreed would have been a needless waste of money, and the Greek Government finally decided to devote the funds at their disposal to the gradual strengthening of their fleet by light craft and aviation. During the meeting of the League Assembly in September, M. Venizelos broached with Sir Eric Drummond, and subsequently with members of the British delegation, the question of the support that Greece might expect from the League if she were attacked by Turkey as a result of the failure of the negotiations on the exchange question. The replies he received were magnified by the Greek press into an announcement that His Majesty's Government had come to an agreement with Greece by which the latter would be protected by His Majesty's Government in the event of an unprovoked attack by Turkey. This announcement might have been expected to rouse some excitement in Turkey, but the Turkish press received the news quite calmly. The report was at once categorically denied in an interview given by the Secretary of State to the press. Subsequently, the Turkish Ambassador officially enquired of Mr. Henderson whether any such convention either existed or was in contemplation. Mr. Henderson assured Ferit Bey that the answer to both questions was in the negative.

52. Meanwhile, on the 5<sup>th</sup> August the Lausanne Commercial Convention expired, and the Turkish Government immediately applied the maximum tariff to Greek goods entering Turkey. The Greek Government replied by applying their general tariff to Turkish goods. It was shortly announced that negotiations would begin for the conclusion of a *modus vivendi*, but the year ended without any such agreement having been effected.

#### Albania.

53. No improvement took place during the year in the relations between Turkey and Albania, which had deteriorated in 1928 owing to the refusal of the



Turkish Government to recognise Ahmed Zogu's assumption of the throne. At the beginning of 1929 both countries were represented in the capital of the other by a *Chargé d'Affaires*, the respective Ministers having been withdrawn. Later, the Turkish *Chargé d'Affaires* at Tirana left the country on unlimited leave, and insult was added to injury by an unfortunate interview given by the Gazi to the correspondent of a Paris paper pouring scorn upon Ahmed Zogu's proclamation of himself as King. Ahmed Zogu, who had for many months borne the situation in patience, finally decided in October to withdraw the Albanian *Chargé d'Affaires* from Angora "for reasons of economy." Neither State is, therefore, now represented in the capital of the other.

### *Bulgaria.*

54. The negotiations for a Turco-Bulgarian Treaty of Arbitration and Non-Aggression which had been opened in 1928 continued in 1929, ending finally in the signature of a treaty on the 6<sup>th</sup> March. The negotiations would have concluded earlier but for the insistence of the Turkish Government on excluding from arbitration all questions in which national sovereignty was involved. Such a reservation was felt by the Bulgarian Government to deprive the treaty of much of its value. In the end, however, they were forced to accept it, but the condition was added that, if one party failed to agree that any particular question lay within the sovereignty of the other, the point should be referred to arbitration. For the rest, the treaty bound the two parties to enter into no political or economic agreement designed against the other, and bound each party to neutrality in the event of the other being, despite its pacific attitude, attacked by a third Power.

55. The signature of the treaty aroused surprisingly little interest in the Turkish press. From the general tone of the debate in the Bulgarian *Sobranje*, however, when ratification was discussed, it was apparent that considerable importance was attached in Bulgaria to good relations with Turkey. Ratifications were exchanged on the 3<sup>rd</sup> December. On the same day the Turkish Government notified the Bulgarian Government of their denunciation of the Treaty of Commerce which had been concluded in the previous year. The Turkish Government proposed at the same time that a new treaty should be negotiated between the two countries. It was reported that on the 23<sup>rd</sup> December an extradition treaty was signed between Turkey and Bulgaria in Angora.

56. Little has been heard during the year of the maltreatment of Moslems in Bulgaria, and the relations of the two countries throughout the year have been normal.

*Yugoslavia.*

57. Relations with Yugoslavia are still clouded by the question of the Moslem properties which were sequestered by the Serbian Government after the last Balkan war. The properties are of two distinct categories: on the one hand, urban and rural properties, which are absolute freehold; and, on the other, the large landed estates held under feudal tenure. The former cause little difficulty, and the Yugoslav Government in the course of the year started to liberate them. The late estates however, had been distributed among the peasants and their return was out of the question. Even compensation would be highly unpopular move in view of the bitter memories left by the Turkish régime. In Turkey however, the matter is important in view of the interest taken in the matter by a number of powerful Deputies, including, it is rumoured, İsmet Pasha himself. The Turkish Government are bound therefore, to insist upon adequate compensation. Moreover, they have found a weapon to their hand in the desire of the Yugoslav Government for the conclusion of a commercial treaty. In the course of the year the Yugoslav Minister persuaded his Government to give an undertaking to pass a law providing that Turkish landowners would not be treated less favourably than Yugoslav landowners, on the condition that a commercial treaty should be concluded for six months. When it came to the point, however, the Turkish Government refused to grant the condition without seeing the actual terms of the law and without an assurance of most-favoured-nation treatment. But most-favoured-nation treatment the Yugoslav Government would not give, fearing that it might enable the Turkish Government to claim the same treatment as that conferred by the conventions of Santa Margarita upon Italian landowners in Dalmatia, which was actually superior to national treatment. In May the Yugoslav Minister at Angora resigned and the negotiations were transferred to Belgrade. Since then no progress has been reported.

*Roumania.*

58. The Roumanian Government withdrew their Minister from Turkey during the year as part of an economy campaign, leaving their Legation in the hands of a Chargé d'Affaires. No incident of any importance has disturbed the relations of the two countries. A commercial treaty was signed on the 11<sup>th</sup> June. In September a *modus vivendi* was signed to tide over the period before the definitive treaty came into force.

*United States of America.*

59. Nothing further was heard of the negotiation of conciliation and arbitration treaties of which there had been talk in 1928. At the time of the Manchurian dispute between China and Russia the United States Government



invited Turkey, along the other signatories of the Kellogg Pact, to remind the two conflicting Powers of its terms. But, not unnaturally, the Turkish Government were not prepared to make any such unwelcome representations to the Soviet Government.

60. On the 1<sup>st</sup> October a commercial convention between the United States of America and Turkey was signed at Angora. The treaty was a brief document in five articles providing generally for most-favoured-nation treatment in matters of commerce and national treatment in matters of navigation.

#### *Germany.*

61. Germany has not figured greatly in Turkey's foreign affairs the past year. Following upon a visit to Berlin by Teyfik Rüstü Bey in April, a Turco-German treaty of conciliation was signed at Angora on the 16<sup>th</sup> May. It has not yet come into force nor have its terms been made public. About the same time information was received that a consular treaty, a treaty dealing with the property of deceased persons, and a treaty regulating legal proceedings in civil and commercial cases had been signed. In August the Turkish Government denounced the Turco-German Commercial Treaty, which will accordingly expire in February 1930.

62. It should be added that early in the year there was a report that Dr. Schacht, the director of the Reichsbank, would pay a visit to Turkey to advise on the institution of a State Bank. Other affairs prevented him from coming himself, but he sent one of his colleagues, Dr. Müller, in his place. The latter apparently found his task more difficult than he had anticipated in view of the Turks' utter ignorance of finance, and the report he subsequently drew up was of so pessimistic a nature that Dr. Schacht thought fit to revise it in less gloomy colours. For this reason it was not available for Count Volpi's study when the latter visited Turkey in November on a similar mission (see paragraph 25).

63. The progress made during the year in the construction of the German-built railways is discussed in the commercial section of this report.

#### *Poland.*

64. Turco-Polish relations have remained normal throughout the year. The raising of the respective Legations to Embassies has not yet taken place.

#### *Hungary.*

65. A treaty of friendship was signed between Turkey and Hungary on the 5<sup>th</sup> January, ratifications being exchanged on the 8<sup>th</sup> December. The treaty bound each party to enter no alliance or agreement of a political or economic nature directed against the other, and bound each party to neutrality in the event of the

other being, in spite of its pacific action, attacked by a third Power. Further articles provided for the submission to conciliation or arbitration of all disputes that might arise between the two parties, though questions of sovereignty were specifically excluded. The significance of the treaty was therefore, not of great importance. Whether or no this was due to the machinations of the Soviet Government it is impossible to say, but it is a fact that the Soviet Ambassador at Angora exerted his influence to prevent the conclusion of the treaty.

#### *Czechoslovakia.*

66. The existing Turco-Czechoslovak Commercial Treaty, having been denounced by the Turkish Government in March, expired in September. It was replaced by a *modus vivendi* pending the negotiation of a new definitive treaty.

#### *The Netherlands.*

67. A residence convention between Holland and Turkey was signed at Angora on the 13<sup>th</sup> June. It has not yet been ratified, nor have its terms been made public.

68. Ratifications of the Commercial Treaty, which was concluded in 1928, were exchanged on the 1<sup>st</sup> July. This was, however, denounced by the Turkish Government on the 30<sup>th</sup> August, and so lapsed on the 30<sup>th</sup> November. Pending the conclusion of a new treaty, a *modus vivendi* was signed in August.

#### *Belgium.*

69. There is little to report on Turco-Belgian relations in the past year. A treaty of establishment has been under negotiation but has not yet been concluded.

#### *Switzerland.*

70. The Grand National Assembly on the 25<sup>th</sup> May approved the ratification of the Turco-Swiss treaty of Conciliation, Judicial Settlement and Arbitration signed in 1928.

71. In November the Turkish Government denounced the Commercial Convention of the 4<sup>th</sup> May, 1927, at the same time expressing their willingness to enter into negotiations for the conclusion of a new convention.

72. The Establishment Convention of 1927 came into force in May.

#### *Spain.*

73. Spanish interests in Turkey are unimportant. By an exchange of notes in August each country bound itself to grant to the other most-favoured-nation commercial treatment pending the entry into force of a commercial treaty which

was said to be under negotiation. The *modus vivendi* was to last till the 1<sup>st</sup> November, but would be extended by tacit renewal unless denounced by either of the parties.

#### *Scandinavia.*

74. The Turco-Swedish Treaty of Commerce which had been signed in 1928 was denounced by the Turkish Government in 1929 and expired in November. A new treaty was signed on the 29<sup>th</sup> September based, like its predecessor, on most-favoured-nation treatment. Pending its entry into force, the commercial relations of the two countries were based on a *modus vivendi*.

75. Negotiations proceeded during the year for a Turco-Danish commercial treaty, the existing treaty having expired in July and been replaced by a *modus vivendi*.

#### *Baltic States.*

76. A Finno-Turkish treaty of commerce and navigation which had been concluded in 1926 was denounced by Turkey in April. A new treaty was signed on the 12<sup>th</sup> August based, like its predecessor, on most-favoured-nation treatment. Ratifications of a Turco-Latvian treaty of commerce were exchanged in August. A Turco-Estonian treaty of commerce came into force in February, but was denounced by the Turkish Government in August. A new treaty was signed in September, together with a *modus vivendi* providing for most-favoured-nation treatment pending the exchange of ratifications. The *modus vivendi* came into force on the 30<sup>th</sup> November.

#### *Latin America.*

77. Turkey has continued during the past year her policy of cementing her relations with the countries of Latin America. A treaty of friendship with Uruguay was signed in January, the Grand National Assembly approving its ratification in December. Chile is now represented at Angora by a Chargé d'Affaires, who informed the press in November that he was arranging for the conclusion of a commercial treaty between the two countries. In November it was announced that Turkey had decided to establish a Legation in Brazil. This is the first diplomatic appointment made by the Turkish Government in South America, and a proposal has been mooted for the creation of a further diplomatic post at Santiago. It is understood that for the time being the Minister to Brazil will be called upon to report on events and conditions in South America generally.

#### *The Far East.*

78. Relations with Japan have been normal during the past year. Negotiations have been in progress for a commercial treaty, but have not yet been concluded. In

the meantime a *modus vivendi* was signed on the 31<sup>st</sup> July providing for reciprocal most-favoured-nation treatment.

79. The first secretary of the Chinese Legation in Paris paid a visit to Turkey in October, but apparently without any official purpose. In any case, the Turkish Government showed no intention of establishing diplomatic relations with China, particularly so long as the latter's relations with Russia were strained over the Manchurian dispute, in regard to which the Turkish Government were inclined to support the Russian point of view.

### III- INTERNAL AFFAIRS

#### *Introduction.*

80. The internal situation in Turkey in 1929 presents a gloomy picture, due almost exclusively to increasing economic depression. Several years of drought were followed this year by a certain amount of rain at the critical period in the spring; but the impoverishment of the preceding years had caused inadequate sowing, and, though some crops were distinctly good, production as a whole was disappointing. The important hazel-nut crop expected in the Black Sea districts failed disastrously. Economic depression is not, however, entirely due to bad luck; some at least must be laid at the door of bad management. Nevertheless, the Government has not been inactive in tackling the problems which face it; the budget is now balanced, settlement of the public debt has been followed by a settlement of the Constantinople municipal loan, a forward policy has been followed in the departments of health and public instruction, and efforts have been made to clean up the administrative machine. In general, it may be said that in the past year the Government has added to its credit in the country; the firm and prompt action taken to check the fall of the lira in December deserved and received wide-spread approval. In short, in the face of very grave economic difficulties, the Government has succeeded in maintaining its hold over the country, and has thereby made a further step towards political stability.

#### *Security.*

81. That there is a very considerable measure of security in Turkey now cannot be doubted. But such security is mainly the result of fear and of the drastic steps taken by the Government to repress any attempt at disorder. It is satisfactory that the Government should be in a position to enforce order in this way, but ultimately a settled state of security must depend not primarily on an adequate and well-organised gendarmerie, but on economic well-being. The present acute and protracted economic crisis leads in this country to an increase of brigandage, and is, therefore, a source of danger, and if, even in the eastern vilayets, any attempt at

organising a plot against the present régime is likely to be repressed rapidly and effectively, the possibility of such attempts is at present far from having been eliminated. Brigandage on a small scale is of frequent occurrence in all parts of the country, and minor frontier incidents, particularly on the Iraq and Persian frontiers, have by no means ceased during the past year.

### *Brusa Conspiracy*

82. Late in December 1928 a conspiracy against the Government was discovered at Brusa. Strong measures were at once taken by the authorities, and some 100 persons arrested both at Brusa and at Constantinople, and, though the subsequent judicial proceedings tended to show that the affair was not nearly as far-reaching as was at first supposed and did not involve any well-known figures, the Government seemed to take a serious view of it throughout. Eventually many of the arrested persons were liberated and only thirty-one stood their trial.

83. The trial was held at Brusa, the court being open and accounts of each day's sitting reported in the press. The proceedings showed that the only man of any standing or much education implicated was the organiser of the plot, a certain Jemal, a former municipal councillor, who, for reasons not published, had been condemned to twelve years' imprisonment. Through a prison warder he communicated with his supporters and managed to form a "Revolutionary Committee for the Protection of the Moslem Religion," the object of which was to "open the gates of the prison, terrorise the population, pillage the banks, win over the army, march on Smyrna, *there join the English*, and finally, overthrow the Government." (The reference to the English has never been fully understood, though His Majesty's Ambassador caused Mr. Roberts to protest to the Minister for Foreign Affairs at the publication of it apparently without any attempt to examine it closely first.) The Brusa court acquitted fifteen of the defendants, condemned four to death for treason, and sentenced the remainder to varying terms of imprisonment. These judgments were not carried out: they were quashed by the Court of Cassation on various points of order, repeated by the Brusa court, requested by the Court of Cassation, and finally, replaced by a sentence of eighteen years' imprisonment for Jemal and four years each for the other three chief delinquents.

84. It seems reasonable to ascribe this dilatory procedure less to blundering than to policy. The real leaders of the movement were probably disposed of summarily, but unobtrusively, when the plot was discovered, and the trial staged and the four wretches just mentioned let off with something less than death at the last moment in order that the public at large should have a wholesome reminder of the power of the law.

### *Kadrie Hanem.*

85. Meanwhile another similar trial had begun. A number of persons, including notably a certain Kadrie Hanem, were accused of plotting to assassinate the President of the Republic. The arrests took place at the same time as those connected with the Brusa conspiracy, and it was at first supposed that the two conspiracies formed part of the same scheme. This was afterwards shown not to be the case. Kadrie Hanem had conceived the idea of obtaining the Gazi's intervention in certain private affairs of her own, and even succeeded in reaching the anti-chamber of the President's apartments at his house at Çan Kaya. Here she was stopped, then arrested and searched. A revolver being found in her possession, she was accused of the intention to take his Excellency's life. After lengthy deliberations the Court acquitted her and the other defendants, the verdict being received with enthusiasm by a large crowd, who gave the acquitted persons an ovation on their dismissal. (It should be noted that again stupid allegations were made that Kadrie Hanem was in communication with Turkish political exiles, British ex-officers acting as intermediaries. These allegations were shown to be false.)

### *Hronika Trial.*

86. A third political trial is also worthy of mention - that of the proprietress of a newspaper published in Greek, called "Hronika." Some expression in one of the articles published in this paper having given umbrage to the authorities, she was arrested and tried for "insulting the Turkish nation." This trial also ended first in sentence being passed and subsequently in acquittal, the court in question having apparently been able to persuade itself that the expression used was capable of bearing a second and quite harmless interpretation.

87. It is hard to judge how the proceedings of the cases above-mentioned were conducted throughout in strict accordance with the principles of justice, but on the whole it may perhaps fairly be claimed that there are countries in Europe with whose standard of justice that now administered in Turkey would compare not unfavourably.

### *Education and the Language Reform.*

88. New schools are being built everywhere and education is being developed, but progress is slow. The new alphabet can of course, only be firmly established when the generation now at school has grown up, and it is yet too soon to judge whether the recent reforms will produce the expected improvement in the literacy of the population at large. The campaign for imposing the new alphabet and for purging the language of foreign words has been carried on by the authorities with great pertinacity, but the use of the old script is still preferred by the ordinary



person, not only in outlying parts of the country, but in the bosom of the administrative departments; and on the occasion of the closing of the Grand National Assembly in June, the Prime Minister's speech was couched in such modern Turkish that many of the Deputies were left with only an impression of the general drift of his remarks.

89. The foreign schools continue to be tolerated somewhat unwillingly by the authorities, but there was one welcome sign that the Government had a lively sense of the value of these institutions for their educational policy. For some time the school maintained in Galata by the Scottish Mission to the Jews had been restricted in its religious teaching to the study of the Old Testament, and that only on the pretext that it was 'ancient history.' The Scottish Committee having intimated that either the New Testament was to be taught or the school closed down, all manner of tortuous inducements to remain open were brought to bear on the school by the authorities. Finally, however, the authorities surrendered and, with certain face-saving conditions, granted the school permission to give the religious instruction they desired.

90. An interesting development in the normal school curriculum is the diminished time allotted to the study of French and the increased allowance for the teaching of English and German. Mr. Chafy, lately His Majesty's consul at Mersina, reported that his night school and other efforts at arousing an interest in the learning of English had met with a gratifying response, and this may be taken as an indication of public feeling on this subject in many parts of the country.

#### *Administration.*

91. Efforts have been made in the past year to put the administration of the country on a sound basis. Laws were passed to systematise official salaries by dividing them into categories and consolidating them, and within the narrow limits imposed by the resources of the Government an attempt was made at remedying the inadequacy of these salaries. A further law was under consideration at the end of the year for permitting a close scrutiny, and even regulation, of the private means of officials, a measure which is no doubt intended to check the corruption which is still the rule in public departments. Another recent law affecting the general administration of the country introduced a measure of decentralisation designed to confer a certain amount of independence on the commune (*Kaza*) and village. In general however, all the main activities, even of the larger towns, continue to be strictly supervised by the central Government.

#### *Minorities.*

92. It is worth recalling that, in articles 37 to 41 of the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey undertook to assure to all inhabitants of Turkey 'full and complete



protection of life and liberty, e.g., to practise any religious creed whatever, to travel, &c., without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion"; she undertook to grant her non-Moslem nationals the same civil and political rights as Moslems, and she undertook to give special facilities for public instruction in minority languages where the size of the minority community warranted such action. These provisions Turkey has ignored, in spirit if not entirely in letter. The execution of the provisions was made an international obligation and placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations, and the question naturally arises why the Powers signatory to the treaty and the League of Nations itself, though well aware of the Turkish Government's default, have, on their side, ignored the obligation imposed on them.

93. A memorandum dated the 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1928, presented to the League of Nations by the Armenian Catholic bishops, presented a comprehensive and on the whole fairly moderate statement of the present situation. The Greeks and Armenians who are Turkish subjects receive discriminatory treatment, they are forbidden to travel, they find in the larger commercial organisations that Government regulations tend to exclude them in favour of Moslems, and in general they are discouraged from continuing their activities and very existence in Turkey. As a result of this, in the latter half of 1929 some 2000 to 2500 Armenians from Kharput and Diarbekir seem to have decided to leave Turkey in search of better times. It does not appear that there was any deliberate pressure on the part of the Turkish Government to bring about this migration, though seeing that it is the natural result of its policy towards the minorities it may be supposed that the authorities view this departure with no regret. It is however, to their credit that very little actual brutality has been employed recently, and there has been no attempt at a repetition of methods formerly used for ridding the country of Armenians. The present refugees have been admitted to Syria and have been concentrating at Aleppo. It is believed that nearly 10000 Armenians still remain in the interior of Anatolia. That the French authorities have allowed this immigration on so large scale suggests that a tacit understanding exists with the Turkish Government.

94. In Constantinople the situation of the minorities is less deplorable, but even here they, and particularly the Christian inhabitants of the town, suffer under serious disabilities. They are, however, in such large numbers, and owing to their much greater capacity for business, they control so great a portion of the more important trade that it is less easy to browbeat them. The Armenian Catholic Patriarchate has solved its difficulties by removing to Beirut, but the Greek Patriarchate continues in Constantinople, though it is an object of perpetual suspicion and minor annoyances, including many unwelcome and unnecessary attentions from the local press. A striking instance of the animosity of the Moslem Turk against the Christian minorities in Constantinople was given in the consequences of the big fire in Tatavla, a Greek quarter of the town. Some

practical sympathy having been shown by this Embassy to the victims, a tremendous attack was launched in the press against His Majesty's Ambassador for "interfering in the internal affairs of the country," and though subsequent explanations elicited appropriate apologies, the incident showed not only how near the surface Turkish suspicions lie, but that the Turk still thinks his minorities poison in the body politic and an element to be eliminated rather than absorbed.

95. There are many reasons why the Powers make no representations on the basis of the articles of the treaty mentioned above, in spite of the fact that the immigration of Armenians into Syria particularly affects France, and that England is indirectly involved, since the refugees are succoured by British charitable organisations. Partly, no doubt, as always before, Turkey's ex-enemies are busily competing with each other and with Germany to establish a predominance of their influence in Turkey (mainly for commercial purpose), and are unwilling to upset the apple-cart by touching a very sensitive spot in the Turk's feelings. But chiefly, the reason is that representations would almost certainly make things worse for the minorities concerned.

#### *Kurds.*

96. The Kurds stand apart from the other minorities, partly because of their compactness and partly because of their warlike nature. Lack of adequate sources of information makes it difficult to say exactly what the present position is; but though the Government has contrived to all appearance to maintain order, there were reliable accounts early in the year of a fairly serious rising in the Hakari Vilayet, in which 5000 Kurds were stated to be involved, and in June a caravan arriving in Trebizond from Persia reported that fighting was taking place between Kurds and the military. About the same time, the Minister of the Interior conducted an extensive tour in the eastern provinces, though the result of his inspection did not leak out. It appeared however, to pass off according to plan and without untoward incident.

97. Information has reached this Embassy of the active campaign conducted abroad by the Kurdish Prince, Sureya Bedr Khan, with the object of compassing Kurdish independence. He has raised money from Kurdish and Armenian sympathisers in the United States, where he has also published a propaganda book, entitled "The Case of Kurdistan against Turkey." He seems also to have been well received in Italy and by Greek and Soviet Russian official persons; on the other hand, instructions have been issued by the British authorities to prevent his receiving visas for the United Kingdom or Iraq. How effective his activities are likely to prove is not known, but it is probably fair to say that in the past year the Government's hold over Turkish Kurdistan has tended to increase in firmness.

### *Land Reform.*

98. In the past year a scheme has been elaborated by the Government for dividing up land and distributing it among the peasants who cultivate it. According to the statements made by the Prime Minister on the reopening of the Grand National Assembly in the autumn, 900000 demans had been distributed already in the Eastern Vilayets, and further lots, already acquired by the Treasury, were awaiting distribution elsewhere in Anatolia. Encouragement was being given to peasant proprietors to form co-operative productive groups, and the Government intended to lay measures before the Assembly to enable these groups to function successfully. Ismet Pasha was careful to add that the big landowners were not being prejudiced, and it was the Government's wish that they should prosper side by side with smallholders. What practical effects this scheme will have remains to be seen. The provision of financial facilities for farmers is necessarily a big part of the problem; and, hitherto, such institutions as the Agricultural Bank have shown themselves singularly unhelpful.

## IV. COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

### *(1) General.*

#### *Introduction.*

99. Apart from unfavourable climatic conditions, which so seriously affected crops, there are two outstanding features which have had a considerable influence on economic conditions. These are the following:

- (1) The depreciation of Turkish currency, which during the month of December reached a point which gave rise to serious apprehension.
- (2) The application of a revised Turkish tariff.

These features have contributed to the existing gloom in financial and commercial circles, which was brought about by the partial failure of this year's harvests and the fear that importers would be unable to pay for the abnormally heavy imports of manufactured goods which were rushed into the country in order to avoid increased customs duties. In order to arrive at some approximate estimate of the situation, it is necessary to review these factors in their several aspects.

#### *Agriculture.*

100. The high expectations entertained in the spring of this year have not been fulfilled. Early reports were most encouraging, and it was hoped that this year's harvests would compensate in a large measure for those of recent years and

particularly for those of last year, which, owing to prolonged drought, were little short of disastrous.

101. Various events have combined, however, to disappoint these hopes. Although this year's cereal harvest in Anatolia was much better than that of 1928 and was well up to the average of post-war years, the harvest in Thrace has been very light, and it is now certain that it will be once again necessary to import foreign wheat into the country next year. Turkey, even in the pre-war days, was never self-supporting as regards wheat and flour, but imports were offset by heavy exports of barley, whereas at the present time such exports do not reach one-third of the pre-war volume. The dependence of the country on foreign sources of supply of essential food-stuffs is a disturbing factor and is a drain on the wealth of the country which it can ill afford.

102. The situation as regards dried fruit is equally unsatisfactory. This year's crops were well up to the average, but, owing to heavy rains when the fruit was already ripe, serious damage was done. Some damage was also done to the fig crop, but on the other hand, the percentage of rejections by the United States of America, the principal buyer of Turkish figs, was apparently less than that of last year.

103. As regards tobacco, which is Turkey's principal export, this year's crop is about up to average, but owing to unfavourable weather conditions, much of the crop is of poor quality, and in the Samsoun district, which normally produces the best and most easily saleable leaf, this year's crop will not exceed 4000 tons (and that of inferior leaf) as against 6580 tons in 1928.

104. The hazel-nut crop has been disastrous. The crops on the trees in the early summer were estimated at about 20000 tons, but owing to insect pests and floods the crops were almost entirely destroyed and the amount of sound nuts available for export did not exceed 3500 tons. This state of affairs has practically ruined a number of growers and exporters, who are now totally incapable of fulfilling their contracts.

105. There are, on the other hand, some brighter spots in the situation; thus, the output of wool, mohair and opium has been up to or above average, and the cotton crop is definitely better than that of preceding years.

106. Considering the outstanding importance of agriculture to the country, it is disappointing to find how ineffective the Government has been in assisting its development. Turkey is essentially an agricultural country, and its prosperity must depend on the success or failure of its crops, and yet agriculture is a "Cinderella" among the State Departments, with no Ministry of its own and a parliamentary vote that is only sufficient to cover administrative charges. The semi-official Agricultural Bank, with a capital of £T. 22 million, should be in a position to aid the farmers,

but in practice it has diverted most of its capital to industrial enterprises and is of little use to agriculture. The attitude of this bank, and of all other Turkish banks, to the farming classes has had pernicious results: the farmers are charged high rates of interest on advances made against their crops, with the result that they are constantly in debt and discouraged. Now the Government is trying to make amends by hastily forcing the peasants and farmers to form co-operative societies, which, through lack of experience and of funds, are likely to end in disaster.

107. An effort is at last being made to start irrigation works, to which the Turkish Government attach great importance. It was intended to devote the sum of £T. 250 million to this purpose, to be spread over a period of twenty years, and, although the cost would bear heavily on the Turkish Treasury, it was considered that a profitable return on the outlay would eventually be forthcoming. The law, however, of the 29<sup>th</sup> May did not provide for so ambitious a programme, £T. 100 million being voted for these public works. But, valuable as these will be when completed, they will not effect a radical cure. The country is under-populated. The abolition of the tithe has not brought the great extension of cultivation which was hoped of it. Production can only be substantially increased by a widespread use of modern methods. Machinery, the farmer cannot, in most cases, afford to buy, nor does he know how to use. Chemical manure might be enormous value, but up to the present its uses have not been appreciated, and unless the Government arranges for the Agricultural Bank or some other institution to lend money to farmers at a reasonable rate of interest, supply them on easy terms with modern requisites and provide expert advice for their use, no radical improvement in the present situation is to be expected.

108. Nor does the problem end here. The Government and the farmers themselves fail to realise that the production of good crops is only half the story; the question of marketing to the best advantage is equally important. Cases arise where have been lost simply because European firms could not be sure of obtaining produce of the quality or the quantity they required, even though such produce was available. No organised growers' association exists, nor is there, in most cases, any standardised system of grading Turkish products which could guarantee to the foreign importer that he would receive exactly the class of goods he required. Producers are prone to fix their own price, irrespective of any consideration of world supply and demand. They hold out for this price until the deterioration of their crops, or the pressure exercised by banks anxious to redeem their advances, forces them to sell at less than the prices they were originally offered.

109. It will be seen then that neither this year's harvest nor the agricultural situation as a whole offers much hope of effecting any alleviation of the general stagnation and depression which hang over the country. And yet it is from

agriculture almost solely that the wealth of the country comes. Few mines are working, and the reputed great mineral wealth of Turkey is almost untouched because roads, railways and harbours are wanting, and because there has as yet been no such general confidence as to induce foreign capital to provide these things. The vast forests near the Black Sea, although they attract foreign enquiries, are for the same reasons also unexploited. Livestock does not suffice even for home consumption. The export of wool

### *Industry*

110. As regards one or two kinds of industry, some impetus may have been given by the application of new tariffs and by the law for the encouragement of industries, but here again the actual results achieved have by no means come up to expectations. According to an official return drawn up under the aegis of the Ministry of National Economy, of sixty-one industrial companies working in Turkey in 1928 with a total capital of £T. 16,423,499 (to which should be added the Bomonti Brewery with a capital of 8 million Swiss francs), twenty-six, working with a capital of £T. 9,141,499 made a profit of £T. 1,730,833 in 1928, whilst the Bomonti Brewery made a profit of 742,584 Swiss francs. The remaining thirty-five companies, with a total capital of £T. 7,282,000 closed their balance sheets with a loss in 1928, though in some cases this loss was due mainly to first establishment charges.

111. The fact is that the Turk has neither the experience nor the aptitude required to carry on business with much hope of success. It is true that, on the whole, Turkish Banks have so far been remarkably successful, but this success is due to direct help by the Government and to the fact that they have been able to charge exorbitant rates of interest at the expense of industry and agriculture. In trade and navigation it is noteworthy that three of the most important Turkish firms have all been in difficulties. Messrs. Avundak Zade, the biggest importers of textiles, have gone bankrupt; Kir Zade, the most important Turkish shipowner, is only able to carry on by the goodwill of his creditors, to whom all his ships and other property are mortgaged; and Nemli Zade Biraderler the biggest private Turkish firm of tobacco exporters, brought themselves to the verge of ruin by diverting their capital to the construction of a railway from Samsun to Çarşamba. The railway was not a financial success, and the firm only saved itself from extinction by persuading the Government to buy out all its interests.

112. This incompetence is repeated in the numerous Turkish firms of smaller importance which have endeavoured to replace the Greek and Armenian middlemen who were always the backbone of Turkish commerce. Almost invariably these new Turkish firms start business as commission agents, but they have neither the patience, the experience nor the temperament to build up their fortunes



slowly in the same way as their Christian predecessors. In most cases they drift away to Angora, to the neglect of their agency commitments, and endeavour to get rich quickly by dabbling in large contracts. Further, commercial morality here has declined of late years. The trader is often influenced by speculation rather than by the letter of his engagements.

113. To return from production to the present import trade, the situation once again gives rise to apprehension. Imports in 1928 exceeded exports by about £T. 50 million, and during the past six years Turkey's total adverse trade balance amounts, according to the official returns published by the Customs Administration, to upwards of £T. 300 million. In the opinion of M. Jacquart, until recently the Director-General of the Statistical Office, the official returns are misleading, inasmuch as imports are calculated on the cost of goods delivered to the customs, *i.e.*, including transport, insurance and other charges, whereas exports have been valued simply on the cost of delivery to the nearest Turkish port. M. Jacquart's view is not entirely correct, however, for he does not appear to have taken bribery and corruption at the customs into consideration. The adverse balance would probably be greater had a larger proportion of imports been correctly declared.

114. There can be no doubt that Turkey has for many years living beyond her income, and the deficit can only have been made up by firms drawing on their capital and by the realisation of their assets, a state of affairs that cannot continue indefinitely. This year these symptoms are presented in an aggravated form, as importers, many of whose operations are speculative, brought into the country abnormally heavy stocks of manufactured goods during the months of July, August and September in order to avoid the increased customs duties which were applied as from the 1<sup>st</sup> October. A good many of them have been disappointed in their hope of effecting extensive sales, as they entirely overlooked the fact that for a large number of articles, principally cotton and woollen goods, the old tariffs continued to be applied by virtue of commercial treaties which are still in force, and buyers are content to wait their time before buying for the winter.

115. Moreover, disappointing harvests have in many cases put a check on heavy buying from the interior. Practically all the stocks in Constantinople were bought on credits of four to six months, and when the bills fall due, it is to be feared that a great number of merchants will be unable to meet their obligations, thus being driven into bankruptcy. In 1927, 572 merchants withdrew from business in Constantinople, and for the period January to September 1928, a further 600 withdrawals were registered.



### *Government Finance*

116. Turning to Government finance, we find a more cheerful picture. Turkey is at last balancing her budgets. Indeed, although scepticism has not entirely vanished, one may perhaps trust the statements of actual receipts and expenditure, and of these the last two years published (1924-25 and 1928-29) each show a surplus of £700,000 which, on a total budget of some £20 million, is a very creditable achievement. The Government realises now that the maintenance of its credit abroad is essential. It is contriving to meet its obligations, though not always with the punctuality that might be desired, but it is probable that it will continue to honour its signature in all cases where foreign interests are concerned. This policy, involving as it does, adequate provision for the floating debt and heavy payments for the public debt and the Anatolian railway, is particularly burdensome at a time when the demand for big expenditure on public works is insistent. It is true that, as a result of a new fiscal legislation and of more drastic administration, the yield of taxation has approximately doubled in the last ten years, but the limit has probably been reached, and indeed, there is every likelihood that it will shrink owing to a falling-off in customs receipts consequent upon the new tariff. Military expenditure, of course, absorbs most of what is bled from the country. Of recent years this item has shown a welcome tendency to fall (from about 45 per cent. to about 35 per cent.), but it is impossible to rely on its falling much lower. On the other hand, the Government is bent, firstly, on having its own State Bank and on doing something to stabilise the currency, and secondly, on a vast programme of railway, road, port and irrigation works. The cost of these public works has been excessive, even though when completed they should be an asset for economic development.

### *Railways, Port Construction and Irrigation Works.*

117. The interest shown by İsmet Pasha and his Government in railway construction has shown no signs of abatement during the past year. On the contrary, by a law dated the 29<sup>th</sup> May last, the Turkish Government gave authority for the expenditure of a further sum of £T. 95 million on new railway construction, notwithstanding the fact that the budget is already charged with an annual expenditure of £T.33 million in respect of existing contracts (£T. 18 million to Swedish group, £T. 5 million to German group, and £T. 10 million for lines under Government construction). The sum of £T. 95 million just mentioned is to be devoted to the construction of the following railways:

|                               | Kilom. |
|-------------------------------|--------|
| Sivas-Erzincan-Erzurum .....  | 520    |
| Ada Bazar-Bolu-Bayındır ..... | 255    |
| Filios-Eregli .....           | 70     |

118. The activities in 1929 of the three main groups concerned with railway construction in Turkey have been the following. (a) Swedish group, which is constructing the Filios-Kizil Irmak and Fevzi Pasha-Arghana lines, has completed about 70 kilom. of line, starting from Filios, and 30 kilom. from Kizil Irmak in the direction of Çankiri, whilst about 150 kilom. have been completed from Fevzi Pasha in the direction of Malatia. It is expected that the second line will have been completed as far as Malatia, a distance of 243 kilom., towards the end of 1930. (b) The Julius Berger (German) group, which has undertaken the construction of the Kutahia-Balikessir and Ulukışla-Caesarea lines, has completed about 120 kilom. of the former line. The line is already open to traffic between Kutahia and Tavşanlı (51 kilom.) whilst over 50 kilom. have been completed at the Balikessir end of the line. As regards the Ulukışla-Caesarea Railway, very little constructional work has been carried out, but surveys and a certain amount of tunnelling have been undertaken, and it is expected that at least 100 kilom. of this line will have been constructed during the course of 1930. (c) The Turkish Government has undertaken the construction of the Samsun-Sivas and Angora-Caesarea-Sivas Railways. By the month of April this year, the line from Samsun was open to traffic as far as Zileh, a distance of 220 kilom., and by the end of the year a further 70 kilom. of line was laid down in the direction of Sivas. As regards the Angora-Caesarea-Sivas line, the section between Angora and Caesarea has been completed, and the line has now been carried to a point about 100 kilom. beyond Caesarea in the direction of Sivas.

119. The sum of £T. 45 million is to be devoted to the construction of ports at Mersina, Samsun and Ereğli, and of breakwaters at Trebizond, Amasra and İnebolu. Of this amount, £T. 17 million is earmarked for the port of Mersina, £T. 13 million for the port of Samsun, and £T. 10 million for the port of Ereğli, the remaining £T. 5 million is intended to cover the construction of the three breakwaters mentioned above.

120. The law of the 29<sup>th</sup> May also gave authority for the expenditure of £T. 100 million on irrigation works, particularly in the following districts:

- Brusa (Nilüfer and Susurluk Rivers).
- Smyrna (Menderes and Gediz Rivers).
- Adana and Tarsus (Seyhan and Cihan Rivers).
- Angora-Eskişehir (Sakaria River).
- Bafra-Kastamonu (Kizil Irmak).
- Samsun (Yeşil Irmak).
- Eastern Provinces (Euphrates and Dicle Rivers).
- Thrace (Maritza).

121. The budget for the current financial year made no provision, with the exception of £1,800,000 for the breakwaters at Ineboli and Amasra, for any of these projected undertakings. In the course of the parliamentary debate when the law of the 29<sup>th</sup> May was submitted to the Assembly, the Minister of Public Works expressed the hope that the construction of the Erzerum-Sivas Railway would be started in 1930, and he added that the construction of the other railway lines and of the ports would depend entirely on the credits available in future budgets.

122. Actually, the amount allotted in the budget of the financial year 1929-30 to the railways actually under construction amounts to only £1,28,200,000, a deficit of £1,4,800,000 on the statutory £1,33 million (see paragraph 117 above). This being the case, it is extremely doubtful whether money will be available for the further projected schemes. This doubt is accentuated by the fact that during the current financial year the Turkish Government will be obliged to implement its obligation in regard to the Public Debt. In previous budgets a sum was regularly set aside for the service of the Public Debt and, just as regularly, the sum in question was spent in other ways, but this financial transaction can no longer be accomplished.

123. Beginning with the financial year 1931-32, the budget of the Railways and Ports Department will be considerably lightened by the fact that the construction of the Caesarea-Sivas Railway, which has been undertaken by the Government itself, will have been completed. This will represent an annual reduction in expenditure of £1,5 million. Moreover, as from the same financial year, the annual sum to be paid to the Swedish group will decrease by £1,3 million. In 1932 the Government will have completed the Samsun-Sivas line, which will set free a further sum of £1,5 million. The construction of the Kutahia-Balikessir and Oulou Kishla-Caesarea lines, undertaken by the German group Julius Berger, will be finished in 1930 and 1931 respectively, but the cost of these lines will be spread over the three successive financial years.

124. Unless, therefore, the Government negotiates a foreign loan, it looks as though in a not very distant future it will be necessary drastically to curtail expenditure under many heads in order to meet obligations and maintain the administration. In spite of prevalent European aspirations, the oriental taste for expensive toys will assert itself. Much public money is squandered on municipal gardens, on statues, on the Ghazi's own new craze for developing a watering-place at Yalova and most of all, upon the creation of Angora itself. Enormous public buildings, out of proportion to the present needs and resources of the country, are rising in the new capital, while only 5 miles away, on the bare Anatolian plateau, the peasant is huddling with his chickens and children and wife in a tiny mud hovel.

125. Briefly, the position is as follows: The country at large is spending beyond its income. The consequence of this is acute depression. This can only be relieved by an improvement in agriculture, which is the primary source of the country's wealth. Roads, railways, harbours, irrigation, chemical manures, agricultural machinery, and expert advice and superintendence would all contribute to such an improvement. But these things demand capital and, while the Government has none to spare, the foreigner - and he has probably been right, so far - has with few exceptions not yet found the attitude of the administration or the commercial possibilities good enough for him to sink his money in the country. Conditions may gradually become more attractive for foreign capital. But, meanwhile, the country will be forced to subsist at a very low level. Provided that there be no political upheaval within or without and that climatic conditions prove fair, the prosperity of Turkey may gradually return. It would certainly be hastened by the judicious expenditure of foreign money either by the State or by private enterprise, but probably the Government is not yet disposed to provide adequate security.

#### *Trade.*

126. In a series of despatches upon the prospects offered by this market to British manufacturers in the next few years, the fear was expressed that the new customs tariff then under consideration would be framed in such a way as to affect the import trade of Turkey. The new tariff rates referred to above have been in force as from the 1<sup>st</sup> October last, and although it has not been possible as yet to reach any general conclusion as to the extent of the prejudice caused to British trade, it is inevitable that the heavily prohibitive tariffs now in force will give rise to the creation of new local industries and will cause a corresponding shrinkage in exports of certain manufactured articles from the United Kingdom and from other countries. Moreover, an active campaign is now being waged at the instigation of İsmet Pasha for "buying Turkish." The primary cause of this move was the marked depreciation of the Turkish lira during the month of December, which gave rise to apprehension, and the population is now being exhorted, as a national duty, to purchase native products wherever possible.

127. The most recent year for which Turkish customs returns have been completed is 1927. According to these returns, imports during the year under review amounted in value to £T. 211,398,184 (642,768 tons), as against exports to the value of £T. 158,420,998 (696,974 tons). The following table establishes a comparison with the corresponding returns for 1926:

| Year.      | Imports.     | Exports.     | Total<br>Overseas Trade. | Percentage of<br>Exports to Total<br>Trade. |
|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------------------|---|
|            | £T.          | £T.          | £T.                      |   |
| 1926       | 234,699,735  | 186,422,755  | 421,122,490              | 44.27                                       |
| 1927       | 211,398,184  | 158,420,998  | 369,819,182              | 42.83                                       |
| Difference | - 23,301,551 | - 28,001,757 | - 51,303,308             |   |

There was a fall in imports in 1927 of 11 per cent., as compared to the previous year, whilst the value of exports decreased by 19 per cent. The adverse trade balance increased from £T. 48,276,980 in 1926 to £T. 52,977,186 in 1927.

128. The shrinkage in the volume of Turkey's overseas trade during the past two or three years will be seen from the following table:

| Year | Imports          | Exports          | Total            | Adverse Trade<br>Balance | Percentage of<br>Exports to Total<br>Trade |
|------|------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------------|--|
|      | £T (in millions) | £T (in millions) | £T (in millions) | £T (in millions)         |  |
| 1923 | 144.7            | 84.6             | 229.3            | 60.1                     | 36.99                                      |
| 1924 | 193.6            | 158.7            | 352.1            | 34.8                     | 45.05                                      |
| 1925 | 241.6            | 192.4            | 434.0            | 49.2                     | 44.33                                      |
| 1926 | 234.7            | 186.4            | 421.1            | 48.3                     | 44.27                                      |
| 1927 | 211.4            | 158.4            | 369.8            | 53.0                     | 42.83                                      |

In 1927, as in previous years, the principal imports into Turkey were cotton goods, colonial produce, woollen and worsteds, metals and machinery.

With a few exceptions, there has been a general falling off in the value and volume of Turkey's imports during the past two years, and this falling off is most marked in the case of cotton goods, the imports of which, on the basis of value, declined by one-third between 1925 and 1927.

(2) *Treaty of Commerce between His Majesty's Government and the Turkish Government.*

129. The Commercial Convention attached to the Treaty of Lausanne, which was valid for a period of five years, expired on the 6<sup>th</sup> August last, and it was necessary, therefore, early in 1929 to enter into preliminary negotiations with the Turkish Government in order to ensure that a new commercial treaty, or at least a

provisional agreement, should replace the Lausanne Commercial Convention on its expiration.

130. A note was accordingly addressed to the Turkish Government on the 15<sup>th</sup> January, 1929, requesting the Government to state on what date it would be ready to undertake the negotiation of a new commercial treaty. A reply was received from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs on the 17<sup>th</sup> February, in which the Turkish Government declared its readiness to start negotiations for a new treaty at Angora and expressed the view that they should begin as soon as possible. On the 24<sup>th</sup> April the names of the Turkish delegation who were charged with the conduct of negotiations relative to new commercial treaties were communicated to all the foreign missions concerned, and on the 10<sup>th</sup> May a draft treaty of commerce and navigation between Great Britain and Turkey was transmitted to the Turkish Government. Our draft treaty was the first to be received from the Powers signatory to the Lausanne Commercial Convention.

131. The actual negotiations were opened on the 4<sup>th</sup> June, and on the 2<sup>nd</sup> July a draft treaty was initialled by Zekai Bey, head of the Turkish Delegation, and by His Majesty's Ambassador, *ad referendum* to the respective Governments. On the same date a *modus vivendi* between Great Britain and Turkey was signed granting reciprocal most-favoured-nation treatment in respect of commerce and navigation, pending the conclusion of the Treaty of Commerce.

132. On receipt of the observations of the Foreign Office and of the Board of Trade relative to the draft treaty, negotiations were re-opened with the Turkish delegation and have continued throughout the year. Agreement has now been reached on most points, but it still remains to ensure that adequate protection will be accorded to those British companies which, while registered in England, carry on all their business in Turkey.

### (3) Ottoman Public Debt.

133. The contract between the Turkish Government and the representatives of the bondholders of the Ottoman Public Debt, and the accord-annexe between the Government and the Debt council were ratified by the Grand National Assembly on the 1<sup>st</sup> December, 1928. The negotiations leading up to the settlement of this long outstanding question were begun in July 1925, but a final agreement was reached between the parties concerned only in June 1928 and, as stated above, the contract embodying this agreement was ratified some four months later. The actual basis of settlement is long and complicated, but its essential features are that the Turkish Government has accepted liability for 62.25 per cent. of the loans made to the former Ottoman Empire prior to the 17<sup>th</sup> October 1912, and for 76.54 per cent. of the loans made subsequent to that date.



134. For the service of the whole of the charges devolving upon Turkey in respect of the debt agreement, the Turkish Government is required to pay to the Debt Council the following fixed total annuities:

|      | Periods. | Durations.                         | Amounts.<br>£T. gold. |
|------|----------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| I.   | 7 years  | From June 1, 1929, to May 31, 1936 | 2,000,000             |
| II.  | 6 "      | " " 1, 1936, " " 31, 1942 ..       | 2,380,000             |
| III. | 3 "      | " " 1, 1942, " " 31, 1947 ..       | 2,780,000             |
| IV.  | 5 "      | " " 1, 1947, " " 31, 1952 ..       | 3,180,000             |
|      |          | " " 1, 1952, onwards               | 3,400,000             |

After that date, the total annuity will be reduced progressively according to the redemption table of the loans. The above annuities, shown in Turkish gold pounds, are payable in pounds sterling or in any other currency having the nearest value in gold.

135. To ensure the regular payment of the above annuities, the Turkish Government assigned the following revenues, for the duration of the contract, in an absolute and irrevocable manner, which assignment has priority over any other charge upon such revenues which likewise cannot be diverted to any other purpose in any circumstances:

(a) for the period between the 1<sup>st</sup> June, 1929, and the 1<sup>st</sup> June 1942, the gross revenues of the customs duties and consumption taxes collected at all the customs (*başmüdüriyet*) of Stamboul, Galata and Haydarpaşa.

(b) For the period subsequent to the 1<sup>st</sup> June 1942, the same gross revenues supplemented by the gross revenues of the customs duties and consumption taxes collected at all the customs of Samsun.

136. The Ottoman Bank was appointed by the Council of the Debt to supervise the yield of the guarantee, and the Turkish government undertook to pay the assigned revenues into the bank in the name of the Debt Council. In practice, however, the Turkish Government refused to hand over the yield of the assigned revenues, and insisted that payments should be made direct by the Ministry of Finance. The Debt Council protested against this attitude of the Turkish Government, and pointed out that one of the principal attractions of the agreement to the bondholders consisted in the provisions relating to the assigned revenues. These revenues served a dual rôle, constituting, firstly, a particular



source of revenue, and, secondly, a security for the regular payment of the annuity. The Turkish Government's method of payment had the effect of making this source of payment and this security operative only in the event of the sterling payment not being made on the first day of each month. The Turkish Government however, insisted on holding to its proposed method of payment. At the end of October the council suggested a compromise, but the Turkish reply has not yet been made known.

137. This disregard of a formal contract demonstrates the curious inability of the Turkish Government to profit by its endeavours to rehabilitate itself in the eyes of the financial world. Instead of enhancing the credit of the country by its acceptance of a heavy financial burden, the Turkish Government, by its non-observance through misguided motives of nationalism of a part of its contract, has only succeeded in convincing the rest of the world of its incurable bad faith in matters of finance, while at the same time no advantage whatever was gained by the Turkish Treasury as regards the incidence of payments.

#### (4) *City of Constantinople Municipal Loan of 1909.*

138. On the invitation of the Prefecture of Constantinople, negotiations were started towards the end of 1928 for a settlement of the Constantinople Municipal Loan of 1909. After five months of tedious negotiations, the representative of the Committee of Bondholders signed an agreement on the 29<sup>th</sup> April with the Prefect of Constantinople on the following basis:

- (1) Bondholders to forgo all arrears of interest up to the 14<sup>th</sup> September 1928, in consideration of the municipality abandoning in favour of the bondholders all claims to the Galata Bridge tolls held in suspense.
- (2) The bridge tolls to recommence to be paid to the bank (Banca di Roma) as from the 1<sup>st</sup> June 1929.

As from that date, the annuity for future interest (3½ per cent.) and sinking fund to be as follows:

£37,400 per annum for eight years.

£44,000 per annum for four years.

£50,600 per annum for four years.

£60,000 per annum until the complete extinction of the loan in 1962.

139. The agreement provided that the first payments on the bond should be made on the 15<sup>th</sup> September 1929, but no payment was, in fact, made on that date owing to the absence of the final formality required to make the agreement binding, i.e., its homologation by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal. This formality was

carried out on the 26<sup>th</sup> September, but on a variety of pretexts the Prefecture delayed the resumption of the service of the loan until the 31<sup>st</sup> October.

140. As in the case of debt settlement, the Turkish authorities, by their wilful disregard of their written bond, did their utmost to discount the good impression created by their recognition of their debts.

#### (5) *Commercial Relations with British Dominions*

##### *Canada*

141. There has been no very great exchange of goods between Canada and Turkey in recent years, but such as it has been shows a balance of exports strongly in Turkey's favour. In the past year, therefore, His Majesty's Government in Canada caused a proposal to be made to the Turkish Government for the conclusion of a commercial treaty. The Turkish Government has declared itself prepared to receive a Canadian delegation, but at the end of the year no such delegation had yet been appointed. As this treaty was expected to include clauses affecting the residence of each party's nationals in the territory of the other, some difficulty was to be foreseen in the strict regulations governing the immigration into Canada of Turks as being "Asiatics"; the Canadian Government have, however, allowed the Turkish Government to be informed of the regulations (without making specific mention of the word "Asiatics"), and consider that at the time of negotiations an opportunity will occur to study the question once more should it prove to be a stumbling-block.

142. The newly-appointed Canadian trade commissioner for Turkey, M. Henri Turcot, whose headquarters are at Athens, visited Constantinople in July but did not proceed to the capital. He was in close touch with the commercial secretariat of this Embassy throughout his visit.

##### *Irish Free State*

143. Pending the negotiations of a commercial treaty between the Irish Free State and Turkey, a commercial *modus vivendi* was signed on the 21<sup>st</sup> December between the two countries providing for most-favoured-nation treatment. Reservation, however, was made by the Irish Free State of the right to grant preferential treatment to other parts of the British Empire, while Turkey reserved the right to grant similar treatment to territories detached from her by the Treaty of Lausanne.

## V- NAVAL AFFAIRS.

*Material*

144. The "Yavuz" (ex-Göeben) was successfully undocked from the floating dock in October, after undergoing extensive repairs to her hull and boilers extending over a period of nearly two years. She is now carrying out trials and is expected to be ready for service early in 1930. It is intended thoroughly to recondition and reboiler the "Hamidiye" during 1930. No progress has yet been made in regard to the construction of the proposed naval arsenal in the Gulf of İzmit.

*New Construction.*

145. An order was placed in June with Italian shipbuilding yards for the construction of two destroyers, two submarines (one minelaying type) and three submarine chasers, and it is anticipated that these craft will be delivered in 1931. The cost is covered by a special grant voted in 1928, and no part of it is included in the current estimates.

*Estimates.*

146. The naval estimates for the financial year commencing the 1<sup>st</sup> June 1930, amount to £T. 6,186,354, this total being equal to that voted in the previous budget.

*Training and Exercises.*

147. Considerable activity has been shown during the past year in carrying out training afloat. An extended cruise was made in the summer by the cruisers "Mecidiye" and "Hamidiye" accompanied by two gunboats and two torpedo boats, to Turkish ports in the Mediterranean. The fleet also assisted in the military manoeuvres which were held during the autumn on the southern littoral of the Sea of Marmora. It is reported that the two submarines took a prominent part.

148. Admiral von Gager and the officers of the German unofficial naval mission left Constantinople on leave in October pending the completion in January 1930 of their contracts, which it is understood will not be renewed, except in the case of the gunnery specialist, who is being retained for the gun trials of the "Yavuz."

*Naval Visits.*

149. During the autumn cruise of the Mediterranean Fleet, visits were paid by the 3<sup>rd</sup> Cruiser Squadron to İassus Bay, and by the Commander-in-chief in "Queen Elizabeth" to Imbros and Constantinople, the aircraft-carrier "Courageous," with

attendant destroyers, joining the flagship at the latter port. Admiral Sir Frederick Field, accompanied by his Staff, paid a visit to Angora, and was received in audience by the President of the Republic. Amongst other ceremonies, the Admiral, with a number of his officers, made a tour of inspection of the naval training college at Halki.

Aerial displays were given by the aircraft attached to "Courageous," and opportunity was taken to embark a number of Turkish naval, military and air force officers in "Courageous" to witness a special demonstration of her aeroplanes flying from and landing on her deck. Large parties of naval cadets, naval and military officers took advantage of the facilities offered by the Commander-in-chief to inspect our ships.

150. Other warships to visit Constantinople during the year included the German cruiser "Emden," the "Raleigh" of the United States navy, the French cruiser "Edgar Quinet," and the Swedish training ship "Oscar II." A small Soviet squadron, consisting of two destroyers and two submarines, also spent some days in the Bosphorus in September. Heralded by considerable propaganda, a flotilla of thirty-four Italian seaplanes arrived in June, accompanied by an escorting squadron of four destroyers, and after a short stay proceeded to Black Sea ports. They again spent a few days here on the return voyage to Italy. Signor Balbo, the Italian under-secretary for Air, took part in the cruise.

#### VI. MILITARY AFFAIRS, &c.

151. Relations between the General Staff and the military attaché have continued to improve during the period under review, and they are now established on a very cordial footing.

##### *Manœuvres.*

152. Manœuvres were held in the autumn, in which the troops of three army corps took part, in co-operation with the fleet and the air force. The operations represented (1) an attack on Turkey by a Power whose army landed near Panderma and advanced on Brusa; and (2) a landing on the Izmit Peninsula, to ensure the freedom of the Bosphorus, by a force which had attacked Turkey by land through Eastern Thrace and had captured Constantinople. The operations were intended primarily to test the principles of the Turkish training manuals and their application by the various commanders. They are believed to have been entirely successful from the point of view of the higher command.

##### *Strength and Organisation.*

153. A slight increase has taken place in the peace strength of the Turkish army, owing to the reorganisation of the artillery. A number of new artillery

regiments have been created, the number of artillery regiments per division being doubled.

154. The movement of troops from east to west which had started in 1928 continued during the early part of 1929, and the troops now seem to have settled down in their new stations. The result of the moves has been a more rational distribution of the Turkish army. Each army corps now consists of two divisions, and has a well-defined task.

#### *Equipment.*

155. Progress has been made on the technical side. Radio-telegraphy and radio-telephony have received attention. Motor-lorry trials and motor-cycle trials have been held, and a Carden-Lloyd light tank was sent out by Messrs. Armstrong Vickers for demonstration. It is known that the Ariel (British) motor cycle gave the best results, and an order was placed for machines of this make. Orders have also been placed for anti-aircraft guns and predictors and mountain howitzers.

### VII-AVIATION.

#### *General*

156. A mission headed by General Kenan Pasha, of the Turkish General Staff, was sent to the United Kingdom to attend the Air Force Pageant and visit the International Aircraft Exhibition, and ten Turkish officers were sent to study aviation and to be attached to Royal Air Force schools and units. This has had an excellent effect on relations with the Turkish army, which is appreciating the excellence of the tuition which these officers are receiving.

157. The visit of His Majesty's fleet to Turkey in October, and the demonstrations given by H.M.S. "Courageous" were also of considerable value in confirming the reputation of British aviation, not only with the experts, who were able to appreciate the difficulty of the feats performed by our airmen, but with the man in the street. The flying display given over Constantinople on the 18<sup>th</sup> October 1929, impressed the entire population, nothing approaching this display having been done by the much advertised squadrons of the Italian Air Force which had visited Constantinople a little earlier in the year.

158. During the year four Smolik machines were delivered, and these have proved satisfactory. The thirty Bréguets ordered in 1928 were delivered, but the machines were not accepted on the grounds that they did not comply with the specification. This question is still under discussion. Thirty-four pilot's machine guns were ordered from Messrs. Armstrong Vickers during the year, presumably to fit to these thirty-four machines.

*Budget.*

159. There was no important variation in the budget as compared with that for 1928-29. The expenditure on land forces was slightly reduced, and that on the gendarmerie was correspondingly increased.

## VIII-BRITISH CLAIMS.

160. It is possible to record some small measure of achievement in the past year in the settlement of British claims. First and foremost is the settlement of the controversy regarding the Constantinople Municipal Loan, which is also discussed in the commercial section of this report. The long-standing difficulties of the Constantinople Telephone Company have at last been settled by the negotiation of an agreement allowing the company to increase its tariffs and to have foreigners on its staff up to a maximum of 5 per cent. and twenty-one persons. The company on its side has undertaken to establish automatic telephones within six years. Again, the Smyrna-Aidin Railway Company has settled a long-standing claim against the Turkish Government relative to the refund of customs duties that had been exacted in respect of the armistice period, while an agreement has been reached, without recourse to arbitration as contemplated in section XII of the Lausanne Treaty, between Messrs. Armstrong Vickers and The Turkish Government relative to mutual outstanding claims derived from contracts entered into before the war. Finally, though His Majesty's Government and the Turkish Government continue to differ as to the legal status of the guardians of the war cemeteries at Gallipoli, nothing has occurred in the past year to disturb the practical harmony of the situation on the spot.

161. On the other hand, no progress has been made with the question of pre-war claims, on which this Embassy has been pressing the Turkish Government for several years past. No satisfaction has been received, or is likely to be received, in regard to the claim of the Bank of England in respect of the Ipranossian affair. Shipping agents have been subjected to the same difficulties as in previous years, though it is hoped that these may be eliminated when the new commercial treaty is concluded and brought into force. It proved impossible to induce the Turkish Government to recognise the right of Palestine to enjoy the benefit of the Lausanne Commercial Convention, and in the present negotiations for a commercial treaty a special condition is being negotiated to cover Palestine. The Constantinople Quay Company (a Franco-British concern) has for many years suffered from obstruction at the hands of the Turkish authorities, and this obstruction still continues unabated, the Turkish Government refusing to sanction any increase in its tariff while expecting it at the same time to go forward with a large building programme. Finally, the Turkish Government have still failed to pass the long-promised law to provide for the enforcement of judgements delivered by



the Mixed Arbitral Tribunals, and until such legislation is passed, judgements rendered against the Turkish Government or Turkish subjects remain unexecuted. On the whole, then, it may be said that, while certain progress has been achieved in current questions, such progress is not sufficient to warrant any exaggerated idea of the goodwill or efficiency of the present Turkish Administration.

## IX. MISCELLANEOUS.

### *Commission for the Assessment of Damage suffered in Turkey.*

162. In July the commission decided to distribute a final dividend of 12 \_ per cent. to successful claimants, thus making 52 \_ per cent. in all. This decision was received with dismay by the British claimants, who immediately telegraphed to the Secretary of State claiming that the difference should be made good to them out of the surplus German assets in the hands of the Public Trustee. A representative delegation of the British Chamber of Commerce in Turkey proceeded to London to submit this claim in person to the proper authorities, and explain the grounds upon which it was based. The claim was carefully studied by His Majesty's Government, but was not held to be justified.

### *Drug Traffic.*

163. The Minister of Health, Dr. Refik Bey, has shown commendable interest in stamping out illicit traffic in drugs in Turkey, and has always welcomed any information given him by this Embassy. In the summer he took a tour of America and Europe, and, during his stay in London, had a useful discussion with Sir Malcolm DeVigne at the Home Office. The general upshot of the situation seems to be that, while the Turkish Government are anxious to prevent illicit traffic, they are suspicious of passing a Bill adhering to the Geneva Convention, owing to the entirely erroneous fear that the production of opium in Turkey would be thereby restricted.

164. Early in the year the Oriental Products Company, whose nefarious activities had caused some anxiety in 1928, practically collapsed. Unfortunately, their Japanese managers later succeeded in raising new capital in Japan, and the factory was restarted. However, the Minister of Health is well aware of its activities. Another factory sprang up in the course of the year, under the wing of the Société industrielle de Chimie organique of Paris. The local branch was established at Kuskuncuk on the Bosphorus and known as the "Société anonyme de Produits chimiques et organiques."

### *Straits Commission.*

165. In connexion with the visit of the flotilla of Italian seaplanes to Constantinople and Black Sea ports, the commission considered that a technical



breach of the Straits Convention had been committed by the Italian Government in providing for the simultaneous presence in the Black Sea of a number of military aircraft in excess of that presumed to be possessed by the strongest naval Power amongst the riverain Powers of that Sea, and consequently drew the attention of the League of Nations to the irregularity.

166. During the month of October Greek shipping passing through the Bosphorus in transit was subjected to considerable interference by the local sanitary authorities, vessels being held up for several ours, in some cases as much as twenty-four hours, for trivial causes in connexion with their papers. The influences at work were undoubtedly purely political and inspired from Angora, but as these hindrances to free passage constitute an infraction of the Straits Convention they serve, when carried out on such a large scale as exemplified above, as a regrettable reminder that the Turkish Government is still disinclined to give full effect to the "Freedom of the Straits" envisaged by the Powers concerned in the framing of the Treaty of Lausanne. The Straits Commission addressed a protest to the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the matter and, through his intercession, this particular form of interference with Greek shipping ceased after being in operation nearly six weeks.

*F.O. 371/14578/E.729.*

#### No. 4

*S.C. Wyatt, Conseil de la Dette Publique Répartie de l'ancien Empire Ottoman,  
to Sir Frederick Butler*

*Confidential.*

PARIS, the 8<sup>th</sup> February 1930

Dear Butler,

With further reference to the subject of my recent letters and particularly to that of the 5<sup>th</sup> inst., the following information, which comes to me from a good source, throws some light on the mystery, if it is true.

Mr. Karakhan had discussed with the Ghazi and with Ismet Pasha the Turkish economic and financial problems and had strongly advised them to adopt a five years Economic Programme, to do without foreign financial support for the State Bank, and to stop payment of their external debts.

It is possible that M. Karakhan even went so far as to suggest that if Turkey required help she should turn to Russia rather than elsewhere. His influence was very considerable, and without yet having made a definite decision to break off all negotiations with the Banque Ottomane group and to stop payment to external creditors, the Ghazi and Ismet Pasha are attracted by the idea.

Nevertheless, they had no intention of making this policy public at present, for as I pointed out, there was no necessity to do so until May or June next.

Mahmoud Bey, however, heard of all this from the Ghazi and determined to endeavour to kill the Karakhan influence by premature exposure, choosing the "Times" for the purpose.

The next day, Ismet Pasha demanded of the National Assembly to raise Mahmoud Bey's immunity as Deputy, upon which, Mahmoud Bey, now thoroughly alarmed at the consequences of his indiscretion, published a *démenti*.

All this sounds to me quite possible, though I offer it with a certain reserve.

I telegraphed to the Turkish Minister of Finance on Thursday inviting the Government to publish immediately an official *démenti* of the "Times" telegrams but so far no reply.

I expect no reply, or at the best, an evasive one, in which case we may know nothing definite until June next.

Yours sincerely,

S.C. WYATT

F.O. 371/14568/E. 737.

## No. 5

*Sir H. Rumbold to Mr. A. Henderson*

*Confidential.*

BERLIN, February 12, 1930

No. 112.

(Received February 17, 1930)

Sir,

With reference to your despatch No. 72 of the 20<sup>th</sup> January enclosing a copy of a despatch from Sir George Clerk regarding the recent visit of Count Volpi to Turkey in connexion with the proposed establishment of a Turkish State Bank, I have the honour to submit the following observations:

2. Little practical progress seems to have been made towards the founding of a Turkish Central Bank. After consulting Dr. Vissering, the well-known Dutch authority on banking and currency, about two years ago, Turkey turned to Germany, but failed also here to obtain any practical assistance. This was a disappointment, as the Deutsche Bank, in particular, have a traditional interest in Turkey. It is probable that the German Banks found the sums which would be necessary to restore Turkish finances entirely beyond their means.

3. As a question of prestige, Dr. Schacht would undoubtedly like to play a leading part in the re-establishment of the finances of one of the smaller countries. After the example already given by Great Britain in Austria, Hungary, Estonia, &c. by America in Poland, and by France in Roumania, it is probable that Dr. Schacht would have seen in Turkey just the opportunity which he sought for asserting his importance.

4. The Deutsche Bank, although they do not regard Turkish finances as a wholly bad business - indeed one of the directors recently expressed optimism on the subject to the financial adviser at this Embassy - are not at present actively interested. They are, perhaps, inclined to turn to a somewhat smaller task, and there have long been minor negotiations on foot between Germany and Portugal with a view to setting Portuguese finances in order. Mr. Rowe-Dutton has heard Dr. Schacht suggest the possibility of Germany paying up Portuguese reparation annuities in a lump sum, and German hopes in connexion with Portuguese colonies in Africa are well known.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

HORACE RUMBOLD

*F.O. 371/14568/E. 864.*

No. 6

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

*No. 64.*

CONSTANTINOPLE, February 20, 1930

*(Received February 24, 1930)*

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith some notes by Mr. Robertts, first secretary at this Embassy, of a recent visit to the new central building of the Turkish Ojak organisation at Angora, with some account of the history and aims of the Ojaks.

2. It would be difficult to overestimate the part which the Ojaks have played, are playing and will probably continue to play in the remodelling of Turkey on a national basis. The wisdom of the principle recorded in the concluding sentence of the memorandum is self-evident, and it is to the patient, inconspicuous labours of the Ojaks that must be left the task of consolidating the Ghazi's work and

stimulating throughout the length and breadth of the country the national spirit which alone can ensure that, whatever modifications may occur in the political constellation, Turkey will not turn back from the plough to which she has set her hand. In Hamdullah Suphi Bey's account, some allowance must of course, be made for patriotic zeal, and for a man's natural enthusiasm for his own handiwork, but even so the residue of solid achievement and future potentialities is considerable.

3. Particular interest attaches to Hamdullah Suphi's remarks about the relations of the Ojaks with similar organisations in the Turkish communities outside Turkey. The caution which the Ojaks have imposed on themselves is all the more easily comprehensible, when it is remembered that the great majority of these communities lie within the frontiers of Russia, to whom Turkey cannot afford to give any ground for complaints of interference in her internal affairs. But it would, I feel sure, be a mistake to conclude that Turkey has disinterested herself in the fate of these communities, or that they will cease to take their inspiration from her. The scattered German communities of Eastern Europe do not lose their sense of cultural unity with the Fatherland simply because their *Volksbünde* are independent bodies whose scope is limited by political frontiers, and are not affiliated to any central organisation in Germany. The Turkish attitude towards their kindred communities is characterised by a careful restraint, but I have frequently had occasion to notice the sympathy of which they are nevertheless the object. The little affair of the view of Samarkand, reported by Mr. Roberts, is a case in point. A recent publication called "Türk Yılı" (the "Turkish Year-book") contained, in addition to a considerable section devoted to the Turkish Ojaks, a detailed review of the Turkish communities outside Turkey, and the Turks have just been translating the manual on Pan-Turanianism published by the Intelligence Division of the Admiralty War Staff, a work in which the Ghazi himself has taken considerable interest.

4. There is one other point on which I should like to touch briefly. That is the propagation of popular education. The co-operation of the Ojaks in this field is all the more valuable as the budget of the Ministry of Education is notoriously quite inadequate, and but slow progress is being made with the provision of facilities for elementary instruction. The recent campaign for the dissemination of knowledge of the new alphabet, by means of the so-called "national schools," can have had no more than a superficial effect; it is estimated that, in consequence, some 50 per cent. of the population may now be considered literate, but the grasp of the great majority of these on their new-found learning must be precarious in the extreme. (Even to-day the senior officials of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs draft in the Arabic character, and give their drafts to the younger men to be transcribed into the new letters.) One of the younger Deputies, a business man of progressive outlook, recently confided to Mr. Roberts that the great problem to be solved was to stimulate and maintain the peasant the desire to read. Even before the

introduction of the new alphabet, very many army recruits learnt to read and write during their military service, but when they returned to their villages their knowledge atrophied and they relapsed into illiteracy. The Minister of Education had conceived the idea of publishing special magazines for the consumption of the peasants, couched in language which they could understand and dealing with subjects of interest to them. But an even more satisfactory scheme would be, so this Deputy thought, to organise travelling centres of agricultural instruction, which would follow up their practical demonstrations by distributing pamphlets dealing in simple language with the same subjects. Such a plan would appeal to the practical sense of the hard-headed peasant, and would serve both to improve the level of agriculture and to lay a substantial foundation for literacy. The scheme is interesting and attractive, but the budget of the Department of Agriculture (in this pre-eminently agricultural country there is no separate Ministry of Agriculture) is as sadly starved as that of the Ministry of Education, and I fear that some time must elapse before any scheme so eminently practical has any chance of adoption.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/272, p.25-26, No.28.*

*Enclosure in No. 6*

*Notes by Mr. Roberts respecting the Ojaks*

ANGORA, February 14, 1930

Mr. Clarke, Mr. Ravensdale and I went yesterday, by appointment with Hamdullah Suphi Bey, to see the new building of the central organisation of the Turkish Ojaks. Hamdullah Suphi Bey was, as usual, most friendly, and not only personally showed us over, but afterwards gave us a short sketch of the history, aims and present extent and activities of the organisation, which, I think, is not without interest, especially as there is practically no published material on the subject available in any language but Turkish.

The building stands in a commanding position on the lower slopes of the rock, which is crowned by the old citadel, and the ground, having been artificially terraced up, falls away steeply and allows a fine view over the plain of Angora. The new museum, a more modest erection, occupies a similar and adjoining position, and between the two an equestrian statue of the Ghazi looks across to the distant hills which close the prospect. The Ojak building is conceived in neo-Turkish style, by a Turkish architect, Hikmet Bey, and the decorative work has been carried out by craftsmen from Constantinople, Caesarea and elsewhere. The total cost has been £T. 1,200,000. The most striking feature is the theatre, which will

accommodate 640 persons. Hamdullah Suphi Bey was particular to explain that, in the decorative scheme, Turkish secular motives have been utilised for the first time (i.e., the decorative use of the Arabic characters, in their various forms, has been eliminated in favour of floral designs, &c.). The stage will hold up to forty performers, and so is suitable for operettas as well as for ordinary plays. Though small, it is provided with the most modern equipment, including in particular, a very elaborate lighting installation, capable of producing every sort of effect. There is a presidential box, and several foyers with provision for refreshments, &c. The formal inauguration is to take place on the 23<sup>rd</sup> April, the tenth anniversary of the first meeting of the Grand National Assembly at Ankara.

In the entrance hall, at the foot of the principal stairway, the wall on each side bears a marble tablet. That on the right is inscribed with the concluding passage of the Ghazi's six-day speech, in which he addressed an appeal to Turkish youth of coming generations to defend Turkish independence and the Turkish Republic, even if it need be against overwhelming odds. On the left tablet will be engraved the names of those who first pointed out to Turkey the path towards the West, such as the reformers Reshit Pasha, and Mithat Pasha, and Namik Kemal, the leader of the literary revival in the nineteenth century. The entrance-porch carries a terrace where theatre-goers will, in summer, be able to enjoy the evening air; here, two niches are destined for statues of Namik Kemal and Ziya Gökalp, the apostle of pan-Turanianism. It is somewhat surprising that no place seems to have been found in the Ojak building for the otherwise ubiquitous statue of the Ghazi. We saw, however, a large and not very flattering portrait in oils by a Turkish woman artist, which will, no doubt, be placed in a prominent position. We were, unfortunately, unable to see the big historic view of Samarkand, presented by Comrade Karakhan to the Ghazi and by him passed on to the Ojaks, as the key of the room where it stood was not available; but Hamdullah Suphi Bey, who is by no means a Russophile, told us with malicious zest that it was a somewhat peculiar present, as it represented the Russian occupation of the town, and depicted in the foreground the panic-stricken inhabitants mournfully gathered round the tomb of Timur.

Of the other public rooms the most significant is the so-called Turkish room, which has a not unsuccessful polychrome decoration copied from a room at Erzerum, and contains at one end what, to my surprise, seemed to be a sort of *mihrap*, but which turned out to be an open fireplace with a gigantic canopy, the symbol of the Ojak organisation. There is a reading-room, well supplied with papers in a number of languages, and a series of classrooms, in one of which we saw English instruction being given (the classes are held three times a week). There are several bedrooms and bathrooms for the accommodation of distinguished foreign visitors, who come for purposes of study or to give addresses or performances. There are studios, where Turkish secular decorative art is being



copied and recorded; there is a rapidly-growing collection of photographs of scenes and objects of interest in all parts of the country; there is a library, with ample shell accommodation, and there is a printing press and book bindery where the Ojak's publications are prepared. There are the offices of the general committee and those of the "scientific" committee (i.e., that which is concerned with the publications, &c.). There is even a laundry. But Hamdullah Suphi Bey regretted that a gymnasium had not been provided; this defect would be remedied when the building of the local Angora Ojak is erected, which is the next item on his programme.

When we had seen everything he had to show, finding that our interest was not exhausted, but rather stimulated, Hamdullah Suphi Bey took us to his office, and there briefly outlined for our benefit the story of the growth of the Ojak movement from the most modest beginnings to its present imposing proportions. He spoke with the enthusiasm of a man whose heart is in his life's work, and who feels that he has been privileged to make no insignificant contribution to the regeneration of his country and the development of national consciousness and self-respect. We were constantly struck by the mingled affection and respect which he evidently inspired in those whom we met in the building, and, although like all the leaders of the new Turkey a comparatively young man, with his magnificent mane of white hair and dignified charm of manner, he seemed the presiding genius of the place.

The Ojak movement was started in 1912 by a group of students of the medical faculty in Constantinople. The Ottoman Empire was rapidly crumbling away in consequence of the centrifugal tendencies of the people of which it was composed, tendencies generated by the national movements which had developed in the course of the preceding hundred years. Why should the Turks alone remain untouched by this vital spark? Why should not they, too, have their national regeneration, to enable them to withstand the forces which menaced them on all sides? Such was the idea of these young students who, fearing to assemble elsewhere on account of the strict regulations of the faculty, met among the tombs of the great Scutari cemetery to launch a movement destined to impart new life to a country which seemed already in its death agony. The first premises of the society were two miserable, bare rooms, furnished with a rough table, a couple or so plain chairs and two newspapers, in the Divan Yolu, the avenue which climbs up past the old Sublime Porte in Stambul and is now renamed the Ankara Caddesi. A few months after its foundation, Hamdullah Suphi, then a young man of 24, was invited to assume the direction of its activities, since when he has been continuously its president. The interest created was such that the Ojak soon found this accommodation quite inadequate for their rapidly increasing membership, and they were obliged to move into larger premises in the Beyazit quarter, an old Turkish house capable of accommodating some 300 persons. This in its turn became insufficient before long, and the organisation found itself in a position to



acquire more suitable accommodation, including a theatre. Here, at a performance of a play by Halide Edip Hanım, for the first time Turkish women appeared on the stage and sat with the men in the auditorium. The crowd of those desiring admittance was so overwhelming that it was only with the utmost difficulty that the doors could be closed.

The Ojak movement had its difficulties, however. Its three cardinal aims were: a) to emancipate the Turkish woman, b) to stimulate a national spirit which would give Turkey the strength to affront the problems of modern life; and c) to break away from the deadening traditions of the Islamic world and turn decisively into the path of Western progress. It is not surprising that this programme caused uneasiness in various quarters; the *Jucas* condemned it as revolutionary, while the Young Turks instinctively feared a potential menace to their predominance; and the Palace thought that the encouragement of Turkish nationalism would only stir up the other elements in the Empire to redouble their efforts for its overthrow. Nevertheless, from an early stage in its history the movement received financial assistance, even though on a modest scale, from the Government of the day, and continued to do so with the solitary exception of the Administration of Damat Ferit Pasha. The yearly subvention now amounts to £T. 75,000, which, though comparing favourably with the past, is yet a very modest item in the Ojak's present annual budget of £T. 1,500,000. The balance of the revenue is drawn from donations and subscriptions, and there are also numerous gifts of houses, books, &c. The Ojaks to-day own real property to the value of £T. 6 million. The annual budget of the central organisation is £T. 286,000, and there are 256 branches with 32,000 members. The central committee is overwhelmed with applications for permission to open new branches but, even though the applicants urge that they can command the necessary educated organisers, premises, &c., the majority of the applications have to be refused, if the movement is not to develop so rapidly that the central organisation would lose all control.

Similar movements are springing up among the Turkish (or Tartar) communities outside Turkey. From Chinese Turkestan came an application on behalf of twenty-eight branches desiring affiliation, and similar applications have been received from Azerbaijan and Bulgaria. But they have all been refused, as the parent body does not wish to accept responsibility without the possibility of control, and realises that what in Turkey is an unpolitical movement would acquire a dangerous political character if extended beyond its borders.

Here are some of the methods adopted by the Ojaks in the pursuit of their aims. Elementary education is furthered by the construction of schools in country districts, wherever there is a group of villages sufficiently close together for one school to be able to serve three or four villages. At the Ojak centres there are gratuitous courses of instruction in various subjects, including French, English and

German. Concerts and theatrical performances are organised, and athletics are encouraged. The services of doctors are provided and medical supplies distributed to surrounding villages. Thus, nineteen villages in the neighbourhood of Angora receive advantages of this nature. Lectures are given, a monthly magazine ("Turk Yurdu") is published and a series of standard authors is now being brought out at a price which brings the volumes within the reach of nearly all. In short, nothing is neglected in following out the principle enunciated by Hamidullah Suphi Bey, that the foundation for national strength to be stable must be broad-based upon a general diffusion of national culture, and that no structure can be lasting that is dependent solely on the life of a single man, however great.

P. M. ROBERTS

*F.O. 424/272, p. 26-29, No. 28-1.*

## No. 7

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 7.  
(Telegraphic)

ANGORA, February 25, 1930  
(Received February 25, 1930)

Your telegram No. 15.

Anamullah arrived at Constantinople yesterday, where he was met by Afghan Ambassador. He came on to Angora yesterday evening, and was met and embraced by President of the Republic at the station of his model farm just outside the town. House where he stayed during private part of previous visit seems to have been put at his disposal.

In a statement to the press Anamullah said he was tired of doing nothing in Rome, and had come to Turkey to renew happy memories of his last visit and see once more the great Ghazi and his Turkish friends. Possibly he would bring his family to live in Constantinople. Asked whether he thought of returning to Afghanistan, the ex-King said he was ready to return there to serve his country in any capacity, private or otherwise, but a mere invitation would not be enough. Afghanistan must first accept the reforms initiated by him.

(Repeated to India, No. 1.)

*F.O. 424/272, p. 29, No. 30.*

## No. 8

*Mr. Edmonds to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 101.

ANGORA, March 26, 1930

(Received March 31, 1930)

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs and Mme Walko are to-day concluding the visit to Angora foreshadowed in despatch No.34 of the 10<sup>th</sup> ultimo, of which His Majesty's Minister at Budapest was so good as to send a copy to this Embassy.

2. During the three days and two nights which they have spent here, M. and Mme Walko have received a full measure of the customary official hospitality. There have been lunches, teas, dinners and balls. As will be seen from the enclosed newspaper cuttings,\* Dr. Tevfik Rüşti and M. Walko said nothing particular in their speeches. Both dwell upon the traditional kinship between their two countries and M. Walko referred to the trials through which both nations alike had recently passed. In the usual exchange of compliments M. Walko perhaps went rather far in speaking of the enlightened nature of Turkish administration at a moment when severe economic depression is, no doubt, partly attributable to incorrigible maladministration.

3. M. Walko had a two-hours' interview with the Gazi, an event which was to be expected. There seems to be no reason to suppose that the visit is other than a courtesy visit paid in return for Tevfik Rüşti Bey's visit to Budapest in 1928.

4. I have sent a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Budapest.

I have, &amp;c.

W.S. EDMONDS

*F.O. 424/272, p.91, No.49.*

\* Gazete kesitleri arşivde yoktur - BNS.

## No. 9

*Mr. Edmonds to Mr. Henderson*

No 113.  
Confidential

ANGORA, April 8, 1930  
(Received April 14, 1930)

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that on the 6<sup>th</sup> instant Ghulam Jeilani Khan presented his letters of recall as Afghan Ambassador and his successor, Ghulam Nebi Khan, presented his credentials to the President of the Republic.

2. Each of the speeches exchanged contained flattering references to the head of the other State, and expressed a correct interest in the progress achieved in the other country. But while the Afghan Ambassador spoke of Turkey as "a friend and brother," the Ghazi reciprocated only with the term "friend."

I have, &c.

W.S. EDMONDS

F.O. 371/14576/E. 1931  
F.O. 424/272, p.97, No.55.

## No.10

*Mr. Edmonds to Mr. Henderson*

No.116.  
Confidential

ANGORA, April 9, 1930  
(Received April 14, 1930)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that on the 3<sup>rd</sup> April the grand National Assembly passed a law introducing modifications in the powers and constitution of municipalities in Turkey.

2. Amongst other provisions the new municipal law contains a reorganised constitution of the municipality of Constantinople. The Governor of Constantinople will henceforth be the prefect of the municipality, and the municipal and vilayet councils at Constantinople will become one body of seventy-two members. Officials of the municipality will be considered as State officials. Municipal districts will be known as sub-prefectures. The principle by which the Prefects of Angora and Constantinople and the mayors of certain other places are to be appointed by the Government brought Agaoglu Ahmet, the quondam pan-Islamist, to his feet in the Chamber. His denunciation of this infringement of the liberties of a sovereign people so much impressed a lady in the presidential box that she hastened to Çankaya reporting treason. The offending Deputy was

instantly summoned to explain himself, but was able to convince the Ghazi of his undiminished devotion.

3. The most interesting and significant provision of the new law is however, that which grants women the right to take part in the election of members of municipal councils. The provisions of the new law will be set forth on posters displayed throughout the country on the 1<sup>st</sup> May, and women will exercise their right of vote for the first time in elections which are to take place during May. This significant development in the process of emancipating the women of Turkey is, there is good reason to believe, conceived as but one rung in a ladder which will in due course lead, when women have become in some measure accustomed to their new duties and privileges, to the right of being elected to municipal councils and to the national franchise. Thus does Turkey seek to progress towards the full realisation of the democratic and republican ideal which is proclaimed as her lodestar.

4. Simultaneously with their acquiring the right to take part in municipal elections, women have been admitted for the first time to full membership of the People's party. This concession does not imply any change in the statutes of that organisation, since the right of membership has in principle always belonged to any Turkish citizen, but in practice the party has hitherto confined its membership to men. The wife of the inspector of the People's party at Constantinople has been enrolled as the first woman member there, and the enrolment of others was to begin on the 7<sup>th</sup> April.

5. On the very day on which the municipal law was approved by the Grand National Assembly, an address was given in the theatre of the central Türk Ocak building at Angora by a certain Afet Hanım, a teacher in the National Music School here, in the presence of the Ghazi, the President of the Grand National Assembly, the Prime Minister and other Ministers and Deputies, besides a large gathering of the general public. Afet Hanım, in her address, which derives considerable interest from the fact that it is currently believed to have been inspired, if not actually composed, by the Ghazi himself, reviewed the progress and implications of democracy in foreign countries and in Turkey itself. The speaker declared that, once the idea of national sovereignty was admitted, there could be no possible reason for withholding the right of the vote on the grounds of a difference of sex, for the principle of national sovereignty allowed of no such distinctions. Any contrary notion savoured of the "clerical spirit" so unhappily exemplified by St Paul, and was not a logical consequence of a democratic régime.

6. When one remembers that elections, both municipal and national, are a mere farce, it is a little difficult to take seriously this first step towards the political emancipation of women. Nevertheless, the care with which the ground has been prepared for some months past by articles in the press and the interest which the

Ghazi is evidently taking in the whole matter show that, however farcical elections may at present be, the municipal enfranchisement of women is a deliberate step seriously taken. The idea, no doubt, is ultimately to associate women with men in the government of the country in the most approved Western manner. The enormous social advance made by the Turkish woman in the last ten years suggests that this idea is not entirely fantastic. It is probable that the Turkish woman will soon be fit to share worthily whatever rights are allowed to the Turkish male elector.

I have, &c.

W.S. EDMONDS

*F.O. 371/14579/E. 1934*

*F.O. 424/272, p. 98-99, No. 57.*

### No. 11

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 141.

CONSTANTINOPLE, April 30, 1930

*Confidential*

*(Received May 5, 1930)*

Sir,

Amongst the anniversaries which fall on the 23<sup>rd</sup> April that of the opening of the Grand National Assembly at Angora in 1920 is the most familiar in Turkey, and has this year been marked not only by the celebration of Children's Day, the institution of which last year formed the subject of my despatch No. 191 of the 30<sup>th</sup> April, 1929, but also by the formal inauguration of the new central building of the Turkish Ojaks, of which I had the honour to give some account in my despatch No. 64 of the 20<sup>th</sup> February last.

2. The Children's Day celebrations were on a less elaborate scale than last year, the principal feature being a procession of some 600 children, which was, conveyed in a fleet of taxis and motor buses to Cankaya, accompanied by representatives of the Ministry of Education and the Child Welfare League, and preceded by a band playing the Children's March. After paying its respects in front of the Ghazi's residence, the procession visited in turn Fevzi Pasha (the Chief of the General Staff), Ismet Pasha, Kazim Pasha (the President of the Assembly), the prefect of the town and the Children's Institute. Their hosts talked to many of the children, sweetmeats were dispensed and the inevitable photographs taken. The procession carried a series of banners, inscribed with devices which might be said to embody the "minimum demands" of the children's movement, amongst them the following: "No Scolding!" "Mother's Milk!" "Daily Baths!" "Family Doctors!" "More Playgrounds!" "Save us from Dirt!" while two of the youngest agitators bore aloft the legends "Respect your Children!" and "One Baby, one Bed!"

3. The inauguration of the Ojak building took place in the afternoon, when Kazım Pasha performed the ceremony of cutting a cord and Hamdullah Suphi Bey delivered an address in the new theatre to an audience which included numerous Cabinet Ministers and Deputies and the greater part of the diplomatic body. Strangely enough, the prominent box allotted to the Soviet Ambassador, as our dean, remained empty throughout, while the absence of both the Ghazi and İsmet Pasha was also somewhat surprising. Both had, I learn, been prominent at the performances given in the theatre about a fortnight previously by the Constantinople Municipal Company, a fact which rendered their absence on the present occasion all the more noticeable. (The repertory included, I am told, a distinctly creditable performance of "Hamlet," staged in the most modern fashion, which attracted a crowded house, but failed to move the audience beyond moderate enthusiasm, till suddenly, when the King met his end, their pent-up emotions found vent in a wild outburst of applause, led by Hamdullah Suphi Bey himself, who was sitting in Mr. Edmond's box).

4. Hamdullah Suphi Bey's speech which was frequently interrupted by applause, began, naturally enough, with a sketch of the origins, aims and activities of the Ojak movement, with which I need not trouble you, as it covered much the same ground as the enclosure to my despatch No.64. He then reviewed the development of Angora as the capital of the new Turkey, which, with its fertility in ideas and action, he contrasted with the régime of the Sultans and their ceaseless demand for the blood and treasure of their subjects. They had even obliterated the traces of the beneficent activities of their predecessors the Seljuks, who, working for the good of their people, had erected schools, mosques and caravanserais. The richest and most renowned monuments of the East, they formed in their simplicity and piety a striking contrast to the pretentious palaces of the Bosphorus.

5. After alluding to the part destined to be played in the new Turkey by emancipated Turkish womanhood, Hamdullah Suphi Bey recalled how the Ojaks had from the start striven to infuse a love of Western music and to inculcate a taste for Latin culture and Greek sculpture, and had revealed to the youth of Turkey the Greek and Latin classics and the pages of Shakespeare, Milton and Byron. They had always regarded the Turkish nation as belonging to the European family; even when recently she found herself combating the Western Powers, Turkey was defending a characteristically Western ideal, that of national independence. The speaker then proceeded to review the youth movements of the world, mentioning those of Soviet Russia, Italy and Czechoslovakia. He dwelt on the patriotic character of fascism, which, as a national ideal seeking to build up a structure of political and social concord, in place of the old division of governed and governing classes, was not without points of contact with the Ojak movement, which would resolutely confront any danger threatening the principles of the Turkish revolution. Hamdullah Suphi Bey also paid a generous tribute to the work of the



Young Men's Christian Association ("Yavmıscı"), whose origin and activities he described at some length, and made a passing reference to freemasonry as voluntary organisation of considerable significance. After recalling the essentially practical aims of the Ojaks, notwithstanding their national character, the speaker declared in conclusion that the doors of the new central building would always be open to men of learning and industry both from the East and from the West; it would form a centre of international intellectual activity in Angora, and would be instrumental in making the new Turkey better known throughout the world. Turkish youth must both learn and teach; and Hamdullah Suphi Bey invited it to reveal itself and make its name known from the platform of the Ojak building.

6. After the conclusion of the address those present were entertained by Hamdullah Suphi Bey and his wife to refreshments in the Turkish room and an adjoining room furnished with a suite of almost monumental bad taste and magnificence supplied by Maple, no doubt many years since. Amongst the assembled guests was Resit Saffet Bey, a prominent Deputy and president of the Turkish Touring Club, which is deserving of the highest praise for the unobtrusive work it is doing for the gradual removal of the various restrictions and regulations which have hitherto weighed so hardly on the foreigner in Turkey and militated against throwing open the country for touring. Resit Saffet Bey was good enough to give me a pamphlet which he had just had printed giving a brief sketch of the Ojak movement, and of which I have the honour to enclose a copy, in case it may be found of interest.

7. A Deputy whose connexion with the Ojak movement is of long standing remarked to a member of my staff with some amusement that the Ojaks were causing uneasiness in "White" Russian circles, which had found vent in an article in Kerenski's paper "Dni." The attitude of the refugee "Whites" as such is naturally a matter of comparative insignificance, but on subjects of this nature all Russians are, I believe, apt to think alike, irrespective of their political colouring. I am therefore not unprepared to believe that, incredible as it may seem, the absence of my Soviet colleague from the proceedings may have been intentional.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/14579/E. 2271

F.O. 424/272, p. 112-113, No. 64.

## No. 12

W.S. Edmonds to Mr. A. Henderson

No. 185.

ANGORA, 2<sup>nd</sup> June, 1930  
(Received 11<sup>th</sup> June, 1930)

Sir,

Under cover of your despatch No. 462 of the 8<sup>th</sup> July 1929, you were good enough to transmit a copy of a despatch from His Majesty's Minister at Bucharest reporting the decision of the Roumanian Government to recall, on grounds of economy, a number of ministers from their posts abroad leaving *chargés d'affaires* in their places. Amongst these ministers was Monsieur Filality, the Minister in Turkey. His Majesty's Minister at Vienna reported, however, in his despatch no. 25 of the 25<sup>th</sup> January last that Monsieur Charles Minlencu had been appointed to succeed Monsieur Filality, but a subsequent despatch, no. 65 of the 10<sup>th</sup> February, conveyed an intimation that this appointment had been cancelled.

2. The somewhat prolonged vacancy of the post of minister has not been appreciated here, and not so very long ago the Minister for Foreign Affairs, at a party at the Polish Legation, made no attempt to conceal the irritation created by the lack of interest which Roumania appeared to display in her relations with Turkey. His Excellency used most undiplomatic language, which created some scandal amongst his hearers, and made similar if somewhat less forcible strictures upon the like indifference of the Yugoslav Government, who have not yet replaced the last minister, Monsieur Tadić.

3. The omission has now been rectified, so far as Roumania is concerned, by the appointment as Minister of Monsieur Carp, who was withdrawn from the Hague under the scheme for economy reported by His Majesty's Minister at Bucharest in his despatch quoted above. Monsieur Carp presented his credentials to the President of the Republic on the 29<sup>th</sup> May on which occasion speeches on the customary lines were exchanged. I have the honour to transmit enclosed an extract from the local press reporting their tenor. From the interest which the Roumanian *chargé d'affaires* has been taking in the question of Soviet warships entering the Black Sea, I would surmise that this will be one of Monsieur Carp's immediate concerns.

4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Bucharest.

I have, &amp;c.

W. S. EDMONDS

F.O. 371/14576/E.3060.

## Enclosure in No. 12.

*La Présentation des Lettres de Créance de M. Carp, Ministre de Roumanie*

M. Carp, le nouvel Ambassadeur de Roumanie, a été reçu par le Président de la République auquel il a présenté ses lettres de créance.

L'Ambassadeur a prononcé le discours suivant:

Excellence,

J'ai l'honneur de vous présenter les lettres de créance par lesquelles mon Auguste Souverain m'accrédite auprès de vous comme ministre plénipotentiaire et ambassadeur. Je tiens à saisir l'occasion de vous exprimer la grande joie que j'éprouve d'avoir été chargé de resserrer davantage les rapports excellents existant entre mon pays et la République de Turquie.

Sous l'administration intelligente et ferme de Votre Excellence et de votre gouvernement, la République de Turquie offre un exemple digne d'être enregistré, dans les domaines politique, social et économique. Je souhaite avec une sincérité parfaite son avance, à pas accélérés, vers une meilleure existence et un avenir heureux.

Je vous prie d'être certain que je me consacrerai à accomplir parfaitement mes devoirs, et je sollicite à ce sujet le concours précieux aussi bien de Votre Excellence que du gouvernement de la République.

En réponse, le Président de la République a prononcé l'allocution suivante:

Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,

Je reçois avec satisfaction, les lettres de créance par lesquelles S.M. le roi de Roumanie vous accrédite auprès de moi comme premier ministre plénipotentiaire et ambassadeur. Les paroles que vous venez de prononcer en m'assurant que vous consacrerez vos efforts à consolider davantage les bons rapports existant entre la Turquie et votre pays m'ont beaucoup satisfait. Je suis aussi très touché des vœux amicaux que vous avez émis pour le progrès de mon pays à grands pas, vers le bien-être et un avenir heureux. Je souhaite, à mon tour, que les efforts, digne d'être enregistrés et qui sont manifestés par la nation roumaine, dans tous les domaines, assurent à votre pays un avenir plein de bien-être et de bonheur.

Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, vous pouvez être parfaitement certain que vous pourrez tant de mon concours personnel que des facilités de mon gouvernement et dans l'exercice de vos hautes fonctions."

*F.O.371/14576/E.3060.*

## No. 13

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.*

No. 231.

CONSTANTINOPLE, June 17, 1930

*(Received June 23, 1930)*

Sir,

There was concluded at Angora on the 12<sup>th</sup> instant an action for libel, which has thrown interesting light on Turkish public life and on the Turkish judicial system. That the result has been to vindicate in the courts the honour of the Government protagonist is not surprising. It is however, disquieting to think that, if even a small proportion of the charges made had some solid foundation - and there are many who believe that they had much - Turkish justice is still far from having reached the high standard with which it is credited by the republic's ardent reformers.

2. Briefly, the action was one brought by Mahmut Esat Bey, the Minister of Justice, against Haydar Rifat Bey, a leading Constantinople barrister. The grounds of the accusation against the latter were that he wrote a series of letters to the President of the Republic, denouncing the Minister for having abused his official position by intervening in a number of law suits in such a manner as to bring Turkish justice into degradation and disrepute. The letters alleged that Mahmut Esat Bey had displayed partiality and had interfered with the proper course of the law, using his influence to intimidate the judges in one case, summarily ordering a stay of execution in another, giving early promotion to a judge who had carried out his wishes in a third, wherein he had a direct interest, and in other cases having the charges transferred from the competent local court to courts in other parts of the country which were more likely to be amenable to the Minister's wishes. Further interest was imparted to the action by the allegation of Haydar Rifat Bey that the Minister had allowed the Constantinople court to be influenced in a case *sub judice* by a note which the Soviet Ambassador had addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs - an interference which Haydar Rifat, with his eye on the public, characterised as an improper survival of the Capitulations.

3. The action was opened on the 25<sup>th</sup> April and, with frequent adjournments, has gone on ever since. Though much of the time of the court has been devoted to technicalities, public interest in the case was unabated to the finish. On the one hand, it was felt that the much vaunted new Turkish justice was on its trial, and that judgement for the defendant would deal it a mortal blow. On the other hand, Mahmut Esat Bey has many critics: it has been freely asserted that Haydar Rifat's letters were not despatched without the connivance of very highly placed personalities at Angora, and his downfall would have been welcomed by public opinion.

4. However strong or numerous Haydar Rifat may have considered his supporters at the moment of the despatch of the letters, they melted away when the letters were sent by the Ghazi to Ismet Pasha, and from Ismet Pasha to the Minister of Justice, and when the libel action was instituted by the latter. Once it had been decided by the court, after prolonged debate, that the President of the Republic was an official and that the calumnies were actionable, and the semi-official organ had published an article attacking the defendant, the result was certain. It was clear that, after some hesitation, the time had not come to sacrifice Mahmut Esat bey as Hisan Bey, the ex-Minister of Marine, was sacrificed two years ago. A large number of witnesses cited by Haydar Rifat professed to know nothing of events, which were doubtless quite familiar to them, and the right of cross-questioning was refused to the defendant and his counsel, who, it may be remarked, made several bad tactical moves in the course of the action. The Minister of Justice, on the other hand, was permitted a speech, in which he raked up disagreeable events in the past life of the defendant and his witnesses, recalled his own efforts for the defence of the father-land at a critical time, and ended, not unexpectedly, on a strain of appeal to the patriotic instincts of the court.

5. In the event, Haydar Rifat Bey was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and to a fine of 470 liras plus costs. The victory of Mahmut Esat Bey is, on paper, complete. But no intelligent person in Turkey will dispute the fact that there are grave irregularities in Turkish justice to-day, and it would be optimistic to believe that Government circles are entirely ignorant of them. Further, the recent trial is the third of its kind within two years - Hisan and Ali Cenani Beys were both found guilty of peculation while in office - and has not failed to cast a lurid light on Turkish public life as it is to-day.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/272, p.139, No.87.*

No. 14

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No.242.

CONSTANTINOPLE, June 23, 1930  
(Received June 30, 1930)

Sir,

The session of the Turkish Assembly which closed on the 17<sup>th</sup> instant has not been remarkable for any great legislative achievement. During the winter and spring the sittings were rarely of more than a few minutes' duration, for work was

confined to the committees, and only in the last month has there been a fever of legislative activity. During that period eleven commercial treaties with foreign States were approved, a law was passed for the foundation of a State Bank and, finally, at its last meeting, the Chamber voted the law for the ratification of the Turco-Greek agreement which, it is hoped, will pave the way for the development of normal and, perhaps, even friendly relations between the two countries.

2. Having disposed of the Turco-Greek treaty, the Minister for Foreign Affairs made a short and quite featureless speech on the foreign political situation. In foreign affairs, Tefik Rıstı Bey remarked, all Turkey's efforts were directed towards the furtherance of the cause of peace. Turkey had accepted every invitation addressed to her to be present at a peace congress and she attached two conditions to every so-called peace formula - equal treatment for all and nothing directed against anyone, for political groupings only led to disaster. Turkey is seeking to develop herself in peace, but, possibly having in mind her omission from the proposed European Federation, "Turkey will not recognise any decision taken at a meeting or by a body on which she is not represented."

3. The parliamentary session was then closed by a speech from İsmet pasha, who dealt exclusively with the economic situation. He passed in review the measures taken by the Government to meet a financial crisis of much gravity, congratulated the country on the loyalty with which it had accepted restrictions and on the success which had attended them, emphasised the importance of the foreign debt, as regards which he could not, in view of the negotiations in progress, say anything at the moment, and appealed for a continuation of the campaign of private and public economy which, with the aid of the laws passed during the session, would very soon place the country on a sound economic foundation.

4. It would, I think, be mistaken to assume that İsmet Pasha's optimism is absolutely groundless. He certainly believes what he says, and impartial observers of events here in the last year must see grounds for hope. When the harvest failed last year and the entire economic fabric seemed doomed to imminent collapse, no ray of hope could be seen. Ministers and Deputies alike showed their complete ignorance of financial and economic laws. All sorts of wild schemes were envisaged, which could only have led to greater disaster. But the Prime Minister kept his head. He sought and obtained extended powers from the Chamber and in practice, if not in theory, governed without it. Having emerged triumphant from earlier crisis, he faced the new one with courage, showed a willingness to treat, albeit high-handedly, with the holders of Turkey's foreign debt, imposed rigid economy on Government Departments who were playing havoc with financial transactions of all kinds, and curbed the zeal of unbalanced Deputies, who fathered the wildest of extravagant schemes. It would be premature to say to-day that he has succeeded. He has, however, averted the threatened collapse. The economic situation of the



Government is certainly better than a few months ago seemed possible, and prospects for the coming harvest are good. The end, it is true, is not yet in sight, for Turkey has again, for all practical purposes, defaulted, and salvation can probably only come through a settlement with the bondholders, the contracting of a foreign loan and a complete reorganisation of her financial system. Nevertheless, it is interesting, and a measure of the success so far achieved, that a leading banker in this town remarked a few days ago that, if the existing restrictions which have gone far towards creating a trade balance, are maintained much longer, and if the production of the country is developed, the danger will be not so much a depreciation but an appreciation of Turkish currency which might, when stabilisation takes place on a sound basis, tempt the Turkish Government, as it did that of Italy, to stabilise at an unduly high level and so create fresh difficulties in the future. That moment is, however, not yet, for, though the Turkish lira has now been kept steady for some months, few would anticipate anything but its depreciation on an open market to-day. Moreover, the fact that to-day there is something approaching a trade balance is largely due to excessive importation before the introduction of the new tariff in October 1929.

5. I have, in the preceding paragraph, given the credit for the partial success already achieved to Ismet Pasha, for to him it almost certainly belongs. When the crisis arose, his critics were numerous and there were more than rumours that his day had passed. The Ghazi was believed to be on the point of abandoning his chief and his best lieutenant. Fortunately he did not, and to-day the position of Ismet Pasha appears as secure as it has ever been. His services to the country are only second to those of the Ghazi. But his health is indifferent and has suffered from the strain of the past year when so much of the burden has fallen on his own shoulders. He will, if it is humanly possible, see his country over the major financial obstacles which lie ahead, but in the nature of things, another must, at no very distant date, be called upon to take the helm.

6. The fact that the parliamentary elections will take place in the summer of 1931 makes it probable that important changes will take place before then. Whether the ultimate succession will go to Fethi Bey, the Ambassador in Paris and a Francophile, to Sükrü Kaya Bey, the Minister of the Interior, or to another, it is, however, too early to estimate. Suffice it to say that the Minister of the Interior, unlike most of his colleagues, has considerably strengthened his position during the past year. He occupies a high place in the counsels of the Ghazi and is believed to exercise increasing influence in Cabinet councils. He has, moreover, had wide administrative experience and possesses a broadmindedness which is still somewhat rare at Angora. To him is due the fact that within a year, two members of my staff have been enabled to visit and to travel freely in the forbidden zone east of the Euphrates, while he is also responsible for the simplification within the last month of the conditions governing the residence and travel of foreigners in



Turkey. He would not be an ideal Prime Minister and could not be expected to have the authority or to exercise the influence of Ismet Pasha, but he is to-day regarded as the latter's probable successor, and the choice might, among a lot of rather indifferent likely candidates at Angora, be not altogether a bad one.

I have, &c

GEORGE R. CLERK

FO 424/272, p.143-144, No 93

No. 15

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson

No.287.

CONSTANTINOPLE, July 24, 1930

(Received July 28, 1930)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that I took the occasion of a flying visit from the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the President of the Republic at Yakova to have an interview with his Excellency before his return to the capital to-night.

2. Our conversation was mainly taken up with current business, and the only points of any importance, apart from the treatment of ex-King Amanullah and Teyfik Rustu's alleged irritation at Iraq's support of the Kurdish movement, as to which I have already telegraphed to you, raised by his Excellency were the following:

3. Teyfik Rustu said that, now that the Kurdish question was to all intents and purposes liquidated, all that remained to be done being the mopping up of Kurds on Mount Ararat, a slow but inevitable process, he intended to insist on the Persians either showing practical proof of their ability to prevent anything of the sort occurring again, or if, as was highly probable, that was out of their power, then agreeing to a rectification of the Mount Ararat frontier in favour of Turkey so that she could ensure order and tranquillity in that region.

4. His Excellency also showed great eagerness to know what was the real situation in Egypt and what were the intentions of His Majesty's Government. I said that I could tell him no more than he himself had seen in the press, for that was all that I myself knew, but I could assure him that His Majesty's Government intended to maintain complete neutrality in the internal affairs of Egypt, and that any action on their part would be solely directed to fulfilling their international responsibilities, including the protection of foreign lives and property, if the Egyptian Government failed in their duty in this respect. Teyfik Rustu asked me

whether this meant all foreigners, and I replied that I could not imagine His Excellency's Government making any distinction between the various nationalities. He seemed relieved to hear this, as he had some apprehension as to the possible safety of his nationals.

5. Lastly, Tevfik Rüstü came out as definitely opposed to Pan-Europa. In his view, though the implications in the scheme were possibly unconscious, it amounted to an attempt to form a United States of Europe directed against America on the one hand, and Russia and Turkey on the other, a policy to which he could never agree. Sooner than that he would prefer to see Italy and Russia brought closer together with the help of Turkey. Nor could he imagine how Great Britain could fit herself into Pan-Europa. As his Excellency's time was very limited and my American colleague was already waiting to see him, he was unable to develop his interesting thesis further, but it is clear that M. Briand's proposal will get little support from Angora.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/273, p. 22-23, No. 29.*

# No. 16

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 288.

CONSTANTINOPLE, July 29, 1930  
(Received August 5, 1930)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that, according to the press, Memduh Sevket Bey, Turkish Ambassador at Teluran, has resigned nominally on grounds of ill-health.

2. Memduh Sevket Bey is to be succeeded by Husrev Bey, who since 1926 has represented Turkey at Sofia and until a few days ago was generally regarded as Ambassador designate to Warsaw. He is some forty-five years of age, tall and good-looking, though inclined to be ultra-European. a soldier by profession, he was military attaché at Athens in 1914, and, during the war, served with the Caucasus army.

3. Husrev Bey was one of the earliest and closest friends of Mustafa Kemal during the national struggle, was a member of Bekir Sami Bey's mission to London in 1921, and in 1924 was rewarded by being made Minister at Budapest, whence he went later to Sofia. He has throughout maintained his friendship with the Gazi and is generally regarded as the most capable and successful of Angora's diplomats.

4. There seems little doubt that the removal of Memduh Sevket Bey is a direct result of recent events on the Turco-Persian frontier, though it is possible that Sir R. Clive may be able to throw some light on this point. The choice of Husrev Bey as his successor seems to show that the Turkish Government attaches considerable importance to its representation at Tehran in the immediate future and there is every reason to believe that the primary object of his mission will be to endeavour to secure for Turkey a substantial modification of the 1913 frontier.

5. In receiving Husrev Bey at Yalova, the President of the Republic is reported as having said to him that his mission would be to solidify Turco-Persian collaboration on the basis of existing friendship. The Turks wished to see their Persian brothers living in a strong country where security was complete. He was sure that Riza Shah shared these sentiments and that His Majesty would join in scotching frontier incidents. The task entrusted to him, the

Gazi concluded, was a very delicate one and for that reason he had chosen one of his earliest collaborators and one in whom he had the fullest confidence. He would so inform the Shah in Husrev Bey's letter of credence and he had no doubt that the mission would achieve complete success.

6. I have sent a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Tehran.

I have, &c

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/273, p.25, No.33.*

No. 17

*Mr. Waterlow to Mr. A. Henderson*

*No.260.*

*Confidential*

SOFIA, August 7, 1930

(Received August 11, 1930)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 245 of the 21<sup>st</sup> July I have the honour to transmit herewith an article from the semi-official "Bulgarie," commenting on a statement - the text on which is given in the article - recently made by Mustafa Kemal to a party of Turkish journalists who were about to visit Bulgaria at the invitation of the Bulgarian Journalists' Association. The Turkish journalists met their Bulgarian colleagues at Varna, where they were joined by a party of Polish journalists. Both parties are now being welcomed in the capital.

2. The "Bulgarie" is not alone in welcoming the friendly tone of Mustafa Kemal's utterance, springing as it does from personal knowledge of Bulgaria when

he was military attaché here in 1912. The official "Democratichesky Zgornor," after expressing the warmest gratitude, assures him and the Turkish nation that in the heart of the Bulgarian people there is to-day no place for any sentiment towards Turkey other than that of friendship. The "Zname" (M. Malinoff's paper) concludes a highly appreciative article with the remark that never before has the head of a State spoken of Bulgaria in such a tone of cordiality and sympathy; and a recent article in the "Mir" by M. Antonoff, the local correspondent of the "Times," comments in warm terms on the Gazi's utterance. Translation of this article is enclosed, together with a note on the researches in Turkish archives mentioned therein.

3. I am sending copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

S. P. WATERLOW

F.O. 371/14562/E.4328.

F.O. 424/273, p.33, No. 49.

No. 18

*Mr. Helm to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 305.

*Confidential*

CONSTANTINOPLE, August 7, 1930

(Received August 11, 1930)

Sir,

His Majesty's Minister in Sofia was good enough to forward to this post a copy of his despatch No. 245 of the 21<sup>st</sup> July, containing an article from the "Mir" contrasting the position of the Turkish community in Bulgaria with the harsh treatment which was alleged to be meted out to Bulgarians in Turkey.

2. A few days after the receipt of this article the Turkish press was filled with accounts of after-dinner declarations made by the Gazi to Hakki Tarik Bey, a Deputy who was then about to head a delegation of the Turkish Press Association to Bulgaria on the invitation of their colleagues of the Bulgarian press. These declarations were to the effect that, since his Excellency's stay in Sofia as military attaché to the Turkish Legation in 1912, his memories of Bulgaria and the Bulgarians had been of a most friendly nature. The Turks and Bulgarians were originally of the same Central-Asian origin and this blood brotherhood could form the basis of close friendship between the two peoples, a friendship which had lately been shown to be a really sincere one. It was possible that differences of a

confessional or linguistic nature had in the past caused conflicts between Turks and Bulgarians, but now in 1930 no one any longer attached importance to these differences. In conclusion, his Excellency directed Hakkı Tarık Bey to interpret his sentiments to his Bulgarian hosts, contact with whom could not fail to convince him that his Excellency's affection for the Bulgarians was not misplaced.

3. The Turkish delegation have since proceeded to Bulgaria, and articles from the Bulgarian press have been reproduced freely here showing that a warm welcome had been given in Bulgaria to the Gazi's appreciative words.

4. The facts concerning the position of the Bulgarians in Turkey accord somewhat ill with the President's professions of friendship and devotion. A member of the staff of this Embassy has been given a colleague in the Bulgarian Legation some account of the position, which tallies closely with the article contained in Mr. Waterlow's despatch under reference. It would appear that the Turks have indeed so far failed to implement the undertakings given in the Protocol of the Turco-Bulgarian Treaty of Friendship of the 18<sup>th</sup> October, 1925. The properties of Bulgarians who fled during the campaign of independence in Anatolia have never been restored; minority rights such as the opening of schools and liberty to practise their religion have been denied to them, and in general the details quoted in the article above mentioned are correct. It appears, moreover, that the Bulgarians, in face of the Turkish refusal to execute the provisions of the treaty, suggested to the Turkish Government that an interpretation of these provisions should be obtained. Nothing, however, but evasive answers had so far been received, and recommendations made to the Bulgarian Government by their representative here that reprisals should be taken have, it was stated confidentially, hitherto been rejected. As regards the disabilities in respect of religion and education to which the Bulgarians in Turkey are subject, they, no doubt, derive to some extent from the general policy adopted by the Turkish Government towards her Christian minorities. The total of 2,000 Bulgars is, indeed, small in comparison with the total Christian population of Turkey, and it is possible that, with the development of friendly relations with Greece, the position of Bulgarians as well as of Greeks in Turkey may be gradually improved.

5. I have sent a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Sofia.

I have, &c.

ALEX. K. HELM

*F.O. 371/14562/E.4325.*

*F.O. 424/273, p. 32-33, No. 48.*

## No. 19

*Mr. Helm to A. Henderson*

No. 69.

*(Telegraphic) R.*

CONSTANTINOPLE, August 10, 1930

*(Received August 10, 1930)*

Fethi Bey, the Turkish Ambassador at Paris, who is now here, has resigned in order to found a new political party. Latter will be known as the Free or Liberal Republican party, and already has amongst its members some of the Ghazi's closest friends.

Programme has not yet been completed, but it will include suppression of monopolies, freedom of the press and of trade, welcome of and reasonable treatment for foreign capital and support for idea of Balkan League. General foreign policy likely to be more Western in sympathy than that of existing party.

Development has been rapid and follows publication of Müller and Scharff reports on financial situation. It is not unexpected in view of increasing divergencies of opinion between the Ghazi and Ismet.

Organisation of party, of which the Turkish Ambassador in London is mentioned as a possible, but I think improbable, secretary-general, will necessarily take some time, and as Fethi Bey is not yet a Deputy it for the moment seems unlikely that a Cabinet crisis will arise before meeting of the Assembly.

News of the formation of the new party has been received with extreme satisfaction by business and financial circles here, and the price of the Unified Loan rose 13 points on the bourse yesterday.

Despatch by bag.

*F.O. 424/273, p. 29, No. 43.*

## No. 20

*Mr. Helm to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 70.

*(Telegraphic). P.*

ISTANBUL, August 10, 1930

*(Received August 10, 1930)*

My earlier telegram of to-day's date.

I understand that the formation of the new party has as its object the elimination of Ismet Pasha with most of his Ministers and the grant to Fethi Bey of complete freedom to choose his principal collaborators, and also that the new party has the Gazi's entire approval. Some forty or fifty of the members of the

People's party will probably be instructed to join the new party at once and others will follow when the time is ripe. This information comes from a very reliable source. The whole business has, of course, been arranged, both İsmet Pasha and the Gazi having been present at a meeting at Yalova on the 7<sup>th</sup> August, when the final decision was reached.

*F.O.424/273, p. 30, No.44.*

## No. 21

*Mr. Helm to Mr. Henderson*

No.312

CONSTANTINOPLE, August 12, 1930  
(Received August 18, 1930)

Sir,

Except to those in close touch with the Turkish political situation, the news that Fethi Bey, Turkish Ambassador in Paris for the past five years, had, as I had the honour to report in my telegram No.69 of the 10<sup>th</sup> instant, resigned his post in order to create a new political party came as a complete surprise. It was announced in novel fashion on the 8<sup>th</sup> August through an evening paper, which stated briefly that the President of the Republic, imbued as he was by democratic ideals, had decided that an Opposition party based on lay and republican ideas would be for the general good, and that such a party, whose policy would be more liberal than that of the present Government, would at once be constituted under the leadership of Fethi Bey.

2. This report was seized upon with avidity by the entire press, and journalists and Deputies not in the know flocked to Yalova, where the Gazi, İsmet Pasha and Fethi Bey were all in residence; while such a strong and steady stream in interviews, opinions, letters and so-called programmes has appeared in the last few days that the observer has been left somewhat aghast. In the political life of few countries in the world to-day can it be possible for an ambassador to write to the head of the State a letter severely criticising nearly every action of the Government, for the head of the State to reply approving the measures which the ambassador proposes to take, and then for him to invite the latter and the Prime Minister to stay with him at his country house, where the three agree to found a new political party to oppose another of which one member of the house-party (the host himself) is President and a second (İsmet Pasha) is vice-president. Yet this is what actually happened. It may be worth while completing the picture by adding that the decisive meeting took place in an anteroom during a ball, and that on the following day, when İsmet Pasha left for Angora, he granted an interview in which he wished success to the new party, was photographed with Fethi Bey, and then was seen off by the latter at Yalova pier.



3. It has for some time been known, and His Majesty's Ambassador has frequently reported, that all was not well with the present Government. Fethi Bey and Sukru Kaya Bey, the present Minister of the Interior, were regarded as Ismet Pasha's most likely successors. Matters apparently came to a head rather more than a month ago when Fethi Bey addressed to the Gazi, from Paris the letter, of which a copy is enclosed herein, roundly criticising the financial, economic and general policy of the Government, which had brought the country to such a parlous state. But, while blaming the Government, Fethi Bey ascribed most of the blame to the single party system, which silenced criticism and killed initiative. He announced his intention of forming a new party which, while completely lay and republican, would, in the field of finance, economy, internal and external affairs, pursue a different policy from that of the People's party. The reply of the Gazi, of which a copy is also enclosed, dealt largely with his own position and with his functions, pointed out that, as President of the Republic, he was above party and closed by welcoming Fethi Bey's proposal. The Gazi at the same time assured his friend and former chief that the latter could count on his complete impartiality between the two parties.

4. The two letters, and especially that of the President of the Republic, were obviously prepared solely for publication, for they by no means represent the true state of affairs. They will, however, as a Turkish friend told me, doubtless secure their purpose, which is to give an air of reality to proceedings which have been largely artificial. At any rate, Fethi Bey duly arrived here some three weeks ago and at once joined the Gazi at Yalova, whither Ismet Pasha proceeded from Angora. The Gazi had, it appears, been unaware of the true state of affairs and of the general discontent with the Administration. A trial of strength arose as I suggested in my despatch No.298 of the 6<sup>th</sup> instant, over the Government's Kurdish policy, but Fethi Bey concentrated his attack on the Ministers of Finance and Justice and on their policies. True to his principles, for my informant, who is in very close touch with the whole People's party organisation, tells me his force and discipline are such that he cannot tolerate an opposing vote in the Assembly. Ismet pasha vigorously defended his two colleagues. In support of his case Fethi Bey produced the Schacht and Müller financial report, which the Gazi had never properly studied, and the decision was then taken to publish them. As Ismet Pasha remained obdurate, the Gazi apparently became convinced that a change of Government was necessary, and, with the double object of sparing Ismet Pasha's feelings and of leaving Fethi Bey free from the majority of the present Ministers, for whom he has little use, the very complicated scheme of founding a new party took shape. But, though Ismet Pasha was fully aware of all that was going on, it is most improbable that he will calmly surrender, for he announced on his return to Angora that he would defend himself and his policy in the Assembly, and the nation would be left to judge.

5. The scales are, however, heavily weighted against him, although the Gazi is President of İsmet Pasha's party and though he may talk of impartiality, no informed person doubts that the President's sympathies are with Fethi Bey. Some of his closest friends are publicly collaborating with the latter and will doubtless officially join the party as soon as it is legally constituted. A Deputy friend tells me that Deputies will do exactly as they are told, for the Gazi's control over them is complete. He himself confessed that he was only waiting to learn whether he should join the new party now or later.

6. Pending the publication of the new party's programme it would be premature to offer any comment on what, according to the press, will be its principal features. The name "Liberal Republican" may be taken as giving its general tendency, and Fethi Bey has already announced that it will include reorganisation of the judicial and financial systems, freedom of the press and of commerce, modification of the unrealisable railway construction programme, and one degree elections.

7. Nor do I think that it is yet the moment to endeavour to forecast future developments in any detail. I am informed that a change of Government is unlikely before the holding of the elections next year, but consider it improbable that, unless even now the Gazi changes his mind and decides not to throw İsmet Pasha overboard, the latter can survive the late autumn. His health is bad, the Treasury is empty and the Government is unpopular. All indications point to the fact that, no matter how unwillingly, the Gazi will, for the time being at least, part with his chief lieutenant.

8. Recent events prove that, if the Gazi has provided the ideas, the force of character and stern control of İsmet Pasha have been necessary to bring Turkey safely through the last six years. But the strain appears to have become too great and the control must be loosened before the breaking point is reached. A period of letting off steam is desirable for the Turkish body politic. In such circumstances Fethi Bey will, when the time comes, probably make a good Prime Minister both from the point of view of Turkey and of foreign interests. The change will be popular and the rising of restrictions will be welcomed. But, whatever happens, Fethi Bey will have a hard row to hoe, and some of the Prime Minister's followers will certainly stand by their chief. İsmet Pasha may be wanted again, for it would be rash to say that Turkey is ready for democratic government, that the Gazi would tolerate all that the words imply, or that a prolonged period of really liberal Government would be for the ultimate good of the country.

I have, &c.

ALEX K. HELM

## Enclosure in No. 21

*Extract from the "République" of August 12, 1930*

## FETHİ BEY TO MUSTAPHA KEMAL.

Aux cours des cinq ans et demi que j'ai passés à Paris, j'ai suivi et étudié de l'extérieur les événements de mon pays. Pendant les courtes périodes que je passais chaque année en congé dans ma patrie, je n'ai pas manqué d'approfondir cette étude par les impressions que me laissaient mes observations.

Je prie votre Excellence de me permettre de lui exposer l'opinion et la conviction que je me suis formées.

Il règne un malaise qui frappe à première vue et qu'on sent partout, et qui est la crise que traverse notre situation économique et financière. En effet la baisse survenue dans toutes les parties du monde dans le prix des matières premières a amené un arrêt général de l'activité économique de tous les pays.

Mais cette gêne économique, que l'on sent dans notre pays plus grande que dans les autres, est, j'en suis convaincu, provoquée aussi bien par ces causes générales que par la politique économique et financière poursuivie par le Gouvernement depuis cinq ans.

Le gouvernement a entrepris des dépenses disproportionnées avec notre capacité financière et improductives pour la génération actuelle et, pour assurer ces dépenses, a créé des impôts dépassant la capacité de la population. En raison du fait que notre industrie et nos produits n'ont pas été suffisamment protégés, nos exportations ont baissé d'année en année. Une grande partie des sacrifices consentis par le Gouvernement ont été consacrés à des intérêts fort lourdes et l'autre partie aux importations étrangères et, conséquemment, à l'achat des devises. Des mesures d'ordre essentiel n'ont pas été prises pour déterminer la valeur de notre monnaie jusqu'au jour où notre monnaie a couru le danger de baisser d'une façon inquiétante. Je ne veux pas prolonger mon exposé en y ajoutant des détails sur les lacunes que présentent la justice et la politique intérieure et extérieure.

En résumé je suis convaincu que malgré le travail digne de gratitude de nos paysans, dans cette ère de paix que notre pays, affranchi de toutes les restrictions des Capitulations, traverse depuis le Traité de Lausanne, que malgré l'effort dont on peut être fier de toutes les classes de la population pour élever le niveau de notre pays, le résultat obtenu est loin de donner satisfaction. Je n'ai point manqué de me demander comment est survenu un résultat pareil en présence de la bonne volonté et de l'effort, qui sont au-dessus de toute espèce de doute, des membres du Gouvernement à l'égard de qui j'éprouve un profond respect et une grande affection. Je trouve la réponse à cette question dans le fait que la Grande

Assemblée nationale est composée d'un seul parti. En effet, en raison du fait que les membres du parti s'abstiennent de toute critique à l'endroit de leur propre Cabinet, la libre discussion a diminué à la grande Assemblée Nationale et le Gouvernement est devenu quasi non responsable. Votre Excellence a, avec une énergie et une perspicacité sans pareilles à l'étranger, défendu ce pays contre une terrible invasion ennemie. Vous avez donné à tous les enfants de la patrie l'indépendance et la liberté qu'ils n'avaient pas jusqu'ici. Vous avez aboli les vieilles institutions caduques qui empêchaient notre pays d'avancer dans la voie de la civilisation, et vous avez instauré la république. Vous avez de la sorte gagné la reconnaissance éternelle de la patrie et provoqué l'admiration et les louanges de l'humanité entière.

Je ne doute pas que pour que le régime républicain devienne perpétuel dans le pays votre Excellence soit, en sa qualité de fondateur de la république, plus que quiconque partisan d'établir la liberté de discussion au lieu d'un Gouvernement à un seul parti, d'assurer la possibilité de demander au Gouvernement des comptes sérieux sur les affaires du peuple, de faire en sorte que s'il y a erreur dans la gestion de ces affaires on s'efforce de les réparer à la suite de libres discussions se déroulant sous les yeux de tous.

En tant que citoyen épris de la république, j'ai l'intention, dans le désir très cher de voir se réaliser ces vœux d'entrer sur le terrain de la lutte politique avec un parti véritablement et complètement républicain, laïque au sens complet du mot, mais opposé à plusieurs points de la politique financière, économique, intérieure et extérieure du Parti républicain du Peuple. Votre Excellence étant, en même temps que Président de la République, président général du Parti Républicain du Peuple auquel j'ai appartenu jusqu'ici, j'éprouve le besoin de savoir de quelle façon mon intention sera accueillie par votre Excellence.

Dans l'attente d'une réponse de votre Excellence, je lui présente, avec l'expression la plus profonde de mon affection, l'expression de mon respect et l'hommage de mon dévouement.

FETHI

#### MUSTAPHA KEMAL TO FETHI BEY

Mon cher Fethi Bey,

J'ai reçu votre lettre et je l'ai lu avec attention. Vos observations et vos questions me touchent en ma double qualité de chef de l'Etat et de président général du parti Populaire. Vous n'ignorez pas que par suite de mes fonctions officielles je n'assume pas effectivement la charge de président général du Parti populaire, dont la présidence effective est assumée par Ismet Pasha.

Il est naturel qu'au terme de mon mandat de Président de la République, je reprendrai la présidence effective du Parti populaire. Il appartiendra au Gouvernement de répondre en temps et lieu aux points de vue que vous exprimez au sujet de ses actes. Nul doute que de cette façon la vérité n'éclate avec une plus grande évidence.

La libre discussion des affaires nationales à la Grande Assemblée Nationale, en présence de la nation, et la sauvegarde des intérêts supérieurs de celle-ci par des personnes de bonne volonté et des parties qui mettent en avant leurs principes ont constitué à mes yeux, dès mon jeune âge, un système dont j'ai été le partisan le plus ardent.

Si je n'avais pas assumé la haute magistrature de l'Etat et si je n'étais que le président effectif du Parti populaire, j'aurais reçu avec attention et sympathie et j'aurais considéré comme profitables les observations et les critiques portant sur le programme et les actes du parti, formulées par une personne comme vous, en qui j'ai la plus grande confiance.

Je constate à nouveau que nous sommes d'accord sur le principe essentiel de la république laïque. D'ailleurs ce que je cherche et chercherai toujours impartialement dans la vie politique, ce n'est autre chose que ce fondement.

Je considère donc comme un des fondements de la république l'entrée en activité d'un nouveau parti en vue de discuter librement les affaires nationales.

Pourtant, je réserve le meilleur accueil à votre rentrée dans l'arène politique pour poursuivre la réalisation de vos points de vue. Vous pouvez être convaincu que pendant toute la durée de ma présidence, j'accomplirai la tâche dont je suis investi en raison de mes hautes fonctions, d'une façon impartiale et juste à l'égard de tous les partis, qu'ils soient ou non au pouvoir, et que l'activité politique de votre parti fondé sur la base des principes laïcs ne rencontrera aucune entrave.

GHIAZI MOUSTAPHA KEMAL

*F.O. 424/273, p. 37-38, No.54/1.*

No. 22

*Mr. Helm to Mr. A. Henderson*

*No.317.*

CONSTANTINOPLE, August 14, 1930

*(Received August 18, 1930)*

Sir,

I have the honour to report, with reference to my despatch No.312 of the 12<sup>th</sup> instant, that Fethi Bey's new Liberal Republican party has now been constituted, and that application has been made to the competent authorities for its

regimentation. The secretary-general of the new party is Nuri Bey, Deputy for Kutahia, and old school fellow of the Gazi and still one of the latter's closest friends. I have indeed, repeatedly heard it said, that he alone of all the President's entourage can say what he likes to the Gazi, and that, in the latter's wildest moments, Nuri Bey alone has any influence over him. The three members of the administrative council of the party are also friends of the President.

2. The programme of the party was published yesterday, and I have the honour to enclose a copy of it herein. It is confined largely to internal problems, and is on the lines indicated in my despatch under reference. It includes, as will be observed, a proposal to grant women's suffrage. From the point of view of foreign affairs, the chief point in the programme is the 10<sup>th</sup> article, which suggests that, if and when the new party comes to power, Turkey will seek closer collaboration with the League of Nations.

3. When in Angora yesterday, I found that less was known there than here about the birth of the new party. For the first time in ten years an important Turkish political development has taken place outside Angora. But Angora is pleased, and, like Constantinople, is convinced that the Gazi is behind the new organisation. Unlike Constantinople, it does not anticipate a change of Government before the elections next summer, and is already looking forward to lively proceedings in the Assembly during the winter.

4. Tevfik Rüstü Bey, whom I saw last evening, showed no disposition to discuss the formation of the new party, and I did not therefore raise the matter. The Soviet Ambassador has been seeing him daily, and is, I was informed in the capital, much exercised at the turn which events have taken. The accession to power of Fethi Bey would, it is supposed at Angora, be a greater blow to the influence of Italy than to that of Russia, whom Turkey could never afford to ignore, but it is thought that France stands to gain most. It may be for this reason that, during my interview with him, Tevfik Rüstü Bey let drop a number of very broad hints that he was very displeased with the French.

I have, &c

A. K. HELM

*F.O. 424/273, p.39, No.56*

Enclosure in No. 22

*Extract from the "Milliet" of August 13, 1930.*

LE PROGRAMME DU PARTI REPUBLICAIN LIBERAL

*Il y aura Réductions sur les Impôts. Le Monopole des Affaires du Port sera supprimé. La Production agricole et celle du Pays seront protégées. Des Débouchés seront trouvés à nos Articles d'Exportation. De l'Importance sera donnée à l'Encouragement à l'Industrie. Une seule Génération n'aura pas à*



*supporter toutes les Charges. Les Elections se feront au Suffrage universel avec la Participation des Femmes.*

*Article 1.-* Le parti républicain libéral est lié aux principes républicains, nationalistes et laïcs, et son idéal est de les consolider éternellement.

*Article 2.-* Les impôts seront établis de façon à ne pas ébranler la capacité de paiement du contribuable et de ne pas dépasser la limite de ce que peut supporter la population.

*Article 3.-* Le parti veille à ce que les revenus de l'Etat soient consacrés à des oeuvres profitables et éviter que des dépenses consacrées à des oeuvres d'utilité publique soient supportées exclusivement par une génération.

*Article 4.-* Le parti désire prendre des mesures pour relever sans retard la valeur de notre monnaie et d'ouvrir ainsi la voie aux capitalistes étrangers qui veulent faire des affaires dans notre pays.

*Article 5.-* Le parti n'admet pas tout ce qui constitue une immixtion gouvernementale d'ordre économique ou financier et qui porte entrave au bien-être des citoyens. Il est le protecteur de toutes les initiatives visant le développement du pays dans le domaine économique.

Si l'on remarque que dans les entreprises d'ordre économique que l'on est obligé d'entreprendre dans l'intérêt de la république l'effort individuel ne suffit pas, le Gouvernement intervient d'office.

Le monopole des affaires du port sera supprimé.

*Article 6.-* Un des buts principaux visé par le parti est de veiller à ce que le paysan et le cultivateur trouvent de l'argent à des intérêts modiques et grâce à une méthode simple et de le délivrer de l'usure qui porte atteinte à la structure économique du pays. Il est établi comme principe de mettre la Banque agricole, créée par des sacrifices consentis par les cultivateurs, à même d'assurer les besoins du pays en ce qui concerne les crédits agricoles.

*Article 7.-* La vitalité à donner aux industries du pays en lui assurant un prompt développement est un des buts principaux que le parti désire atteindre. La loi sur l'encouragement à l'industrie sera appliquée sans restriction. La protection et les facilités que ses dispositions octroient seront au besoin élargies. Les opérations de la Banque industrielle et minière seront développées et ses capacités financières accrues.

Des mesures seront prises pour la protection de nos produits nationaux et pour leur assurer des débouchés à l'étranger. Les tarifs des transports et du port seront établis en conséquence.



*Article 8.* Dans les départements gouvernementaux on donnera avec la plus grande célérité et sans soulever des difficultés suite aux affaires des particuliers. Une lutte sans merci sera engagée contre les abus et les pots de vin.

*Article 9.* Des inspections fréquentes et suivies seront faites pour assurer la prompte expédition des affaires des tribunaux. Les lacunes relevées dans l'appareil judiciaire seront comblées en conséquence.

*Article 10.* Le parti dans sa politique étrangère veillera à ce que la République turque entretienne des relations d'amitié et empreintes de sincérité avec les pays voisins et avec toutes les Puissances et à ce que la collaboration avec la Société des Nations soit plus étroite.

*Article 11.* Le parti plaidera la cause de l'adoption du suffrage universel et de l'octroi à la femme turque ainsi du droit politique.

*F.O. 424/273, p. 40, No.56/1.*

## No. 23

*Mr. Waterlow to Mr. A. Henderson*

*No.276.*

*Confidential*

*SOFIA, August 21, 1930*

*Received August 25, 1930)*

Sir,

The impression of warm friendship exchanged on the occasion of the recent visit of Turkish journalists to Bulgaria, which I had the honour to report in my despatch No.260 of the 7<sup>th</sup> instant, have, I think, more substance and significance in them than is usual with these international joy-rides. The Turkish party, five in number, headed by Faliḥ Rifki Bey (a Deputy who, I believe, is editor of the "Hakimyet-i Milliye"), appears to have consisted of serious and responsible persons, and it was evident that the declarations made by Rifki Bey as their spokesman reflected the views of the Gazi and were not mere platitudes. Two formal meetings were held under the auspices of the Association of Bulgarian Journalists, one at Sofia and one at Varna, and an agreement was signed providing for a programme of future activity, which, I am told, includes the regular exchange of information, articles and visits. The visit thus seems to have some political importance in connexion with the present honeymoon phase upon which Turco-Bulgarian relations have entered. And the question naturally arises whether the significance is all on one side; whether, that is to say, there may not be some connexion between the despatch of the party from Turkey and the present tension between Turkey and Persia. May it not be that Turkey, with growing difficulties to the east on her hands, has some idea of consolidating her position westwards, and having

reached an agreement with Greece, is thinking of a further reinforcement of her position in Europe, beginning with Bulgaria, with whom she has no differences? At the same time it is worth noting that M. Bonhoff, who was at Varna during the visit, tried to evade the visitors altogether. In the end he consented to receive two out of the five Turkish and two out of the twelve Polish visitors.

2. The only blot on the festivities was a mistake which has been pointed out by M. Antonoff, the correspondent of the "Times" here, in an article which has got him into hot water with his colleagues. If journalists from any third country were to be invited to meet the Turks, it should have been Greeks, not Poles. The presence of Polish journalists was due to pressure brought by the Minister of Agriculture, a mischievous busybody. The result was not happy, since the Poles, being oriented towards the Little *Entente* and away from Soviet Russia, could not enter into any tripartite agreement, much less a tripartite journalistic federation, such as their Bulgarian colleagues had contemplated. An agreement was, indeed, signed between them and the Bulgarian journalists, but it is merely a pious expression of desire to promote closer collaboration. If Greeks had been invited instead, an agreement might have been reached which would have been useful from the point of view of Graeco-Bulgarian relations.

3. The statement issued by Rifki Bey on his return to Turkey contains the following passage, which has caused some small stir here: "We noticed only one thing to cause us concern - the exceptional position of the young Turkish masses in Bulgaria, who, under the pressure and suggestions of ignorant muftis, have remained outside the modern movement. The Grand Mufti of Sofia is totally devoid of all sense of responsibility; his sole idea, and that of his creatures, is to fritter away the revenues of the pious Turkish foundations, while striving to keep the masses in a state of benighted ignorance. He alone did not dare to come into contact with us." This interference in Bulgarian internal affairs is not resented. But it has called forth press articles repudiating the suggestion that Bulgaria is responsible, even indirectly, for the backwardness of her Turkish population, and pointing out that, if the Turks in Bulgaria have not abandoned their traditional way of life for the modernisation imposed upon Turkey by the Kemalist régime, that is entirely their own affair, any interference with which would, even if it were practicable, be contrary to Bulgarian traditions of tolerance.

4. Copies of this despatch have been sent to His Majesty's representatives at Constantinople and Athens.

I have, &c.

S. P. WATERLOW

F.O. 371/14562/E.4581.

F.O. 424/273, p. 45, No.63.

No. 24

Sir R. Clive to Mr. A. Henderson

No. 431.

GULJEH, September 3, 1930

(Received September 18, 1930)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that Memdough Chevket Bey, the Turkish Ambassador, left Tehran on the 31<sup>st</sup> August. His successor is expected in a few days' time.

2. The day before his departure Memdough Chevket called to say good-bye, and I tried to elicit more clearly the reasons for his recall or resignation. He gave me to understand that the communiqués and press reports emanating from Constantinople and Angora had all been highly coloured, if not absolutely untrue. He insisted, for instance, that no ultimatum at all had ever been sent to the Persian Government, although according to the press, no less than three had been delivered. He maintained that not one single Turkish soldier had entered Persia, nor had the Turkish Government at any time threatened to cross the frontier. I asked him then what was the grievance of the Turkish Government against the Persian Government? He said they really had none at all, except that four years ago two well-known Turkish Kurdish chiefs had settled down on the Persian side of the frontier, and in spite of repeated protests from the Turkish Government and the usual promises by the Persian Government, no steps had been taken to remove them. On the other hand, the rectification of the frontier on the eastern side of Lesser Ararat was essential to Turkey, to enable her to control the situation in future. I then asked his Excellency, as tactfully as I could, whether he had been recalled by his Government or whether he had resigned. He told me that he had resigned. Admittedly, at midsummer his views had not coincided with those of his Government. However, he assured me that the Turkish Government now understood the situation, and there was no cause of friction between the two Governments. At the same time, he was very glad to go. He had been here five years; he was not a diplomat by profession, and though later on he might be glad to have another post (his ambition, I understand, is to be Ambassador in Moscow), he was quite content to live quietly with his family in Constantinople. His real interests were the study of history and ethnology.

3. Finally, I asked him whether, in his opinion, the Soviet Government had been fishing in troubled waters and whether they were in any way responsible for the undoubted friction which existed between the Persian and Turkish Governments this summer. He denied this absolutely, and maintained that, on the Russian side of the frontier, although the Armenians, as always, were a potential

source of danger, the Kurds were perfectly quiet, and he had no reason to suppose that the Soviet authorities had done anything to stir up trouble. This may be true, but there is no doubt that Memdough Chevket, who was an intimate friend of Davtian, the late Soviet Ambassador here, has very strong Russian sympathies.

4. Yesterday afternoon in the course of a visit to Teymouratche, I asked his Highness what were his views about the recent Kurdish trouble. He began by discoursing generally on Turkish politics. He maintained that Ismet Pasha had been the villain of the piece, and in order to strengthen his own position in Turkey had been responsible for the series of exaggerated press reports from Constantinople. Tewfik Rushdi Pasha (Bey) he had never been able to take seriously. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs had no convictions, and was at any moment ready to adopt a different policy. What he did not understand was the real attitude of the Gazi, who, on the one hand, had apparently done nothing to stop this anti-Persian press propaganda, while, on the other, he had always spoken in the most fulsome terms of Turco-Persian friendship. As regards Memdough Chevket's resignation, he maintained that this was undoubtedly brought about by the antagonism of the Turkish General Staff, who had accused him of being pro-Persian, and of being out of sympathy with the Turkish policy in Kurdistan.

5. His Highness then went on to speak of the Kurdish policy of the three countries, Turkey, Persia and Iraq. The policy, he said, was fundamentally different in each country. The Turkish Government, under Ismet Pasha, frankly wanted to annihilate the Kurds, an impossible policy to maintain, as one could not annihilate a whole people. The Persian policy, he admitted, had been in the past to leave things alone. They had done nothing for the Persian Kurds; at the same time, they had tried to do nothing to annoy them. The Iraq Government, on the other hand, acting on the advice of the British authorities, had adopted a policy of encouraging the Kurds by allowing them to maintain their language, by promising them schools, and in other ways by trying to raise the general standard of living among the Iraqi Kurds. This policy, he feared, must in the end have a disturbing effect both on the Turkish and the Persian Kurds, and he said frankly that, if he were a Turkish or Persian Kurd, his whole sympathy would be with the policy of the Iraq Government; as it was, however, he looked to the future with anxiety, and the Shah was undoubtedly perturbed. Although the Iraq Government might not be in favour of a united Kurdistan, yet their present policy had the appearance of a first step in that direction. His Highness said that he had read the speeches which Major Young and Jaafar Pasha had recently made in Suleimanieh, and though he quite realised the good faith of the Iraq Government and their British advisers in the matter, he wished to let me know frankly his own views. He endorsed Memdough Chevket's opinion about the correctness of the Soviet Government in this particular question, although he was equally suspicious of the Armenians.

6. Finally I asked him about the question of frontier rectification on Lesser Ararat, and whether he thought the Turkish demands were reasonable. He said he was not prepared to express an opinion himself, but could only state that the Persian General Staff were most strongly opposed to any concession to the Turkish Government in that region, both from a strategic point of view, and also because a rectification of the frontier, such as the Turks wished for, would be greatly resented by the Kurds, and the whole odium would fall on the Persian Government.

7. I enclose copy of the latest report which I have received from His Majesty's consul at Tabriz on the Kurdish situation.

I have, &c.

R.H. CLIVE

*F.O. 424/273, p. 72-73, No. 85.*

## No. 25

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. Henderson*

*No. 350.*

CONSTANTINOPLE, September 4, 1930

*(Received September 15, 1930)*

Sir,

I have the honour to report that General Nuri Pasha, Prime Minister of Iraq, passed through Turkey this week on his return to Bagdad.

2. Unfortunately, I was only able to see Nuri Pasha at Constantinople before his visits to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Ismet Pasha at Angora, and to the Gazi at Yalova, as I had to go to the capital on the day his Excellency returned from there, and he had to leave for Bagdad before I could get back to Constantinople; but a member of my staff found him very pleased with his reception.

3. Nuri Pasha said that three main questions had been discussed:-

- (1) *Mosul Oilfields.* Nuri Pasha had said that he had seen the Turkish note handed in by the Ambassador in London and told the Turks frankly that it was quite unconvincing. He pointed out that Iraq's interest in the exploitation of the oilfields was nine times as great as the Turkish one, and that real efforts were being made to develop the oilfields as soon as possible. He knew that the question was still under consideration and thought that there was some question of making an early payment, but he hoped to know more definitely in a few days. Nuri Pasha got the impression that the Turks did not care in the least about the *tracé* of the

pipe-line, realising as they did that the French were pushing the northern, just as the British desired the southern.

- (2) *Frontier*.—The Turks had told him that they had been entirely satisfied about the Iraq Kurdish policy and general attitude on frontier questions since 1926. Nuri Pasha pointed out that the last thing the Iraq Government desired was trouble on the frontier, and gave quite definite assurances that no Kurdish intrigues would be encouraged. The Turks having referred to the Barzan incident, Nuri Pasha pointed out that the Iraq Government had themselves decided to deal this year with the Sheikh of Barzan, had for three years raised the question at meetings of the Permanent Frontier Commission and had definite proof that the sheikh had received arms and supplies, if not from the Turkish Government, then from the Turkish sources independent thereof. He, Nuri Pasha, was only too anxious to put an end to the intrigues of the sheikh and had contemplated approaching the Turkish Government with a view to the latter holding the frontier on one side while the Iraq Government dealt with the sheikh on the other. It was now too late for action to be taken this year, but if the trouble continued, he would probably make proposals to the Turkish Government in this sense next spring.
- (3) *Commercial Treaty*.—The Turks were anxious to complete this as soon as possible. Nuri Pasha said that he was too. Agreement would probably be reached, as regards the judicial convention, in the next month. The Turks had now proposed to him that the commercial treaty should also include residence clauses. He had replied that he was not competent to discuss this, but that they might make the proposal through the usual channels. Nuri Pasha had asked the Turks what they thought of the new treaty. The reply was that the Labour Government had done two of the best things that had been done by the British Government since the war—the conclusion of the London Naval Treaty and of the Anglo-Iraq Treaty. The Turks were delighted about the latter, but efforts had been made by the French to make them critical. They told Nuri Pasha that the French had suggested that the Turkish press should criticise the treaty in the direction of showing that, for practical purposes, it would include Iraq in the British Empire. The Turks had replied that they could not dream of doing this, because they considered the treaty to be an excellent thing, not only for Turkey, but for Iraq, and Tefik Rüstü Bey indicated that, at a suitable moment, he would have articles inserted in the Turkish press in a sense favourable to the treaty. Nuri Pasha much appreciated this indication, for a favourable attitude towards the treaty would be very valuable to him in Bagdad.



The Turks had asked Nuri Pasha about Great Britain's attitude towards Turkey. They realised that Britain was coldly friendly towards Turkey, but thought this did not get them very far. Nuri Pasha pointed out that it would perhaps, be best for the Turks themselves to show real signs of friendship, for the British were not of a nature to curry favour. He gathered the impression that the Turks were still pretty well tied up with Russia.

In this conversation, Nuri Pasha had also referred to the Lawrence reports and pointed out what absurd rubbish they were. He had himself seen and talked with Colonel Lawrence in London, and the latter had been most amused at hearing the reports. The Turks had replied that they did not believe in the least in the Lawrence reports, which, at the beginning, had emanated from French sources in the same way as the first reports of Lawrence intrigues in Afghanistan had done eighteen months ago. The Turks had a very definite impression that France was doing her utmost to prevent any further development of friendly relations between Turkey and Great Britain and Iraq.

4. When I saw the Minister for Foreign Affairs yesterday he at once expressed his gratification at Nuri Pasha's visit and said he was quite satisfied as regards the frontier and the Iraqi attitude towards the Kurds.

5. With respect to the oil question, his Excellency was clearly much perturbed at the thought that the delay in exploiting the oil diminishes by so much the twenty-five years during which Turkey is to receive her 10 per cent of the profits. Under the Treaty of Angora, it is, of course, the case that the twenty-five years start from the coming into force of the treaty, but Tevfik Rüstü certainly expected exploitation to begin within a year or two of that date. I have had the advantage of reading in your despatch No.536 of the 1<sup>st</sup> instant the very complete reply returned to Ferit Bey, and I hope that it will soothe Tevfik Rüstü's fears, for I need not dwell on the political disadvantage to our relations with Turkey of our seeming to encourage Iraq in anything which the Turks will be all too ready to interpret as a deliberate intention to put off as long as possible the day on which payments to Turkey must start. The fact that, if the positions were reversed, this is just what the Turks would do themselves will not affect the Turkish point of view.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/273, p. 63-64, No.77.*



## No. 26

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 356

CONSTANTINOPLE, September 10, 1930

*(Received September 15, 1930)*

Sir,

In my despatch No. 355 of the 8<sup>th</sup> instant I had the honour to report the latest developments of the Opposition movement initiated by Fethi Bey.

2. Since my return recently from leave I have been trying to get at the real meaning and importance of this event, but I confess I find it very difficult to present you with a connected story, for much of it is guesswork and there are many cross-currents; but I hazard the following picture, confused though it is, as possibly not being very far from the truth:-

3. For some time the Gazi has been chafing at Ismet Pasha's policy, and last year matters nearly came to a head. Fethi Bey was here at the time and, though professing an ordinary leave, was ready, and indeed expected, to be called to the presidency of the Council. Faced, however, with the situation that would arise if Ismet Pasha suddenly fell from power, with important questions, such as the settlement of the debt and the Turco-Greek negotiations, left in the air, the Gazi gave way, but the breach was only closed for the time.

4. Since then Ismet Pasha has developed his insistence on the constitutional nature of the Turkish State. The Gazi represents, but the Government governs. It was in this spirit that, when the Gazi left Angora for the summer this year, Ismet Pasha kept all the Ministers at the capital and insisted on the Turkish representatives abroad, when they came home on leave, going to Angora to report before seeing the Gazi.

5. Another and quite recent development, which may well have arisen from a belief among Ismet Pasha's staunchest supporters that a clash between the Gazi and Ismet and the downfall of one of them is inevitable, has been that some of the more daringly thoughtful Turkish political leaders have admitted to themselves that perhaps the Gazi's work is done. Being the Gazi, he can never in this country hold any other position than that of President of the Republic, but he cannot, like Marshal Pilsudski, descend from his lofty eminence to the political arena. Thus some minds could even go so far as to hold that it would not be so great a disaster to the country if one of the Gazi's drinking parties ended in his sudden demise. I do not mean that there has ever been any suggestion or idea of assassination, but some of these men have a feeling that the Gazi is too young and energetic to remain content to be a figure-head, while his intervention in the administration of the State can only hamper the constitutional development of the country.

6. But the present issue of a licence to an open and "official" Opposition is mainly due to two other factors. Under the existing régime all debate and discussion takes place in the meetings of the People's party. Decisions are taken there by majority vote, and party discipline exacts that thereafter in the Assembly itself there shall be unanimity. During last winter criticism grew in volume at the party meetings, and some of the leaders must have foreseen the day when party discipline would no longer control the proceedings in the Assembly. Since then, opposition, though as yet suppressed, existed and must one day inevitably find voice, possibly in a form that would lead to riot, if not to revolution, it was clearly desirable to create a safety valve. Moreover, the Government could not expect to live for ever, and, as the Government is now constituted in this country, its disappearance would mean chaos and the power in the hands of the most successful and loudest-voiced mob leader. From what Tevfik Rüstü has told me himself, it seems clear that some members of the Government asked İsmet whether it would not, therefore, be better to foster an official Opposition, the members of which would be as imbued with republican ideals as the present Government. Public opinion would be placated by having a legitimate channel for criticism, and at the same time a potential Government, to take over the administration of the country smoothly and constitutionally when in the course of nature the present Government had to disappear, would be being trained.

7. Concurrently with the growth of this idea among the responsible leaders of the People's party, the Gazi was feeling more and more the increasing weight of İsmet Pasha and at the same time hearing more and more of the criticisms of the Government that were finding voice. Moreover, it is natural to suppose that he, too, looked to the day when he would no longer be here to guide the country. Both factors would almost inevitably lead him to consider the advantage of encouraging the institution of a reasoned Opposition.

8. This summer the differences between the Gazi and İsmet Pasha increased and came to a head during the presence here of both Fethi Bey and General Kemalettin Sami Pasha, Ambassador in Berlin. I have it from a very confidential and trustworthy source that the quarrel between the Gazi and İsmet Pasha went so far that the Gazi asked Kemalettin whether he would replace either İsmet Pasha or Fevzi Pasha, the Chief of the General Staff - a proposal which the general wisely declined, for it was probably only a "boutade" of the President in a fit of irritation. But the Gazi returned to the charge as regards Fethi Bey. İsmet categorically refused to yield his place to Fethi Bey, except constitutionally. The latter must become a member of the National Assembly and build up his own political party and obtain the votes of the majority of the electors. Although probably the Gazi's position in the country is great enough for him to have carried the day had he insisted, he apparently decided not to do so, whether because he felt that he would be risking his own position too much if, as was probable, Fethi proved little better

than İsmet, or from a genuine respect for the Constitution, it is impossible to say. In any case, he accepted the position, and the result was the creation of the Liberal Republican party.

9. As for the prospects of that party, it is difficult to prophesy. The events of Smyrna last Thursday and Friday show that there is a place for it in the body politic of Turkey, and, wisely led, it might well develop into a serious and capable Opposition, ready and fit, when the time comes, to take over the government of the country. It is however, handicapped by the circumstances of its birth and has, in my opinion, unfortunately started on the wrong set of rails. Fethi Bey himself, I hear, now feels that he would have done better to have resigned his Embassy and sought election as a Deputy first and then have started his opposition in the Assembly itself. Moreover, he has not been too fortunate in the associates whom he has chosen, or who have been thrust upon him, to build up and direct the new party. It is true that Nuri Bey, the secretary general of the party, is the Gazi's greatest friend, and his appointment can be, and doubtless by many has been, read as a measure of the Gazi's direct interest in the party. But Nuri's reputation is not of the best, and his influence over and constant association with the Gazi have long been deplored by the most decent elements in Turkey. When Fethi Bey's intentions were first announced, many of the more serious-minded and intelligent Turks welcomed the news, and would probably have adhered to the new party, but the nomination of Nuri Bey as secretary-general, as well as a natural reluctance to show their hand until it was seen on which side the scales were weighted, deterred them. They felt that İsmet Pasha's policy might be open to criticism and a less narrowly nationalistic policy might be better for the country, but sooner İsmet with his narrowness and obstinacy, but also with his admitted personal honesty, than a Government of which the strings would be pulled by a man of Nuri Bey's doubtful reputation.

10. Again as usual, the Levantines spoil their own market by acclaiming Fethi Bey as the champion of the minorities. There may be - indeed, there certainly are - Turks broad-minded and far-seeing enough to realise that Greeks, Jews, Syrians and Armenians can be more beneficial to the economic prosperity of Turkey than they are allowed to be to-day, but there is no Turk consistent enough to admit that that calls for political equality in the first place.

11. Furthermore, Fethi Bey, already looked upon by many here as too devoted to France, was ill-served by the local French organ and the public and rather injudicious civilities of the French Embassy. Better İsmet and his mistakes and his patriotism than a heaven-sent genius, if he is to take his directions from the Quai d'Orsay.

12. Lastly, there is one most formidable obstacle for Fethi Bey to overcome, though it is never even whispered. The Grand National Assembly is *not* a

Parliament where the conduct of the State and the measures of Government are debated and discussed, but the instrument created and used by the organisation (the Popular party) which runs this country to give the necessary legal and constitutional polish to its acts. And a seat in the Assembly is merely the well-paid reward for party merit, given on condition of strict obedience to party discipline. A Deputy gets 500 liras a month from the public funds and a substantial monthly allowance from the party funds, besides other material and honorific advantages, including special fees for attendance at the various commissions which are supposed to examine the Government's draft laws. This is not a position to be lightly given up on the faint chance of getting it again as a follower of Fethi, nor has the latter the funds to produce the monthly supplementary allowance, even if he were to carry the country. It may be true, as I have heard, that the Gazi, realising that Fethi must have a party-chest if he is to make any show at all, has given him 150,000 liras from his own presidential fund, but this will not go very far to cover the expense of organisation, production of newspapers, and so on, and a good deal of it will, anyway, have to be earmarked for the sixty existing Deputies who, many of them possibly against their will, are, as Tefik Rüstü informed me, to be told off to adhere to the new party. The Foreign Minister said: "We are so rich politically that we can now afford ourselves the luxury of an Opposition." Ismet Pasha's confident attitude appears to rest on a solid basis.

13. None the less, the day that Fethi Bey's letter was published in the Turkish papers marks a momentous date in the history of modern Turkey. The principles of criticism and free speech have been asserted and sanctioned, and they will grow in spite of all efforts that authority may make in the future to suppress them. This date can also be reckoned as that which records the beginning of the end of the present dictatorship of the Gazi. Behind the scenes that dictatorship has, as I have said above, already been challenged by the Government, which, however, was merely substituting its own in place thereof, but to the country at large the Gazi's will was still supreme, and, indeed, it may seem to remain so far a long time yet. But the grant of a right to live to an official Opposition means that, short of civil war or *coup d'Etat*, the ruling of Turkey will sooner or later leave Cankaya for the National Assembly. Whether this will happen in Fethi Bey's time is another question.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

## No. 27

*Sir G. Clerk to A. Henderson*

No. 357.

CONSTANTINOPLE, September 10, 1930  
(Received September 15, 1930)

Sir,

In my despatch No. 356 of to-day's date I have discussed at some length the present political situation in Turkey and the possible developments that will flow from the constitution of Fethi Bey's Liberal Republican party.

2. It must, however, be admitted that it is exceptionally difficult to gauge these developments with any degree of certainty for the simple reason that nothing definite is known about the real plans or motives of the three Turkish leaders—the Gazi, Ismet Pasha and Fethi Bey. The position of the first is the most important and at the same time the most obscure, for the leaders of both parties claim his support. It has been clear for some time that the country was waiting for a lead. The Smyrna events have brought matters to a head, and Yunus Nadi Bey, the proprietor of the "Cumhuriyet" and Turkey's most successful, most unscrupulous and most "adaptable" journalist, apparently found the position so intolerable that in his newspaper he published on the 9<sup>th</sup> instant an open letter, in which he requested the Gazi to define his attitude. The President at once obliged, and his reply is published to-day. I have the honour to enclose the texts of these two communications.

3. It is to be hoped that the Gazi's reply has enlightened Yunus Nadi Bey, but I find it hard to believe that it will satisfy him. The Gazi still balances himself carefully on the wall and with complete casuistry leaves his position quite as obscure as before. He must have his own reasons for not defining his attitude more clearly, but these can only be guessed, and until he comes out into the open the political situation in Turkey must remain nebulous.

4. I ought to add that in some quarters the Gazi's letter is taken to be a definite intimation that he means to take the administration of the country into his own hands. The phrase "après l'achèvement de mon devoir officiel" is taken to apply to his present term of office, which expires on the 1<sup>st</sup> November, 1931. Those who so believe may be right, but it is unlike the Gazi to give so broad a hint of his intentions so long before they can be carried out.

I have, &amp;c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

## No. 28

Sir G. Clerk to A. Henderson

No. 86

CONSTANTINOPLE, September 14, 1930

Telegraphic

(Received September 15, 1930)

It is officially announced that President of the Republic who is here has on the recommendation of a meeting of Cabinet held in Angora last night, issued a decree summoning Assembly to meet in special session on September 22<sup>nd</sup>.

Reason given for this unexpected step is that owing to heavy exports Turkish currency is in danger of marked appreciation and that Council of Ministers desire to have legal powers to maintain currency at rate of about 1,030 piastres to the pound which has been current for some months. There has, so far as I am aware, been no sign recently of any considerable appreciation and closing rate yesterday was 1,030.

F.O. 371/14570/E. 4958.

F.O. 424/273, p.71, No.82.

## No. 29

*Extract from "The Times" of September 15, 1930*

## TURKISH FINANCES

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO HOLD SPECIAL SESSION

(From our own correspondent)

CONSTANTINOPLE, September 14, 1930

The Turkish Cabinet held a meeting in Angora yesterday and decided that the Prime Minister, Ismet Pasha, should recommend to Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha that an extraordinary Session of the Grand National Assembly should be held immediately. The Ghazi Pasha replied inviting the Grand National Assembly to meet on September 22.

The reason given for this important decision is that, owing to the unusually heavy exports, the Turkish currency (which has recently stood at 1,030 piastres to the £), shows a tendency to rise in value. Any material improvement in the exchange would, it is thought, cause heavy losses to exporters, and would seriously affect the financial and economic state of the country. The Government, therefore, considers it necessary to consult the Grand National Assembly before taking steps to prevent this happening.

The Grand National Assembly would normally not meet until November 1, and the Government's decision has become as a great surprise.



In well-informed circles it is considered that the immediate convocation of the Grand National Assembly may be a political manoeuvre, but as yet, it is too early to say if this is the case. The official *Millet*, however, points out that the Government will almost certainly take an opportunity of replying to the criticism levelled against it by the new Liberal Republican Party. Fethi Bey, the leader of the new party, has returned to Constantinople, and has had a long interview with the Ghazi Pasha. Fethi Bey is protesting energetically against the arrests at Smyrna of three newspaper owners and editors who were favourable to his cause. He is also protesting against the arrest of the owner of the Constantinople evening newspaper *Last Post*. The alleged motive for these arrests is the publication of articles which are considered detrimental to the moral prestige of the Government.

*F.O. 371/14570.*

### No. 30

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 92.

CONSTANTINOPLE, September 21, 1930

(*Telegraphic*) R.

(*Received September 22, 1930*)

My despatch No. 356.

I learn that Ismet Pasha will resign to-morrow, but will be called upon by President of the Republic to form a new Government. Ismet's intention is by this means to strengthen his Cabinet by getting rid of three or four inefficient or unpopular Ministers, especially the Minister of Justice.

*F.O. 424/273, p.77, No.87.*

### No. 31

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 369.

CONSTANTINOPLE, September 24, 1930

(*Received September 29, 1930*)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.357 of the 10<sup>th</sup> September, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a memorandum by Mr. Helm on his farewell visit to Angora.

2. Ismet Pasha has not yet made his fighting speech in defence of his policy which he is expected to deliver, and until he does so, and Fethi Bey makes his



reply, the situation remains uncrystallised, and I can add nothing useful to the clear and concise account given by Mr. Helm.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/273, p. 78, No. 92.*

No. 32

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 100.

CONSTANTINOPLE, September 26, 1930

*(Telegraphic) R.*

*(Received September 26, 1930)*

My telegram No. 93.

İsmet Pasha handed in resignation of Cabinet last night. President of Republic has summoned leading politicians to a conference, and it is expected that a new Cabinet will be formed in time for to-morrow's session of Grand National Assembly.

*F.O. 424/273, p. 78, No. 90.*

Enclosure in No. 32

### *Memorandum*

During my journey to Angora on the night of the 21<sup>st</sup>, and also at Angora yesterday, I saw and had the opportunity of discussion with a considerable number of Turkish Deputies and Ministers. All seemed to be in a very cheerful frame of mind, but all were anxious that the special session should be short. I was unable to ascertain with any certainty its probable duration.

One impression I got very clearly from these conversations is that, for the moment at least, Fethi Bey's party is going to come to nothing. One Deputy, speaking very frankly, characterised it as a "disastrous experiment" on the part of the Gazi. Things had not turned out at all as had been expected. There had been two objects in view - the establishment of a form of democratic government and the preparation of the way for the disappearance of İsmet Pasha. In practice, neither of those objects was being attained. The events of Smyrna had been a very nasty surprise both for the Government and for the Gazi. The Government was convinced that neither Fethi Bey nor any Opposition was responsible for these disturbances, which were definitely the result of Communist activities. There was

no danger of bolshevism spreading in Turkey, but it had been making progress among the labouring classes in Smyrna and Constantinople. The Gazi had said that "Turkey could still exist without Smyrna and Constantinople," but this was more bravado than anything else, and the Communist problem was one which was now going to occupy the Government's serious attention.

Owing to factors which had not been foreseen, the Gazi has, I gather, thought it desirable to sacrifice Fethi Bey and to re-establish peace with Ismet Pasha. This does not mean that he has surrendered to the latter. The price of agreement has been the dropping by Ismet Pasha of the Ministers of Public Instruction and Justice, and probably also of the Minister of Economy, with even the possibility of a change at the Ministry of Finance. These individuals were the chief subjects of the Opposition's criticism. The Gazi therefore surrenders Fethi Bey (I was unable to ascertain what compensation, if any, the latter is to receive), while Ismet surrenders his unpopular Ministers, and on these terms the combination goes on.

I asked my Deputy friend the reason for the collapse of Fethi Bey. He replied that the man sitting behind me in the restaurant car was one of the chief causes. That man was Tahsin Bey, one of the original members of the new party, a former close friend of the Gazi, but a man who is generally disliked. Fethi Bey had, in fact, surrounded himself, possibly at superior dictation, with unworthy instruments.

I then enquired as to the position of Resit Galip, another friend of the Gazi, a clean, decent individual, who had also been an original member of the new party, but who had resigned from it after the first fortnight and announced himself as independent. Resit Galip's resignation was at the time thought significant, and my Deputy friend told me that he was very definitely the man to watch in the future. Fethi Bey's party was collapsing, but there was much opposition about, and there were very many Deputies who thought as Resit Galip did. My friend said that he himself would probably one day belong to the party which Resit Galip would found.

Relations between the members of the two parties are quite friendly. In the train Tahsin Bey talked, drank and sang with the rest, and in the Assembly yesterday there were no signs of a break in the ranks. It was expected that the members of the new party would sit on the extreme left, but all the left places were occupied well before the sitting opened. When the few Opposition Deputies appeared, they were received with laughter, and after a few minutes distributed themselves about the Chamber sitting alongside their previous colleagues.

Ismet Pasha made two short speeches in a very calm tone. In the first he referred in very general terms to the forthcoming currency legislation, and in the second he spoke of the Kurdish revolt. As regards the latter, he said that the Turkish Government owed much gratitude to the neighbouring States, which had

either dealt summarily with or else pushed back into Turkey any rebels who crossed the frontier. Applause was restrained, but it was amusing to observe that both speeches were applauded by the "Opposition" Deputies.

The most important change which is to take place is the resignation of the secretary-general of the People's party, Saffet Bey. Saffet Bey has managed the party with much skill for some years, and has been on good terms with everybody. I am informed that when the new party was formed he begged the Gazi and İsmet Pasha to accept his resignation. They refused to do so. He insisted, giving as his reason that in his capacity of secretary-general of the party he would have to use against one of his best friends (Nuri Bey, the secretary-general of the new party) information which he possessed. This information would be damaging to the new party, but it was information which he was incapable of using against an old friend. In fact, his personal friendship overrode his official duty. The resignation has, I gather, now been accepted. The reason given me may be the real one, but, I think, there may be something in the fact suggested to me by my friend, who is also a friend of Saffet, that he sees danger ahead. Saffet Bey is a *dcunme* and very intelligent.

Saffet Bey's probable successor is Recep Bey, at present Minister of Public Works. There is much shaking of heads about the appointment, for he is a big, burly man whose essential characteristic is force. He certainly does not possess the ability of Saffet Bey to circumvent difficulties, and is only too likely to endeavour to ride roughshod over obstacles. The results may be very unfortunate with a party which for some time has been showing symptoms of finding the strain too much, and in which opposition is by no means non-existent.

The places of Cemal Hüsnü, Mahmut Esat and Recep Beys and of the Minister of National Economy are likely, whether as the result of Cabinet reconstruction or Cabinet resignation and a fresh mandate to İsmet Pasha, to be filled by Vasif Bey (twice previously Minister of Public Instruction), Yusuf Kemal (a former Minister for Foreign Affairs in the early days and representative in London in 1924, a small, wizened man with no personality), Zekai Bey (former Ambassador in London and Moscow) and Mustafa Seref Bey (something of a student and not very impressive). These changes are likely to be very definitely for the better, for, although not brilliant, Zekai Bey, Mustafa Seref Bey and Yusuf Kemal can all be regarded as quiet, conscientious workers. Should these changes be followed by the resignation later of Saracoglu Sükrü Bey and his replacement by Abdul Halik Bey, the chief original objects of Fethi Bey's campaign will have been achieved without Fethi Bey's direct participation, but through the imposition of the terms by the Gazi on İsmet Pasha as a price for İsmet Pasha's retention and for the re-establishment of the united front. Even so, the front has apparently been broken once, and, with the disappearance of Saffet Bey from the control of the party, it need cause no surprise

it, before the elections of next summer, dissensions become evident once more, not so much perhaps among the leaders as within the party itself. Meantime, though İsmet Pasha seems to have surrendered more than the Gazi, the latter seems on balance to have been the loser. On the other hand, his position is still secure, but would be damaged by another similar incident. Should the next break come from within the party and not, as was recently the case, from the top, all my money would, especially with Recep in Saffet's place, be on the Gazi, who is still held in awe by the great bulk of the Deputies.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *September 23, 1930*

A. K. HELM

*F.O. 424/273, p. 78-80, No. 92/1.*

### No. 33

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 378

CONSTANTINOPLE, *October 1, 1930*

*(Received October 6, 1930)*

Sir,

As I had the honour to report in my telegrams Nos. 93 and 101 of the 26<sup>th</sup> September and the 28<sup>th</sup> September last, the Cabinet resigned on the 25<sup>th</sup> September and the formation of a new Cabinet was entrusted to İsmet Pasha. According to the press his Excellency showed considerable reluctance to reassume power and suggested that his place should be taken by someone else, and only gave way eventually owing to the insistence of the President of the Republic.

2. The new Cabinet shows four changes and is constituted as follows:

Prime Minister: İsmet Pasha.

Minister for Foreign Affairs: Tevfik Rüstü Bey.

Minister of National Defence: Abdul Halik Bey.

Minister of the Interior: Sükrü Kaya Bey.

Minister of Finance: Sarıcaoglu Sükrü Bey.

Minister of Public Health: Refik Bey.

Minister of Justice: Yusuf Kemal Bey.

Minister of Education: Fısat Bey.

Minister of National Economy: Mustafa Serel Bey.

Minister of Public Works: Zekai Bey.

Some account of Yusuf Kemal Bey will be found in the notes on leading Turkish personalities transmitted under cover of Constantinople despatch No.92 of the 26<sup>th</sup> February, 1929. A biographical note on Zekai, Mustafa Serif and Esat Beys will be found as an enclosure to this despatch.

3. There is no doubt that the changes effected have strengthened the Government, notably by the dropping of two unpopular Ministers, the late Ministers of Justice and Education. The services of the late Minister of Public Works have been retained in his new capacity of Secretary-General of the People's party, and the late Minister of National Economy has been replaced by a more effective personality. The Cabinet would have been further strengthened had Saracoglu Sükrü Bey been replaced at the Ministry of Finance, for his retention means continuity in the financial policy of the Government against which the strongest attacks of the new Opposition have been directed, but I am informed that İsmet Pasha was adamant.

4. It seems that besides the changes in Cabinet there are to be certain modifications of the policy hitherto followed by İsmet Pasha. The speeches at the meetings of the parliamentary group of the People's party, at which for the first time free discussion has been allowed, leads to the rather obvious supposition that these changes are designed to forestall the criticisms of the new Opposition and take the wind out of Fethi Bey's sails.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/273, p.83-84, No.95.*

Enclosure in No. 33

*Biographical Notes.*

*Esat Bey.*

Born in Karaferiye in 1874. Educated in the Harbiye School and graduated in 1894. Gazetted to the Vth Army (Syria). In 1898 entered the Harbiye (Military) School, where he occupied different functions for twelve years. After the proclamation of the Constitution he proceeded to Germany in order to complete his studies. In the last phase of the Balkan War he was commander of the 93<sup>rd</sup> regiment, and during the Great War commander of the 26<sup>th</sup> division. He was pensioned at his own request when he was colonel and president of the military section (Harbiye Dairesi). Became afterwards president of the administrative council of a commercial venture, the Ordu Donanma Pazar (military and marine bazaar), administrative counsellor of the telephone company, member of the

Constantinople Municipal Assembly, and was elected Deputy for Brusa three years ago. He knows three foreign languages, and has occupied himself for many years with the study of pedagogy. Appointed Minister of Education in Ismet Pasha's new Cabinet, September 1930.

*Zekai Bey.*

He is 52 years old. Born in Bosnia. A graduate of the Mulkiye School and became kaimakam and mutesarrif. Was Deputy for Adana in the first Angora Assembly, and in 1921 was a member of Bekir Sami Bey's peace delegation to London. In the following year Turkish economic expert at the Lausanne Conference. Was a member of the Independence Tribunal.

Elected Deputy for Aidin in July 1923, he became Minister for Agriculture in March 1924. In September was appointed Ambassador to London, but was recalled early in 1925 owing to his having, on his own account, proposed a direct deal over Mosul, which he was instructed by Angora to withdraw. In May was appointed Ambassador to Moscow, and in November 1926 was present at Odessa at the interview between M. Chicherin and the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs. Resigned in September 1927 on his election - possibly not on his own volition - as Deputy for Diarbekir. A member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. In 1929, when all Powers were obliged by the denunciation of the Commercial Treaty of Lausanne to negotiate fresh treaties, was appointed chief of the delegation for the negotiation of commercial treaties. Appointed Minister of Public Works in Ismet Pasha's new Cabinet, September 1930.

Zekai Bey has been reported as being anti-British in sympathy in the past, and when in London, alienated Turkish sympathisers by his lack of courtesy towards them. During our commercial treaty negotiations he was, though slow in the uptake, friendly and helpful in finding the way of compromise.

*Mustafa Serif Bey.*

He is 46 years old. Born in Burdur. A graduate of the faculty of law of Constantinople and Paris. Was director of the Law School at Konya, professor of the Turkish University, Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Commerce. Elected Deputy for Burdur. Took part in the Lausanne Conference. Lately one of the Turkish Delegates for the negotiation of commercial treaties. Appointed Minister of National Economy in Ismet Pasha's new Cabinet, September 1930.

The toughest, because the ablest and best-informed, of the commercial treaty negotiators. Not attractive personally, but should make a good Minister.

*F.O. 424/273, p.84, No.95/1.*



## No. 34

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 386.

CONSTANTINOPLE, October 8, 1930

*(Received October 13, 1930)*

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a note by Mr. Morgan, counsellor of His Majesty's Embassy, on the Extraordinary Session of the Grand National Assembly, which closed on the 2<sup>nd</sup> instant.

2. I agree with the view expressed by Mr. Morgan, who attended all the debates, that the discussion has been beneficial; and I feel that, although the Opposition did not show any great parliamentary strength, its existence has at least opened the windows of the Assembly and let a draught of fresh air into that rather stagnant atmosphere.

I have, &amp;c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/273, p. 91, No. 101.*

Enclosure in No. 34

*Memorandum*

ANGORA, October 4, 1930

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> October the extraordinary session of the Grand National Assembly, which met on the 22<sup>nd</sup> September to deliberate on a Bill to safeguard the value of Turkish currency, came to an end.

In the course of the short session, there took place, with the help of the Government, the election to a safe Government seat of Fethi Bey, leader of the newly formed Opposition party, the resignation of Ismet Pasha's Government, and its return to power with certain Cabinet changes, and certain modifications of its programme.

On the closing day of the session, the new Government's policy was announced, Ismet Pasha and Fethi Bey engaged for the first time in debate, and the Assembly expressed its confidence in the Government by 261 votes to 12.

The interest which the Gazi, the Deputies, and the public displayed in the proceedings of the Assembly during its session was intensified on the 2<sup>nd</sup> October on the occasion of the debate between the Government and the Opposition. Yet all



must have known that the plan from which the creation of a stage Opposition sprang, and which had for object the ousting of Ismet Pasha from office, had been abandoned, and that the Opposition had now no other wish than to fade out.

The debate might have been colourless, but Ismet Pasha had evidently been deeply stirred by the threat to his position, and by the idea that his policy had been questioned, for he vigorously attacked the already defeated Opposition, and showed fire and resentment in his treatment of it. He appeared to have been impatiently waiting the opportunity of showing his power, and towards the end of the day his exuberance manifested his relief at his escape from danger.

He was frequently enthusiastically applauded by the Government Deputies, while the Gazi seemed to follow his speeches with content and delight.

Fethi Bey accepted his position philosophically. He was content to point out that the appearance of his party had forced the Government to drop those Cabinet Ministers whom the opposition considered undesirable, and, as regards its policy, to alter those parts which the Opposition disapproved. He was listened to with sympathetic consideration by the majority of the Deputies, and his speech earned him the Gazi's indulgent smiles.

Occasionally Fethi Bey was drawn to protest that he was a good Republican, when wild men of the Government party accused him of being the leader and friend of reactionaries, Communists, law-breakers and evil-doers, but, in the main, he showed himself calm and even apathetic.

A point of interest in the debate arose out of Fethi's plea for fair treatment of the Ottoman Debt question. Ismet Pasha, in reply, declared that he had to choose between spending money on national defence, and paying the Ottoman Debt, and that he had elected the former alternative, national defence being a question of life and death for Turkey, for a debtor's right to live came before his obligation to pay his debts.

When the debate ended, and the Assembly rose until the 1<sup>st</sup> November, one felt that the discussion which had taken place during the session had been beneficial, that the reforms suggested by the Opposition had been desired by many members of the Government, and that, until the day comes when Turkey can risk having free elections, much good would be done by continuing the system of detailing a number of Government Deputies to act as an Opposition party.

JAMES MORGAN

No. 35

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson

No. 387.

CONSTANTINOPLE, October 8, 1930

(Received October 13, 1930)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Francis Humphrys, His Majesty's High Commissioner for Iraq, arrived here on his way to Bagdad on the 4<sup>th</sup> instant and left for his post this afternoon.

2. Sir Francis Humphreys and I went to Angora on the 5<sup>th</sup> October for two days, during which time he had interviews with the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister, the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the Permanent Under-secretary of the Ministry, and this morning before leaving he also had an interview here with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who returned from Russia yesterday and leaves for Angora to-night.

3. The High Commissioner will no doubt report in the course to the Colonial Office the substance of these interviews and it is unnecessary for me to describe them at any length. But I may be allowed to put on the record the excellent impression which Sir Francis Humphrys made upon the authorities as well as my feeling that the visit has established a valuable personal contact, that it came at a most opportune moment, and that it will be of great use to the High Commissioner when discussing with the Iraq Government the policy of that country towards Turkey.

4. The reception of the High Commissioner by the authorities at Angora left nothing to be described. Both at the luncheon given by the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs and at the return luncheon given by me, at which the Prime Minister, contrary to his almost invariable habit, was present, and at the audience with the Gazi, the atmosphere was one of sincere friendship and cordiality. The Gazi was at his best and kept us for nearly two and half hours discussing the autochthonic races of India and Mesopotamia, giving with great frankness, his opinion of ex-King Amanullah, and telling us confidential stories of his relations with Enver Pasha during the last phase of Enver's career.

5. In the more official interviews with other Turkish authorities the Kurdish problem as affecting Turkey and Iraq was discussed frankly, but in the same friendly spirit; no direct complaint we made of the weakness of the Iraq Government, owing to which the Sheikh of Barzan had been able to support the Kurdish rebels in Turkey, and indeed, due allowance seemed to be given to the fact that the Iraq Government had not yet been able to bring the Sheikh's district into complete control. But the High Commissioner was asked to press upon the

Iraq Government the necessity for them to take effective measures in the interests of both countries, and I feel that Sir F. Humphrys was able to convince the Turks that it was not goodwill so much as material force that was lacking in Bagdad, and his assurance that he would impress the fact upon the Iraq Government immediately on his return clearly gave confidence and satisfaction.

6. Sir F. Humphrys took the opportunity to point out that the Permanent Frontier Commission was designed for such matters, and that it could be done if the commission, and more especially the Turkish members, showed a more active sense of their powers and responsibilities.

7. The High Commissioner's visit happened also to coincide with the receipt of your telegram No. 88 of the 3<sup>rd</sup> instant, relative to the possibility of the Turkish Government seeking permission for their troops to enter, or operate within, Iraq territory. Happily, it had not to be raised either by the High Commissioner or myself since, as I reported in my telegram No. 111 of to-day, the Permanent under-secretary, when describing the present situation of the Turkish troops on the frontier, spontaneously added that there was no intention of asking for leave to cross the boundary and said that renewed instructions had been sent to the Turkish officer in command to respect the integrity of Iraq territory.

8. I have sent a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's High Commissioner in Bagdad.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/273, p.92-93, No.102*

### No. 36

*Mr. Ramsay to Mr. Henderson*

No. 559

ATHENS, October 29, 1930  
(Received November 7, 1930)

Sir,

I have the honour, with reference to my telegram No. 158 of the 24<sup>th</sup> October, to inform you that the Greek press, with the exception of most of the Royalist newspapers, has adopted a favourable attitude towards the visit of the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs to Angora. As will be seen from the enclosed summaries, the main criticisms of the extreme Royalist papers are that the visit is an unnecessary humiliation affecting the honour of Greece, comparison being made to the attitude of France after the war of 1870, when no French

Premier went to Berlin; and that it is quite superfluous to undertake such a journey to effect the signature of the various conventions which are already complete for signature. The reply to these criticisms is to the point when it asserts that the Royalist press are intentionally belittling the historic importance and significance of the journey undertaken by M. Veniselos, and points to the repeated visits of German Premiers to France after 1918. There is no doubt that the great concessions made by M. Veniselos to come to terms with the Turks have been exploited for political purposes by the anti-Veniselist parties, and that his popularity has been affected thereby to a certain extent, especially among the refugees whose interests were jettisoned. It is natural that his opponents should do their best to minimise the enhanced European prestige which might result from the exchange of visits, as it is realised that is precisely in the matter of personal contacts that M. Veniselos's personal talents give him a marked superiority over other Balkan, if not, indeed, over most European statesmen.

2. Nevertheless I observe that it is not only among his political opponents that doubts are entertained as to whether the visit will not in the result prove to have been an illusory humiliation. For this reason the naval pact will be scrutinised with a critical eye. If, as seems probable from M. Veniselos's statements, as reported in my despatch No.537 of the 13<sup>th</sup> October, it will be of a general nature with no precise definition of parity in the matter of limiting naval and air forces, those who are sceptical of the apparent change of heart of the Turks will appear to be justified, and the opponents of the Government will not lose opportunity of declaring that the results achieved do not outweigh the humiliation involved. Fair speeches and promises do not count for much in the Near East. I cannot help recalling in this connexion the impression of discord with true facts that I received after the capture of Constantinople by the Young Turks when I witnessed Young Turks embracing Armenians on the mass graves of Armenians massacred in 1895. Since then the Armenians have been almost wiped out in Turkey. One feels that the new era in Graeco-Turkish relations is fragile in view of the fact that it depends so largely on the personalities of Mustafa Kemal and Veniselos, who are undoubtedly far ahead of the times in their respective countries, and whose removal from the political sphere can hardly fail to bring about actions and reactions of incalculable consequences on the internal and external relations of both countries.

3. I have transmitted a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

PATRICK RAMSAY

## No. 37

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 416.

ANGORA, November 1, 1930

Sir,

I have the honour to report, with reference to Mr. Edmonds' despatch No. 499 of the 30<sup>th</sup> December, 1929, that Naji Shevket Bey, who has succeeded Rauf Bey Chadirji as Iraqi Minister to Turkey, presented his letters of credence to the President of the Republic on the 25<sup>th</sup> October.

2. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the British High Commissioner at Bagdad.

I have, &amp;c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/14576/E.6000

## No. 38

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 418.

ANGORA, November 1, 1930  
(Received November 10, 1930)

Sir,

With reference to my telegrams Nos. 39, 40 and 41 of the 31<sup>st</sup> October, I have the honour to report that M. Veniselos and M. Mikhalakopoulos, the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs, accompanied by their wives and a numerous suite, arrived in Turkish waters on the morning of the 26<sup>th</sup> October on board the Greek cruiser "Selle." They were met in the Marmora by a flotilla of Turkish torpedo boats and escorted to Haidarpasha, where a salute was fired in their honour. Representatives of the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, who had come down from Angora for the purpose, went on board the "Selle" to welcome the visitors, who were later received on shore by Enis Bey, Turkish Minister in Athens, the Vali of Constantinople, and other officials. The space between the landing-stage and the station was crowded with onlookers, among whom the local Hellenic and Turkish-Greek communities predominated, and the greatest enthusiasm prevailed, somewhat to the detriment of good order, while the party proceeded from the Turkish launch to the special train which was to convey them to Angora.

2. On their arrival at the capital the following morning, the visitors were met at the station by the Turkish Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, with whom visits were exchanged in the course of the morning. After lunch with Tevlik Rıstı Beş, M. Veniselos and M. Mikhalakopoulos were received by the President of the Republic, and the interview, at which the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs was present, is understood to have lasted nearly two hours, and to have been of a particularly cordial nature. In the evening an official dinner-party was given by İsmet Paşa and his wife at the Angora Palace Hotel, when the two Prime Ministers vied with each other in the cordiality of their speeches, a copy of which, in the original French as given by the "République," is enclosed herein. I would in particular invite your attention to the passage, towards the beginning of his speech, in which M. Veniselos declared that, by his acceptance of İsmet Paşa's invitation to visit Angora, he had intended to demonstrate the fact that Greece regards as definitive the territorial *status quo* of the two countries as fixed by the Treaty of Lausanne. I have reason to believe that the remarkable yet obviously genuine friendliness of M. Veniselos's speech on this occasion caused the liveliest satisfaction in official Turkish circles. The dinner was followed by a reception and dance, at which the *élite* of the official and diplomatic world were present, the most striking figure being M. Veniselos himself, wearing the remarkable form of head-dress now apparently affected by him on all occasions: a black silk bonnet which, were it not for the material, might have come straight out of a Christmas cracker.

3. On the second day, the 28<sup>th</sup> October, the visitors were shown over the headquarters of the Turkish Ojaks, the "Himaye-i Etfal" (Protection of Children) and other national institutions, and in the evening were present at the official dinner and dance given at the Angora Palace in honour of the Hungarian Premier, who had arrived that morning (see my despatch No.419 of the 3<sup>rd</sup> November). The following day, the 29<sup>th</sup> October, was the Turkish national day, and the usual celebrations were thus rendered memorable by the simultaneous presence of two foreign Prime Ministers. Both, though doubtless with very different feelings, witnessed from the Presidential tribune, where the Gazi took the salutes, an impressive display of the naval, military and air forces of the Turkish Republic on its seventh birthday. The day's festivities were concluded by yet another official dinner and a ball, this time at the headquarters of the Turkish Ojaks, where the Gazi and Mme Veniselos took the floor together.

4. Thursday, the 30<sup>th</sup> October, was occupied in putting the finishing touches to the following agreements, which were signed the same evening: 1) A treaty of friendship, neutrality, conciliation and arbitration; 2) a treaty of commerce and navigation, including residence and consular articles and schedules of conventionalised tariffs; and 3) a protocol regarding the limitation of naval armaments. A copy of the French text of the protocol is enclosed herein, and the



texts of the two treaties will be transmitted to you as soon as they are obtainable. At the dinner given by the Greek Minister, which followed the ceremony of signature, Ismet Pasha baptised in champagne the new-born Græco-Turkish friendship, with the words: "I raise my glass to the brave and noble Greek nation."

5. M. Veniselos and his party left Angora on the evening of the 31<sup>st</sup> October and had an enthusiastic send-off at the station, where Ismet Pasha, Teyfik Rüstü Bey and numerous other high officials had assembled. Several of the latter escorted the visitors to Constantinople, where they unostentatiously paid their respects to the Oecumenical Patriarch the following morning. After a round of sight-seeing, which included a visit to St. Sophia, until now the theme of every irredentist Greek ballad, M. Veniselos received at the Greek consulate the leading members of the Hellenic colony, and in the evening the party returned on board the "Selle," which left soon afterwards for Athens.

6. The visit of the Prime Minister of Greece to the Phanar, with the full approval of the Turkish authorities, was a fitting climax to the events of the last few days. Its deep significance should not merely give Greek public opinion the moral satisfaction which M. Veniselos's presence at the Turkish military review may have demanded, but should also serve as a measure both of the success of the Turkish visit as a whole and of the change in Græco-Turkish relations which has been inaugurated in so dramatic a fashion.

7. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/273, p. 99-101, No. 117.*

No. 39

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 422.

ANGORA, November 4, 1930  
(Received November 10, 1930)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 412 of the 3<sup>rd</sup> November, 1929, I have the honour to report that the new session of the Grand National Assembly was opened on the 1<sup>st</sup> instant, and I enclose a French translation of the speech delivered by the President of the Republic on the occasion.

2. I was present at the ceremony and followed carefully the reaction of the Deputies to the Gazi's words. The points that were most noticeable were that the



loudest applause during the whole speech followed the President's reference to the opening of the Sivas Railway. There is some significance in this, for Fethi Bey's most considered criticism of Ismet Pasha's Government was directed to the extravagancies of his policy of railway construction and of the Sivas Railway in particular. On the other hand, the information that the lists for subscription to the State Bank were open to the Deputies was received in stony silence. The allusion to the Greek and Hungarian visits was naturally applauded, while the references to the administration of justice, the irregularities of the municipal elections, and to the abuse of the liberty of the press were received with somewhat rueful countenances. The general impression I derived was that the position of Ismet Pasha is, at the moment, as strong as, if not stronger than, ever, and that Fethi Bey has got a long and difficult task in front of him.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*E.O. 424/273, p.103, No.119.*

#### No. 40

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

*No.423.*

ANGORA, November 4, 1930

(Received November 10, 1930)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.440 of the 30<sup>th</sup> October, 1929, I have the honour to report that the usual celebration of the Turkish National Day took place on the 29<sup>th</sup> ultimo in circumstances of special *éclat*, owing to the presence of the heads of the Greek and Hungarian Governments.

2. There was the usual reception by the Gazi of the Diplomatic Body, followed by a review of the troops in Angora and of boy scouts from all over the country. As usual the troops impressed one as first-class military material, though, except for the so-called guards, the marching and alignment did not seem to my unmilitary eye as good as last year, while the march past of the artillery was markedly less successful. This was probably due to the antics of some of the Turkish aviators, who flew over the troops and the stands at a height of a few feet, a manoeuvre that, however striking as a demonstration of Turkish progress in the art of flying, will, I devoutly trust, not be repeated, for the slightest mishap or misjudgement could have literally swept off the face of the earth the Gazi and his Government, as well as M. Venizelos and Count Bethlen, to say nothing of all the heads of foreign missions in Angora.

3. As soon as the last of the detachments of boy scouts had passed, the review ended, and it must be confessed that nobody, except possibly those who had been waiting all day to take part, regretted the absence of girl guides, students of the conservatoire and local school of medicine and university, school children of various ages, and representatives of Turkish sport in appropriate dress, who have hitherto been a protracted and slightly ludicrous feature of the day's proceedings.

4. In the evening there was the customary dinner to heads of missions at the Angora Palace Hotel, at which the Gazi was present, followed by the annual ball, which took place this year in the recently finished building of the Turkish Ojak.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/273, p. 103, No. 120.*

## NO. 41

*Mr. Pait to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 532.

TEHRAN, November 4, 1930  
(Received November 15, 1930)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 431 of the 3<sup>rd</sup> September regarding the resignation or recall of Memdough Shevket Bey, the former Turkish Ambassador in Persia, I have the honour to inform you that his successor, Ridvanbeg Oglou Husev Bey, who presented his letters of credence on the 15<sup>th</sup> September, recently granted an interview to a representative of the Tehran newspaper, "Sitareh-i-Jehan," in which, after the usual platitudes, the Ambassador broached afresh the question of the rectification of the Perso-Turkish frontier in the region of the two Ararats, and stated, in unequivocal language, that the only possible solution of the problem consisted in the adjudication of Lesser Ararat to Turkey. He did not fail to attribute the Kurdish rising to the intrigues of a third Power (thereby merely following the lead of the entire Persian press), but he laid much stress on the ease with which the insurgents had been able to escape to the fastnesses of the Lesser Aglri Dag, from which, he implied, the Persian forces had been quite unable to dislodge them. If this region were transferred to Turkey, he declared, the Tabriz-Trebizond route could be used by traders in perfect safety. A policy of procrastination was worse than useless, and the Turco-Greek and Turco-Syrian frontier adjustments had clearly shown how beneficial to both parties was a reliance on modern international methods. When asked whether he foresaw an improvement in the commercial relations of the two countries, he replied firmly

that none could be expected until the problem of frontier rectification had been tackled and finally solved. The resultant increase in general security could not fail to bring about a closer economic co-operation.

2. His Excellency's remarks contained little else of importance. After insisting, at some length, on the duty of the leaders of the press in both countries to co-operate in burying their heritage of racial and religious hatred, he was asked what exactly Mustafa Kemal Pasha had meant when, in a recent pronouncement, he spoke of the close racial ties which united the two nations. The Ambassador replied with aplomb that recent researches carried out by Turkish archeologists had conclusively proved the common Altaic origin of both nations, and that these important discoveries would shortly be incorporated in a text-book for use in Turkish schools. It is permissible to doubt whether such revolutionary contributions to ethnological science will greatly appeal to a nation which has always prided itself on its pure Aryan descent.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

R. C. PARR

*F.O. 424/273, p.106, No.124.*

No. 42

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

*No. 433.*

CONSTANTINOPLE, November 13, 1930  
(Received November 17, 1930)

Sir,

Although, as reported in my despatch No.411 of the 23<sup>rd</sup> October last, the Government party secured victory in the municipal elections, it is becoming clear that the Turkish Government has realised that it does not possess the confidence of the nation.

2. The number of those who voted, or tried to vote, against the People's party, was greater than had been anticipated, but more striking still was the great number of those who abstained from voting, and on whom the Government had counted to ensure overwhelming victories at the polls. From the elections emerged the fact that the people were profoundly dissatisfied.

3. The Gazi was, to some extent, conscious of this dissatisfaction when he approved the foundation of an opposition party by Fethi bey, and appeared to be

contemplating driving Ismet Pasha from office, and allaying popular discontent by bringing in a more liberal Government under the leadership of the late Ambassador in Paris. But when Ismet Pasha, under this threat, had remodelled his Cabinet, and had promised reductions of taxation, it looked as though the Gazi and the People's party were satisfied that enough had been done to placate public opinion, and that nothing remained for Fethi Bey but to dissolve the party and retire to some other sphere of activity.

4. The municipal elections, however, showed that the people were far from satisfied with the sops offered to them under pressure by Ismet Pasha. The Gazi seems to have taken note of this, and, in his speech on the occasion of the opening of the Assembly, he made it clear that the party system was to continue, and that the parties were to compete in next year's parliamentary elections. At the same time he warned both parties to purge themselves of all elements that were not truly republican. It is clear that he perceives that the existence of a second party enables popular discontent to find expression and, to some extent, allays it.

5. Since this pronouncement the People's party has been hard at work reforming its organisation, inspecting its clubs in all districts with a view to educating the voters and securing new adherents and finally altering the Government programme and promising more reductions of taxation. There are rumours of the formation of a national bloc or even of a Coalition Government with the Free party, but the latter, while willing to combine with the Government against foreign enemies, and against reactionaries and anti-republicans at home, seems to want a free hand in criticising the financial and economic policy of the Government.

6. In its desire to gain public opinion and widen its basis, the Government party are now said to be approaching opponents whom it formerly persecuted. Refet Pasha, who was in 1926 arrested and tried for being a leader of the anti-Government Progressive party, has been staying in Angora for a few days, and, although he states that his visit is purely private, has been visiting Ismet Pasha. Hussein Cahid Bey has been offered the post of director of the Bank of Industry and Mines.

7. On his side Fethi Bey has been revivifying his organisation, proclaiming that there is no room for any but good republicans in his party, and is on the 15<sup>th</sup> November to address a parliamentary question to the Government on the subject of the irregularities committed during the municipal elections, and Government interference in them. It is also reported in the press that the Gazi has had an interview of over two hours with him in the house of Tahsin Bey.

8. There is no doubt that the Gazi has been working hard to probe the popular discontent and find a remedy for it. In a few days he is to set out for a tour of

Turkey, accompanied by the Minister of the Interior, the secretary of the Free party, a representative of the People's party (Saffet Bey, the secretary-general, being unable to leave Angora during the period of reorganisation of the People's party) and certain Deputies. The Gazi's object is to ascertain the actual views and condition of the people, to form his own opinion about the conduct of the municipal elections, and probably to learn whether his personal prestige still stands where it did.

9. In view of the distress prevailing everywhere, it will need all the Gazi's ability to content his people. The only remedy seems to lie in improving the financial situation, a problem that will tax Turkish statesmanship to the utmost.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/273, p. 111-112, No.127.*

### No. 43

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No.439.

CONSTANTINOPLE, November 19, 1930

*(Received November 24, 1930)*

Sir,

As reported in my telegram No.120 of the 17<sup>th</sup> instant, Fethi Bey, leader of the Liberal Republican party, on the 16<sup>th</sup> November, announced the dissolution of his party, a decision which, in the light of the impression made on Mr. Helm, as reported in my despatch No.369 of the 24<sup>th</sup> September last, that Fethi Bey's party would come to nothing, and of my doubts as to the party's prospects as recorded in my despatch No. 356 of the 10<sup>th</sup> September last, has nothing of surprise in it beyond its early occurrence.

2. Fethi Bey's announcement was made on the morrow of a ten hours' sitting of the Grand National Assembly, devoted to his interpellation of the Government on the subject of the irregularities and illegalities committed during the recent municipal elections. In a four hours' speech Fethi Bey protested against the branding as Communists, reactionaries and anarchists of people whose only fault was their wish to vote for the Liberal party. He cited at length instances of official interference in the elections, of intimidation of voters and of refusal to allow voters to exercise their right to vote. He named localities where more votes were found to have been recorded than there were voters, and others where packets of voting papers were found in the ballot-boxes either unsigned or bearing in every case the same thumb-print.

3. The Minister of the Interior, and the Government Deputies who replied to Fethi Bey's indictment, accused the supporters of the Liberal party of being responsible for interference with the liberty of the vote, and of intimidating electors. Public order had been menaced by Liberal demonstrators, who had flouted the authority of the republic and of the Valis. It was clear that the ranks of the Opposition party included few people inspired with republican ideals, but many whose only object was anarchy. Vasif Bey (Smyrna, and ex-Minister of Education) stated that, of three bandits arrested at Odemish, one had a card of membership of the Liberal party, and another was wearing a suit given to him by a leading local Liberal supporter. From this he drew the conclusion that the Liberal party was composed of brigands, assassins and prison breakers.

4. Ali Bey (Afyon Karahisar, and former president of the notorious Tribunal of Independence) regretted that the new party instead of being useful to the country, was on the way to being a misfortune to it. He foresaw that the disorders its existence provoked would lead to bloodshed. This must at all costs be avoided. Fethi Bey's record did not inspire confidence. When previously in office, his "liberal" ideas had led to the revolt of Sheikh Said. These same ideas had recently led him to declare that the country must pay its debts. At the close of the Great War Fethi Bey was in the Cabinet which accepted the humiliating armistice of Mudros. The Assembly responded by frantic cheers when Ali Bey, pointing first to Fethi Bey said: "There is the man who signed the armistice of Mudros"; and then, indicating Ismet Pasha: "And here is the man who signed the armistice of Mudania."

5. The reply of the Minister of the Interior to Fethi Bey's interpellation completely evaded the issue. The Minister enunciated tolling periods about the duties of Government officials, but made not the slightest attempt to refute or explain Fethi Bey's categorical charges of illegal and oppressive action during the municipal elections by those same Government officials and the gendarmerie.

6. Fethi Bey contented himself with pointing out the irrelevance of the Government reply to his interpellation. He admitted having advised the payment of the country's debts, but said that the annuities must be proportionate to the paying capacity of the State. The Assembly then declared its confidence in the Government by 225 votes to 10.

7. It was noticed during the debate that the Gazi, while showing his amusement at some of the more telling points in Fethi Bey's speech, displayed overt approval of the points made by the Government speakers and of their descriptions of the character of the new party's supporters.

8. On the day following the debate, Fethi Bey held a meeting of his party, and, after twice visiting the Gazi, announced its dissolution. In an official manifesto to



the public he states that he founded his party with the approval and encouragement of the Gazi, and that he was then of opinion that there was no likelihood of any struggle arising between the Gazi and the new party, but that, as events turned out, it became evident that his party might find itself opposed to the President of the Republic in the political arena, and, such a situation being intolerable, he had come to the conclusion that his party must be dissolved.

9. Being interpreted, this manifesto means that Fethi Bey considers that he has been badly let down by the Gazi. I hear from a fairly good source that last Saturday Fethi Bey went to the President and pointed out that, so long as he, the Gazi, was titular President of the People's party, no matter how much he delegated the actual work to the vice-president, Ismet Pasha, the Opposition would inevitably be represented as attacking the head of the State. The only chance of a fair run for the Opposition was if the Gazi dissociated himself from either party. This Mustafa Kemal refused to do, and Fethi Bey at once decided on dissolution.

10. The truth seems to be that the events connected with Fethi Bey's visit to Smyrna and the municipal elections surprised and alarmed both the Government and the Gazi. The impression made on them appears to be that expressed to a member of my staff by a prominent Government Deputy, namely, that the new party attracted to itself all the forces of reaction, and was therefore doomed. Fethi Bey thought that he could arrive at office by appealing to the populace, whereas he should have been satisfied to create an intellectual Opposition in the Assembly.

11. It is reported that Fethi Bey and Agaoglu Ahmed Bey will continue to sit as independent members, and that some of the Deputies who went over to the new party will return to the Government fold. Nuri Bey, secretary of the Liberal party, did not - as a result of its dissolution - accompany the Gazi when he started, on the 17<sup>th</sup> November, on his tour of Turkey, although he was announced to do so.

12. But Fethi Bey has one consolation for the brief existence of his party. It has justified itself by bringing about a radical change in the Government party, which is now actively employed in putting its house in order, searching for doubtful elements in it, and trying to bring itself more into harmony with popular opinion. That is some compensation for an event which marks a distinct step back in the political evolution of Turkey. Ismet Pasha is now for the moment supreme, the Gazi's prestige has suffered and, as a political friend of mine put it: "La voix tonitruante d'Ali Bey menaçant la potence" is not exactly encouraging for those who may think of forming a fresh Opposition. Much will depend on the result of the Gazi's tour.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK



## No. 44

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 440.

CONSTANTINOPLE, November 19, 1930

*(Received November 24, 1930)*

Sir,

With reference to paragraph 7 of my despatch No. 433 of the 13<sup>th</sup> November, I have the honour to report that the President of the Republic left Angora by train on the evening of the 17<sup>th</sup> November for Kayseri, the first stage of the protracted tour of the provinces which his Excellency is undertaking with a view to study local conditions at the present crisis in the political and economic life of Turkey.

2. The following official communiqué relating to the journey appeared in the Constantinople press of yesterday:

"His Excellency the President of the Republic, wishing to undertake a journey through the provinces in order to study local conditions, will leave Angora on the evening of the 17<sup>th</sup> November. The journey will cover as wide a field as possible. Should the Gazi's return to Angora become necessary before the completion of the tour, a further journey may be undertaken at a later date. The head of the State trusts, however, that he will not be asked to modify the existing programme, which has been drawn up with a view to enabling him to obtain the best results in the shortest possible time. His Excellency the Gazi is, moreover, particularly anxious that his journey should be marked by no manifestations or ceremony whatsoever, either public or private. The principal object of the head of the State is to arrive at conclusions regarding the everyday life of the people in the localities to be visited, and any ceremony or manifestation would mask the natural aspect of the life led in those centres."

3. This morning papers announce that the Gazi was accorded an enthusiastic send-off at Angora station. His Excellency was observed to be in high spirits and, according to the "Milliyet," his features displayed an expression of even greater energy than they habitually wear. He chatted in his compartment with the Prime Minister, the Chief of the General Staff, the President of the Assembly and - while the irony of the situation must have been felt by the most obtuse among the onlookers - with poor Fethi Bey, whose infant party, sponsored, if not actually begotten, by Mustafa Kemal himself, Fethi had the very day before been forced to immolate with his own hands on the altar of Gazi and Fatherland.

4. The President is accompanied on his tour by Sükrü Kaya Bey, Minister of the Interior, six representatives of the other Ministries, and the following Deputies: Recep, Kılıç Ali, Salih, Cevat Abbas, Resit Galip, Falih Rifki, Recep Rüstü and Rusen Esref; also by Memduh Sevket Bey, until lately Turkish Ambassador at

Tehran. Saffet Bey, secretary-general of the Popular party, remained behind at Angora, not, it would seem, because his position has been in any way shaken by recent events, but merely because the work of party reorganisation from headquarters was the most important task for him to perform. As stated in paragraph 11 of my despatch No. 439 of to-day's date, Nuri Bey, the secretary-general of the Liberal party, did not accompany the Gazi as he would have done but for that party's sudden demise, and the President is, in consequence, now dispensed from the necessity of sometimes hearing the other side.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/273, P. 115-116, No. 132.*

### No. 45

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 444.

CONSTANTINOPLE, November 20, 1930

*(Received November 21, 1930)*

Sir,

In my despatch No. 439 of yesterday I alluded to the alleged efforts of Fethi Bey to get the Gazi to resign the presidency of the People's party, since otherwise the new Liberal party would inevitably come into political conflict with the Chief of the State.

2. There is enough truth in this contention to give Fethi Bey plausible public grounds for dissolving his party, but I believe that the real reason for his action lies deeper.

3. As President of the People's party the Gazi has the nomination of Deputies in his hand, and so long as that continues opposition exists at the pleasure of Mustafa Kemal.

4. From such scanty as I have been able to glean, and after sifting surmises from every quarter, my view of the course of events is as follows:

5. Fethi Bey saw from the outset that this meant that any real parliamentary opposition was farcical. He, therefore, tried to change the basis of the headship of the State. He suggested that the President should assimilate his position to that of the President of the United States and be elected by the vote of the people. Then he proposed to Mustafa Kemal to accept the presidency for life. Either alternative would have raised the Gazi above party politics, but the Gazi refused to conform,

nominally because neither position was in accord with his political ideals, but in reality because he meant to keep his hold on the Deputies.

6. There remained one possible hope, universal suffrage and secret ballot. For reasons unknown to me, Fethi Bey, about a week ago, was confident that he could carry this, but then an event happened which shattered the prospect. Marshal Fevzi Pasha, the Chief of the General Staff, returned to Angora and reported that all the army commanders were against the Liberal party. From that moment the Gazi's support was lost and the party was doomed, and there are many who see the gallows in the background. I trust this is too pessimistic, but it is certainly not beyond possibility that a "conspiracy" will be luckily discovered during the Gazi's tour. Certainly, if party politics are going to rise in temperature to the level of the enclosed caricatures in to-day's issue of the Liberal party's paper, the "*Turque libérale*," we shall soon see acts of violence. A production of such boldness is, in this country, asking for trouble.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/273, p. 116, No. 133.*

No. 46

*Sir F. Humphys to Lord Passfield*

*(Communicated by Colonial Office, December 12)*

*(Confidential)*

BAGDAD, October 20 to November 20, 1930

My Lord,

When I left London in November 1929 to take up my appointment in Bagdad, it was suggested by His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople that I should follow the example of my predecessor and travel via Angora, in order to make the acquaintance of the principle authorities of the Turkish Republic. As arrangements had already been completed for me to make the journey via Egypt and Palestine, the carrying out of the Ambassador's suggestion was postponed till my return from London this year.

2. I arrived in Constantinople on the 4<sup>th</sup> October, and on the following day accompanied Sir George Clerk to Angora. After paying visits to Ismet Pasha and Shukri Kaya, the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, I was entertained at an official luncheon, and later was received in audience by Mustafa Kemal Pasha. The Gazi was most cordial, and first questioned me about my experiences during the revolution in Afghanistan, and especially about the causes of King Amanullah's

tragic downfall. I explained that Amanullah made the fatal mistake of regarding himself as a popular hero with a loyal army at his back, willing and able to enforce drastic innovations on backward and ignorant tribesmen. He imagined that what the Gazi had done in Turkey he could do equally well in Afghanistan, forgetting that his own prestige, the power of his army, and the mentality of his countrymen were of an entirely different complexion. Moreover, he was betrayed into excesses by disloyal and inexperienced Ministers. I said that I entertained a strong personal liking for Amanullah and the Afghan nation, and was much distressed that his well-meaning efforts had resulted in disaster to his throne and needless suffering to his people.

The Gazi agreed with my diagnosis of the Afghan troubles, but said that in his talks with Amanullah he had always been impressed with the unsoundness of his views, and he felt strongly that this headstrong and foolish young autocrat was deserving of no sympathy whatever. I wondered whether this somewhat harsh verdict had been prompted by the fact that the Gazi had originally backed Amanullah, on Soviet advice, to win the civil war.

3. We then discussed antiquities and ethnology. The Gazi was at pains to prove that the races of Western Europe and the Osmanlı Turks possessed a common origin, and seemed interested to hear that I had visited the ancient homelands of the Turks in Central Asia. During the course of this discussion I mentioned that Enver Pasha had written to me from Dushambe, in the province of Bokhara, when I was Minister in Kabul in 1922, asking me for help in arms and money to enable the Basmarchis to throw off the Soviet yoke. This reminiscence provoked the Gazi to tell some interesting stories of his own relations with Enver. He said that he had done all he could to prevent the entry of Turkey into the Great War, and had consistently opposed Enver's policy of harnessing the country's fortunes to Germany. He recalled three letters which Enver had written him, which showed what an ambitious, short-sighted visionary he was.

The first, written during the war, suggested a *coup d'Etat*, which was to place Enver in supreme power as dictator, and offered the Gazi the command of the Constantinople and Dardanelles armies. He asked for an interview with Enver and turned down this suggestion.

The second letter, written from Moscow after the war, proposed a league of Asiatic States, comprising Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and Bokhara, which would be entirely independent of foreign control, and the Gazi was invited to join in the task of consolidating this union. He replied that the degree of "independence" of this incoherent confederation might be guessed by a reference to the address from which Enver had written his letter, and he refused to have anything to do with such a scheme.

The third letter was written by Enver from Bokhara shortly before his death, and requested money and arms in order to assist him in his task of emancipating the Central Asian khanates from the tyranny of the Soviet. This letter, to which no reply was sent, was signed with Enver's new seal and embellished with the device "King of Bokhara and son-in-law of the Caliph."

I gained the impression that in recounting these episodes the Gazi wished to convey to me, as one who was familiar with the history of the pan-Turanian and pan-Islamic movements in Asia, that he had always been opposed to these movements and to entangling Asiatic alliances, and that modern Turkey's outlook was definitely towards the West. At the same time, it seemed to me that he was conveying to His Majesty's Ambassador a hint that Turkey's alliance with Moscow was involuntary, and that while he gratefully acknowledged the remarkable increase in the cordiality of Anglo-Turkish relations during Sir George Clerk's four years in Constantinople, he would prefer the development of still closer friendship with England. Finally, the Gazi, in answer to my question, told me that he thought that Iraq had obtained a fair treaty, and he was gratified at the excellent relations which existed with his southern neighbour. The interview lasted two and a half hours, and I was impressed by the Gazi's masterful personality, the wide range of his interests, and his inflexibility of purpose.

4. On the following day Ismet Pasha and Shukry Kaya returned my calls, and we discussed Turco-Iraqi relations especially in regard to Kurdistan. I explained that the policy of His Majesty's Government, as the mandatory Power in Iraq, was to encourage the Arabs to treat the Kurds with sympathy and justice, and to induce the Kurds to live as loyal and contented citizens of the new Iraq States. The idea of an independent Kurdistan was foolish and impracticable, and any rumour that it was countenanced by His Majesty's Government was false.

In reply to a question as to what steps the Iraq Government would take to deny an asylum to Kurds fleeing before the Turkish armies into Iraq, I said that the Iraq Government would do everything in its power to disarm Kurdish refugees and prevent them from using Iraq territory as a base for operations against the Turks, and I assured them that any failure to take prompt and effective action would be due to lack, not of goodwill, but of resources.

I also emphasised that the Permanent Frontier Commission could only contribute to the peace of the border if more care was taken to carry their findings into effect. Otherwise, it was obvious that the aggrieved parties would continue to take reprisals in their own way.

The two Ministers, who were very cordial, assured me that they were satisfied of the friendly intentions of the Iraq Government, and promised to co-operate in the prevention of frontier raids. These have recently caused considerable havoc in Southern Kurdistan, due probably to the withdrawal of the Turkish posts from the vicinity of the border.

5. İsmet Paşa was very expansive at the lunch party given by Sir George Clerk, and regaled me with stories about Lord Curzon, for whom, in spite of their acute differences, he professed a profound admiration. He told me that he had no real complaint to make against Iraq, but hoped that efforts would soon be made to bring the Sheikh of Barzan under control, as he was showing active sympathy with the rebel Kurds in Turkey. He reminded me that his Government had a pecuniary interest in the early development of the Mosul oil-fields, and remarked that if the Iraq Government permitted the pipe-line to be laid through Syria, they would enable the French to obtain a stranglehold on the country. It was ridiculous he said, to expect that the French would ever give up the Syrian mandate. The best and safest outlet for the Mosul oil, he naively added, would be through Adana.

6. I returned with Sir George Clerk to Constantinople on the 8<sup>th</sup> October and had an interview with Teyfik Rüstü, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who had just come back from Moscow. He seemed very anxious that the French should somehow be induced to evacuate the "bec de canard," which he described as a useless wedge between Turkey and Iraq.

With all these high authorities, I was enabled through the kindness of His Majesty's Ambassador to have interesting conversations, and the personal contact that has been established should prove to be of great value to me in my work at Bagdad. For such fruits as this enjoyable visit may bring forth I am indebted to the generosity and forethought of Sir George Clerk.

7. I have sent a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador in Constantinople.

I have, &c.

F. H. HUMPHRYS  
*High Commissioner for Iraq*

*F.O. 424/273, p.123-124, No. 141.*

## No. 47

*W. D. W. Matthews to Sir G. Clerk*

*No.134.*

*TREBIZOND, December 9, 1930*

Sir,

I have the honour to report in continuation of my despatch, No.130 of the 28<sup>th</sup> ultimo, that during his visit to Trebizond the President of the Republic made two excursions by motor-car, the one to a short distance beyond the Degirmendere bridge on the Trebizond-Rize road, and the other to the electric power station at Visera, south-west of Trebizond.



2. The Gazi spent most of his time here in interviewing members of the People's Party and the defunct Liberal Republican Party, the head of which was Sagir-zade Ayri bey, a local merchant. The gist of his conversations was published by the "Anatolian Agency" on the 28<sup>th</sup> ultimo. The Gazi made it clear that he was travelling as Head of the People's Party rather than as President of the Republic, and appears to have been very frank in his criticisms of members of his own Party, both here and at Samsun. It is reported that half the members of the People's Party at Samsun have been forced to resign, and that the Party is being reorganized. Seyket Bey, one of the deputies of Gümüşhane in the Grand National Assembly, who for the last five or six years had been the People's Party's Inspector for the Kerasund-Trebizond-Rize district, has resigned his inspectorship, the duties of which appear to have been entrusted to a committee of deputies, who include Hasan Bey, the well-known Trebizond deputy and Ali Fuad Bey, a deputy of Rize. No reorganisation, unaccompanied by a reduction of taxation, will make the People's Party popular locally. Moreover, while the new headgear and the new writing may appear matters of minor importance elsewhere, in this part of the country they are regarded as definite proof of anti-religious bias, and are nursed as grievances against Mustafa Kemal and the People's Party.

3. I am informed that the Gazi was very distrustful of local people, and that special precautions were taken with regard to persons allowed to approach him. He spent his two nights here at the "Türk Ocağı", and had his food and liquor sent ashore from the steamship "Ege", by which he travelled.

4. The President of the Republic left Trebizond for Constantinople by the "Ege" in the afternoon of November 29. It was noticed that he caused his suite to proceed on board first, after which he embarked himself, having the gangway immediately raised. Various local notabilities, who had put off in motor boats to take leave of His Excellency on board the "Ege", were unable to do so, and had to content themselves with cruising round the ship as it got under way.

I have, &c.

W. D. W. MATTHEWS

*F.O. 371/14585/E. 6860.*



No. 48

Mr. Macomachie to A. Henderson

No. 106.

KABUL, December 17, 1930  
Confidential

Sir,

The Turkish Ambassador, at a farewell visit which he paid me before leaving for his tour in India, expressed himself with unusual freedom.

2. His Excellency remarked that Turkey had of course turned her face westwards many years ago, and her culture was entirely Western in character. She could not however make such a gesture of aversion from Russia as would be implied by her entry into the League of Nations.

The League was definitely opposed to Russia, and Turkey could not afford to join this opposition, if for no other reason than that of her weakness in the direction of the Caucasus. The distance of this frontier from railhead was very great, while on their side of it the Russians had good lateral communications. From Iraq and Syria, Turkey had nothing to fear since she could put an army on these frontiers long before either Great Britain or France could land troops from overseas.

From the practical standpoint therefore it was even more important for Turkey to remain on good terms with Russia than with the Western Powers. It was as impossible politically for her to join the League, as it was financially impossible for her to discharge her obligations in respect of the Ottoman Debt. Asked whether he regarded the League's opposition to Russia as defensive or offensive in character, His Excellency replied that it would be offensive so long as Russia was weak, and defensive as soon as Russia became strong.

3. Although these are subjects on which you no doubt receive comprehensive and more authoritative information from other sources, Hikmet Bey's remarks appear to be of some interest in view both of his professed intimacy with Mustafa Kemal, and of his close relations with M. Stark.

4. It is unlikely that he has concealed these opinions from the Afghan Foreign Minister, who as noticed in my despatch No.18, date June 12<sup>th</sup> 1930, has the reputation of being a Turcophile; and consequently it seems not improbable that the enquiries made by the Afghan Government, which I had the honour to report in my telegram No.186, dated October 30, regarding the procedure for admission to the League, may be largely actuated by some vague idea of insuring Afghanistan against such violations of her northern frontier by Russia as occurred last June.

These enquiries have since been repeated by the Foreign Minister with some impatience.

5. A copy of this despatch is being forwarded to the Secretary of State for India and to the Government of India.

I have, &c.

MACONACHIE

*F.O. 371/15374/E.216.*

## No. 49

*Mr. P. Ramsay to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 649.

*ATHENS, December 19, 1930*

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, with reference to your despatch No. 516 of December 8<sup>th</sup>, regarding Turkish political refugees in Greece, that reports recently appeared in two Athens newspapers, "Akropolis" and "Kathemerini", that the Governor-General of Thrace had ordered ten anti-Kemalist Turks to be expelled from Greece by January 16<sup>th</sup>. The Turks were said to have been condemned to death by the Turkish Government. "Kathemerini" added that the expulsion was the result of a verbal promise made by Monsieur Venizelos to Mustafa Kemal, whilst "Akropolis" declared that they were to be deported to Turkey.

2. The matter has caused considerable discussion in the press, and in the course of the debate in the Chamber, on the Greco-Turkish Treaty of Angora, Monsieur Venizelos made a statement to the following effect:

3. The persons to be deported were not many, nor were they Greek citizens. They were not going to be handed over to Turkey, they could settle where they pleased, and would be helped by the State. The Turkish Government did not ask for their expulsion, but when Monsieur Venizelos had mentioned to the competent authorities in Turkey certain complaints on the part of Greeks of Constantinople, he had asked whether the Turks had complaints to make of Mussulmans in Thrace. They told him that there were certain persons there who carried on a propaganda against Turkish State and created friction. Monsieur Venizelos had replied that he was ready to remove them if they were Turkish citizens. His Excellency subsequently instructed the Governor-General of Thrace to investigate the matter. The Turks concerned were then told that for the sake of good relations with Turkey, they must leave Thrace. If they desired to live in a part of Greece remote from Thrace, he would consider the possibility. It would, he

concluded, be a crime to hand them over to Turkey, since it was known that they were condemned to death by the Turkish Government.

4. I have forwarded a copy of this despatch to his Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

PATRICK RAMSAY

*F.O. 371/14576/F. 6928.*

### No. 50

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

*No. 490.*

CONSTANTINOPLE, *December 30, 1930*  
(Received January 5, 1931)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 484 of the 23<sup>rd</sup> December regarding certain changes in the Turkish Cabinet, I have the honour to report that on the 27<sup>th</sup> December Zekai Bey, Minister of Public Works, was appointed Minister of National Defence, and Hilmi Bey, Deputy for Adana, was appointed Minister of Public Works.

2. Hilmi Bey was Vali of Adana in 1925, and subsequently inspector of the People's Party there. In 1927 he became Deputy for Adana.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/274, p.4, No.3.*

### No. 51

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

*No. 491.*

CONSTANTINOPLE, *December 31, 1930*  
(Received January 5, 1931)

Sir,

The Turkish Government appear to regard as very grave an incident which took place at Menemen on the 23<sup>rd</sup> December, and was of a religious and anti-governmental character.

2. Some ten days previously, six individuals belonging to the Naksibendi sect of the suppressed order of Dervishes set out from Manisa under the leadership of one Dervis Mehmet. They visited the village of Bozalan, where they were well received and stayed eight days, and were furnished with arms. They then proceeded to Menemen, secured a religious banner from a mosque, and passed on to the market-place, where Dervis Mehmet proclaimed himself the Mahdi, harangued a large crowd, and called on them to rise for religion, the Caliph and the Seriat (Moslem canon law). The local commandant of gendarmerie arrived during the discourse, but, after listening for a time, returned to the barracks with his men. A young lieutenant named Kubilay endeavoured to arrest Dervis Mehmet, was wounded in the attempt, and fell, whereupon Dervis Mehmet sawed off his head and fixed it on the religious banner. The crowd made no protest, and some even applauded the barbarous act. Shortly afterwards detachments of soldiers and police were brought up and fired on the band, three of whom, including the leader, were killed, and one wounded, while two escaped, but have since been captured.

3. On learning the news, the Gazi, who is now in Constantinople, summoned from Angora the Prime Minister, Ismet Pasha, the Chief of the General Staff, Marshal Fevzi Pasha, and the President of the Grand National Assembly, Kazim Pasha, and, after a long conference, decided that the movement was of a far-reaching nature and must be ruthlessly stamped out. The Government is convinced that the greatest danger for the republic lies in religious reaction. It knows that a great number of the people secretly sympathise with any attempt to restore religion to the important position it once held in the State, and is determined to strike terror into all secret or overt opponents of the lay policy of the Government.

4. The Minister of the Interior, Sükrü Kaya Bey, and Fahreddin Pasha, Army Inspector, have been sent to Menemen, and are conducting an enquiry into the incident. They blame the Civil Governor of Menemen and the commandant of the gendarmerie there for failure to do their duty, and condemn the inhabitants of Menemen and the surrounding villages for supporting, or not denouncing, the band of reactionaries.

5. Arrests are being made each day in Menemen, Manisa, Bozalan, Balikeser and Constantinople, among those arrested in Constantinople being the head of the Naksibendi sect, Seyh Kurt Esat. It is stated that, before suppression, the number of adherents of the sect was some 10,000 including most of the members of the former Imperial family, and that numbers of Dervishes still meet secretly for the celebration of their religious rites, and even enrol new adherents.

6. The Assembly is to discuss the whole matter on the 1<sup>st</sup> January. It is to-day announced that, in accordance with article 86 of the Constitution, martial law is proclaimed in the districts of Menemen and Manisa, and that all offences will be tried by court-martial.

7. It is natural that the official press, in seeking for an explanation of the outbreak at Menemen, should attribute its prime cause to the hopes raised among reactionaries by the appearance of the now defunct Liberal Party, and the same press observes that many of those connected with the movement were adherents of the Liberal party, but it does not labour the theme. Other newspapers try, without much success, to show that the movement is due to some foreign intrigue. The Opposition newspapers are more restrained, and maintain that the Menemen incident is an isolated one, that too much importance must not be attributed to it, and that the republic is in no danger.

8. The true explanation of the affair probably is that there is still a deep religious feeling, in many cases amounting to fanaticism, among the people, and that consequently outbreaks similar to that of Menemen may be expected from time to time.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/274, p.45, No.4.*

No. 52

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No.493.

CONSTANTINOPLE, December 31, 1930  
(Received January 5, 1931)

Sir,

With reference to paragraph 4 of my despatch No.440 of the 19<sup>th</sup> November last, the following information which has reached me regarding the Gazi's tour of the provinces, which is still in progress, is of interest, though I cannot vouch for its complete accuracy:

2. Sefki Sami Bey, a representative of the Ministry of Finance who is in the presidential suite, has stated in private that Mustafa Kemal is making very thorough enquiries from all grades of society, and is trying very hard to circumvent the efforts of his Ministers to prevent unwelcome news from reaching his ear. He has been painfully surprised at the extent of the general poverty and misery, and particularly impressed by the prevailing dissatisfaction with the state of the tobacco trade.

3. From another source it is reported that the Gazi does not always succeed in hearing the voice of the people. It is related that the students of the University of Stambul had prepared an address, in which they were to give clear expression to their opinion that the President was surrounded by rascally Ministers who were

running the country and keeping the truth from him. The Faculty got wind of this proposal, however, and, not sharing the younger generation's anxiety for plain speaking, arranged that the Gazi's visit should take place during lecture hours, with the result that none of the students had a chance of expressing their views.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O.424/274, p.5, No.5.*

No. 53

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No.28.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *January 28, 1931*

*(Received February 2, 1931)*

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.491 of the 31<sup>st</sup> December last, relative to the Menemen incident, I have the honour to report that the court-martial, foreshadowed in that despatch, has been sitting for the last ten days and has heard the case against the first group of delinquents, the surviving members of Derviş Mehmet's band, those local people who were more directly implicated in the movement, various *hoca's*, Seyh Esat, the head of the Naksibendi sect, and a number of his disciples. The Public Prosecutor has asked for the death penalty in thirty-nine cases, but the verdict has not yet been pronounced, and it appears to be the general opinion that the Turkish Government will content itself with hanging the actual murderers of Kubilay Bey.

2. Meanwhile, an undesirable feature of the incident is the increased tendency of various Turkish newspapers to insinuate, and in some cases openly state, that British influence is at the back of the whole episode. It is true that most of these papers are worthless and irresponsible rags, but I enclose a copy of an article in yesterday's "Aksam," which is by way of being a serious and important paper, owned and edited by a prominent Deputy.

3. I have no fear that this nonsense is rated at anything beyond its proper value by the Turkish Government, save possibly within the walls of the Ministry of National Defence, where an ineradicable atmosphere of undying suspicion of Great Britain seems permanent. None the less, I thought it as well not to let these attacks pass altogether unnoticed, and by my direction Mr. Roberts mentioned the matter to the Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.



4. Numan Bey said that he had observed the attempt of certain organs of the press to attribute what had happened at Menemen to the machinations of British agents, but he pointed out that the papers in question were of doubtful political colour and not amenable to suggestions from official quarters. He deplored the irresponsibility of the Turkish journalists, who had been publishing the most incredible reports on matters of foreign policy and whom he has doing his utmost to induce to apply to the Ministry for their information on such topics. Mr. Roberts said that he, too, had noticed that the majority of these reports had appeared in irresponsible papers, and that this was the consoling feature in what was otherwise a depressing phenomenon. But there were apparently more serious cases, and Mr. Roberts mentioned the "İnkılâp," in which he believed the Prime Minister had until recently at any time held up interest. Numan Bey replied that the paper was owned by a certain Naci bey, whose father had been a Persian and was previously connected with the "İkdam" and the "Vakit," and that he felt sure that the Prime Minister had no interest in it, as it had only recently strongly attacked the People's party. Mr. Roberts then showed Numan Bey a cartoon in "Köröglü," showing Colonel Lawrence being unmasked as the guiding spirit of reaction in Turkey, but admitted that the paper was apparently oppositional in sympathy, as it had favoured the fortunes of the Liberal party until shortly before the latter's demise. Finally, Mr. Roberts came to the report in the "Vakit" of the 23<sup>rd</sup> January, to the effect that an alleged Colonel Holstein, a British spy and the companion of Lawrence, had been hovering on the southern frontier and issuing his instructions to the Naksibendi dervishes. Mr. Roberts said that this seemed to him more serious, as the editor of the "Vakit" was Asim Bey, a prominent of the Popular party. Numan Bey, naturally scouted these ridiculous insinuations, which he characterised as stories from the "Thousand and One Nights," but he promised to speak to the Director of the Press Bureau and ask him to do what he could with the journalists.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/274, p.10-11, No.7.

No. 54

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson

No.37.

ANGORA, February 4, 1931  
(Received February 9, 1931)

Sir,

On Monday evening, the 2<sup>nd</sup> February, the grand national Assembly confirmed twenty-eight out of the thirty-seven (not thirty-nine, as originally announced) death sentences pronounced by the Menemen court-martial, and, in accordance with Turkish practice, the executions were presumably carried out yesterday. Of the thirty-seven condemned men, two, including the aged Sheikh Esat, the leading



figure, have died in prison, and five were, under Turkish law, either too old or too young to suffer the extreme penalty, leaving thirty cases to the decision of the Assembly, who reprieved two. Thus, contrary to the general expectation, as recorded in my despatch No. 28<sup>10</sup> January last, the National Assembly has shown itself almost as stern as the court-martial.

2. I think that most unbiased observers, whether Turks or foreigners, were of the opinion that the sovereign authority in Turkey, that is, the National Assembly, would be guided by the Government to show clemency to all except the actual instigators of the movement and direct participators in the murder of Kublay Bey, for such a course would have enhanced the civilised reputation of the country abroad and would have shown the Turks themselves that the Government were strong enough to inflict strict punishment without any taint of indiscriminate panic-born vengeance. I was, therefore, interested to receive the impression from the Prime Minister and several members of his Cabinet, who happened to be supping informally with me last night, that the Government had undoubtedly received a most unpleasant and unexpected shock, and were still under its influence and determined that the punishments should be of such severity as to deter any possible imitators of Sheikh Esat. For instance, I happened to observe to one of my guests that I had been struck, in reading the reports of the court-martial, by the fact that the accused were very largely old or elderly men, obviously too set in the old ways and too ignorant to grasp the ideals of the New Turkey, and one or two boys, dominated and awed by their elders, but that the ruling generation and the younger men who were learning to succeed it did not figure in the movement from which I thought the Government could see that the country was, as a whole, imbued with their own spirit, and that the Menemen incident was merely an isolated case, such as might, indeed, in the actual circumstances of Turkey, almost inevitably would, arise from time to time and that there was no occasion for any serious misgivings. Rather to my surprise, my friend replied that it had only just missed being very dangerous, and he can be taken as voicing the general feeling of the Turkish authorities and the Assembly, a feeling which would account for the unexpected harshness of the sentences. And I would add that undoubtedly a serious factor in the nervousness exhibited by the Government has been the slackness, and still worse, definite refusal to obey orders, of some of the local gendarmerie and troops. It will be interesting to see what treatment is meted out to these offenders, whose case is now to be tried by the court-martial.

3. In my despatch referred to above, I drew attention to a tendency on the part of the press to discover the hand of Colonel Lawrence and the British Intelligence Service behind the movement. The aged Sheikh Esat, the leading figure in the whole business, in spite of all medical efforts, died two days ago in hospital at Menemen, and the president of the court-martial has issued a statement that, on

his death-bed, the shiekh was preparing a declaration which could definitely have shown the connexion of Colonel Lawrence with the affair. This is more than the utterance of irresponsible journalists, and I have therefore, drawn the serious attention of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to a statement which fantastic though it is, may, owing to its source, receive popular credence and do unnecessary harm.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/274, p. 44-45, No. 11.*

No. 55

*Mr. A. Henderson to Sir G. Clerk*

No. 83.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *February 5, 1931*

Sir,

The Turkish Ambassador called on me this morning and left with me the accompanying aide-mémoire. His Excellency said that his Government wished also to thank me for urging the claim of Turkey to participate in the work of the European Commission. The Turkish Government were extremely anxious to collaborate in every way with His Majesty's Government, and so strong was their desire to do what His Majesty's Government wanted that I could count on their following our lead in all important questions, disarmament and other things.

2. The Ambassador went on to speak about Turkey and the League of Nations. His Government, he said, were now inclined no longer to insist on being allotted a permanent seat on the Council as a condition of their joining the League. They did feel, however, that they had a right to expect as much consideration as Poland, and they hoped that, if they asked for a semi-permanent seat on the Council, they could count on the support of His Majesty's Government.

3. I said that naturally I could not commit myself definite answer, but I would go into the matter very carefully. In any case, I felt that it was now in Turkey's real interests to be inside, not outside, the League.

4. The Ambassador said that his Government counted with a certain confidence on their request being backed up by Germany and Italy, but they were afraid of obstruction on the part of France. If Great Britain took up a definite stand in favour of the Turkish request, the Ambassador thought that the French Government would not be likely to press their opposition. His Excellency went on to tell me in confidence that his Government had the impression that the French Government at present looked with less favour on Turkish aspirations than formerly, as they resented Turkish friendship with Italy and Russia. But Russia was

Turkey's most important neighbour, and it was of the highest importance to keep on good terms with her. Relations between the two countries were amicable at present, as were also those with Iraq; he hoped that this satisfactory state of things would continue.

I am, &c.

ARTHUR HENDERSON

*F.O. 424/274, P.11, No.8.*

Enclosure in No. 55

*Aide-Mémoire*

The Turkish Government have asked me to convey to your Excellency their heartfelt thanks for the friendly attitude and the kindly disposition which your Excellency was good enough to show when the question of Turkey was discussed at the Preparatory Commission for the Union of the European States at Geneva.

In his communication Tevfik Rüstü Bey adds that he quite expected this courteous gesture, considering the friendly relations existing between the two countries.

*Turkish Embassy, London,  
February 5, 1931*

*F.O. 424/274, p.12, No.8/1.*

No. 56

*Note by Sir R. Vansittart*

*February 6, 1931*

The Turkish Ambassador came to see me to-day. He said that what he was about to say he had already explained in a previous interview with the Secretary of State, but, as he had had in that interview to speak in English, of which he was no great master, he preferred to go over the ground again with me in French in case on any point he had been insufficiently explicit or had made himself incompletely understood. He was very voluble (and very friendly), and throughout the interview I had little opportunity of interposing a word, even if I had been so disposed.

He began with a lengthy exposition of the European situation as seen through Turkish eyes. Most of this he has probably already set forth to the Secretary of State. To put it briefly, the Turkish mind is full of old world or pre-war apprehensions, for which, of course, he had a certain amount of chapter and verse

at hand. The Turkish summary is that Europe is again tending to fall into a group system, which he classified as the contents and malcontents. Under the latter heading he referred specifically to Italy, Germany and Russia. As regards Italy and Russia in particular, Turkey has considerable, if rather vague, apprehensions in regard to an unspecified future, but, of course, he said Turkey felt bound by her position to stand well with them. He said, however, that Turkey feared that she was being pushed too far (and particularly by what they believed to be the present tendencies of French policy) towards the group of the malcontents, and this Turkey wished to avoid. He had recently been at Angora, where there had been considerable discussion of these topics, and he said the Turkish Government had come to the conclusion that there was only one country in Europe which was free from any tendency towards this uncomfortable and dangerous group system, and that was Great Britain. The Turkish Government had therefore decided that they wished to work with this country in terms of the friendliest collaboration, and he had come to tell me so officially. He repeated this twice.

From this lengthy preface, which I have greatly condensed, he came to what I suppose, was the main, if second, point of his visit, which was the one he had already set before the Secretary of State, namely, Turkish desire to enter the League of Nations, no longer, as had been originally wished, with a permanent seat, but with a semi-permanent one. He made it clear that, if Turkey was supported in this, the "friendly, frank and close collaboration" with this country would be forthcoming, not only by reason of sentiment, but also with an eye to Turkey's real interests, i.e., the avoidance of excessive drift towards the malcontents. With regard to these, he said his Government felt sure that Germany and Italy would support the Turkish request, and he wished to be assured of England's support also.\* This idea he had already explained fully to the Secretary of State, and I told him that I was aware that he had already spoken to the Secretary of State, and that I knew the terms of the Secretary of State's reply. He begged me, however, to discuss the matter with the Secretary of State next week, and I said I would of course report his visit and the substance of what he had said to the Secretary of State when he returned to London.

I should be glad of an opportunity to do so. The Turkish Ambassador was not pressing for an early reply, but I understand from the covering note attached to the Secretary of State's account of his interview with the Ambassador that he is personally inclined to view the Turkish request with sympathy. With this, although of course, I did not say so to the Ambassador, I also feel in agreement.

R. VANSITTART

\* He was afraid of the French opposition unless France were tactfully handled by us. I tried once or more during the interview to diminish his suspicions of France, but he remained good-humouredly unconvinced though unalarmed. I think this is partly due to the position of Syria. - RV

## No. 57

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 47.

ANGORA, February 16, 1931  
(Received February 26, 1931)

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that on the 12<sup>th</sup> February the Grand National Assembly approved, by a unanimous vote, the Greco-Turkish Treaty of Friendship, Neutrality, Conciliation and Arbitration signed at Angora on the 30<sup>th</sup> October last, the text of which was transmitted to you with my despatch No. 456 of the 9<sup>th</sup> December. The vote of the Assembly covered also the Greco-Turkish Protocol regarding the limitation of naval armaments, the text of which was transmitted with my despatch No. 418 of the 1<sup>st</sup> November last.

2. I enclose a French translation,\* furnished to me by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, of the speech delivered in the Assembly on this occasion by the Minister for Foreign Affairs. It will be observed that towards the end of his speech Tevfik Rüstü Bey pays a warm tribute to the part taken by Signor Mussolini and the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs in preparing the way for the Greco-Turkish rapprochement, and expresses the hope that Greece and Bulgaria will likewise succeed in reaching a satisfactory settlement of all their differences.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &amp;c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/274, p. 45, No. 12.

\* Cilne yok.

## No. 58

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 54

(Confidential)

CONSTANTINOPLE, February 18, 1931  
(Received February 24, 1931)

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith my annual report on Turkey for 1930.

2. The sections on naval and military affairs have been prepared by Captain Bevan, R.N., and Major O'Leary; that on commercial matters by Colonel Woods.

commercial secretary; the general survey is the work of Mr. P.M. Roberts, first secretary; and the remainder of the report, begun by the counsellor, Mr. Morgan, is, owing to his illness, in its present shape very largely the work of Mr. Clarke, second secretary.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/15376/E.913.

Enclosure in No. 58  
*Annual Report on Turkey for 1930*

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**I.- GENERAL SURVEY**

When the Fairy Blackstick was called to the cradle of the infant Prince Giglio, her words were: "My poor child, the best thing I can send you is a little *misfortune*." That misfortune, although unpleasant enough while it lasted, was, as the good fairy intended, ultimately to be the making of the young prince, and it must be hoped that Turkey will derive no less benefit from the period of trials into which the year 1930 has plunged her, after the halcyon days of unchecked progress and development which ensued on the establishment of the unquestioned sovereignty and independence of the young republic. Already, in the annual report for 1929, the advent of the economic crisis was noted, although its effects had then scarcely appeared on the surface. In 1930 that crisis has dominated every sphere of Turkish life. The legacy of a series of years of imprudent finance, and of the perturbation introduced into the economic organisation of the country by the expulsion or destruction of some of the most productive elements, matured at a time when the whole world was entering upon an unparalleled phase of depression, the principal sufferers from which were the producers of those primary products which are the mainstay of Turkey's export.

2. One of the principal manifestations of the crisis was the announcement early in the year that the Turkish Government would, after the coupons due in

May, be unable to meet the full scale of payments stipulated in the Ottoman Debt Agreement negotiated so recently as 1928. The consequent visit of two representatives of the Debt Councils to Angora resulted at the beginning of May in a provisional agreement for something in the nature of a partial moratorium, and in the invitation by the Turkish Government of an expert, to draw up a report on the situation and on the possibility of remedying it. After the presentation of the report, the Debt Councils pressed the Turkish Government to apply for a suspension of transfer as provided under the contract, but the latter steadfastly refused to do so on the ground that their difficulties struck much deeper, and that it was a question of inability to produce the necessary revenue even in Turkish currency. The council accordingly felt that it had no alternative but to declare Turkey in default. They felt, no doubt, though they did not like to say so in so many words, that the Turkish budgetary difficulties, though real enough, could be solved by the simple method of a reduction in the expenditure on public works, and to an even greater extent on defence. These two votes have always been the spoilt children of the Turkish budget, and, notwithstanding a determined attack made on the Government's railway policy by the ephemeral opposition, the indications are that they will retain their privileged position, although they may not entirely escape the effects of the crisis.

3. The economic crisis and the widespread discontent with the Government's policy which it provoked were probably the principal factors leading to the formation, with the encouragement, and probably at the direct instigation, of the Gazi, of an Opposition party, the Liberal party, launched by Fethi Bey, who quitted his Embassy at Paris for the purpose. Fethi Bey committed the fundamental error of attempting to run his party on thorough-going democratic Western lines, making an indiscriminate appeal for support wherever he could get it. The party thus became the rallying-ground for all the forces of discontent and reaction, forfeited the presidential favour in consequence, and soon came to a premature and ignominious end. During its brief existence the criticism which it levelled against the Government's policy had however, revealed the necessity for a through overhaul of the organisation of the Popular party and the administrative system of the whole country, and led the Gazi to the conclusion that he must undertake a journey throughout the country in order to study at first hand the prevailing conditions and the needs of the people, with which he had lost touch since his establishment at Çankaya as Head of the State. The results of the tour are expected to be far-reaching, and are awaited with the utmost interest.

4. At the end of the year, whilst the Gazi was in Thrace, a reactionary outbreak at Menemen reminded the Government that the modernisation and secularisation effected in recent years had not yet had time to penetrate beneath the surface, and that constant vigilance was necessary during the coming years in order to secure the fruits of the revolution. A recrudescence of rebellion among the Kurdish tribes

of Eastern Anatolia in the course of the summer gave no greater cause for surprise, though a serious military effort was necessary to crush it, and it is uncertain whether the forces of resistance may not break out again in the spring.

5. Although the economic crisis has been felt in Angora no less than elsewhere, the process of the development of the capital still continues, but the indications are that building progress in 1931 will be mainly in the way of foreign Embassies and Legations. A stage has now been reached where the Diplomatic Corps as a whole is better lodged than the Turkish Deputy and official, with the paradoxical consequence that, while the foreigner is now comparatively reconciled to life in Angora, and ready to commend its redeeming features, especially as he knows that his sojourn there is strictly limited, his indulgence towards life at the capital generally fails to call forth an enthusiastic response from the Turks. The diplomatic buildings which have been completed in the course of the year, apart from our own first permanent house, are the Persian Embassy and the Belgian Legation, although neither is as yet entirely ready for occupation. The Polish Embassy, which had been complete in 1929, was inaugurated during the year under review, and at the close of the year the foundations of the new Hungarian Legation had been laid, and arrangements made to begin work on the Czechoslovak and Yugoslav Legations in the ensuing spring. Of Turkish buildings, apart from a marked recrudescence in private building, a school of music, equipped with a fine concert-room, was taken into use, while the Ministry of Health added to its series of up-to-date buildings an extensive hospital. The Ministry of National Defence has completed and moved into gigantic new building, whilst at its side equally palatial accommodation for the General Staff is on the verge of completion, and an officer's training college is being erected close by. The headquarters of the Red Crescent are completed, and also a fine building, known as the Isnet Pasha Girls' Institute, devoted to the vocational training of young females. The process of street-widening continues at a modest pace, and has at last claimed as its victim the humble building in which the Ministry for Foreign Affairs was housed before moving to its present quarters. The boulevard leading out to Cankaya displayed this year an unbroken stretch of green lawn, which was diligently watered throughout the day to the detriment of the supply of water for domestic purposes. The scheme for equipping Angora with an adequate water supply to be derived from the hills of the Elma Dağ has not yet materialised, neither has that of erecting in the neighbourhood of the capital a barrage for irrigating an extensive tract of productive land. An ambitious programme for the development of roads radiating from Angora has had to be drastically curtailed under the pressure of economy, and the almost complete absence of metalled roads is probably to-day the most striking difference between Turkey and a Balkan State. Nothing has yet come of the reported intention of a German company to restore the air service between Constantinople and Angora, which was abandoned

some years ago. The host of the concession-hunters who used to form the bulk of the shifting population of the Angora Palace Hotel has dwindled almost to nothingness, and rumours have not been wanting that the hotel, which had not contrived to pay its way even in more prosperous years, would be obliged to close its doors. The menace has apparently been averted for the time being, to the great relief of the foreign community, but, trifling as it may seem when viewed from without, it is a microcosm of the period of stagnation and retrenchment upon which Turkey has embarked.

## II. FOREIGN AFFAIRS

### *Introduction.*

6. Russia retains the first place in Turkey's friendship, while France, of the Great Powers, is for the moment at the other end of the scale. Italy, Bulgaria and Hungary, and of late Greece, are objects of Turkey's cordiality, and a visit by the Japanese Crown Prince has given the occasion of welcoming Japan as Turkey's friend. During the summer Turkey fulminated against Persia for helping the Kurds in their rising against Turkey, and there were threats of temporary Turkish incursions into Persia in pursuit of Kurdish rebels, and declarations that the frontier must be adjusted. These feelings have now died down and Turkey has returned to her attitude of tolerant contempt of her Persian neighbour. Apart from the cordial welcome given to Tefik Rüstü during his visit to Russia, the most important event of the year has been the settlement with Greece of the problems arising out of the exchange of populations. This great triumph is now inspiring Turkey to work towards a settlement of Balkan differences. Turkey's declared attitude in foreign affairs is peace with all and a willingness to sign pacts of non-aggression with every country. Her attitude is subject to the proviso that new friendships must not conflict with old loyalties.

### *League of Nations.*

7. Turkey is torn between desire - born of an abnormal sense of her growing importance in the world politics, and of a fear that other countries do not fully share her opinion in this respect - not to be left out of a gathering in which many countries meet to discuss world affairs, and, according to Turkey, loyalty to her Soviet neighbour. On October Ismet Pasha told M. Venizelos that if Turkey were to join the League with the assurance of a semi-permanent seat the Soviet Government would understand, but that if she joined with only the prospect of a non-permanent seat she would give offence to the Soviet Government which naturally attached importance to Turkey's company in exclusion from the League. It seems to be Turkey's wish to be asked to join the League with the promise of a

semi-permanent seat, but the attitude of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom is, while ready to welcome Turkey's entry into the League, not to take any initiative in pressing her to join it.

#### *Great Britain*

8. Anglo-Turkish relations in 1930 were characterised by friendliness in high places. In the course of a long audience granted to Sir F. Humphrys, High Commissioner for Iraq, the Gazi remarked on the steady growth of cordial relations during the past four years. This friendliness was particularly manifested on the occasion of a request addressed by His Majesty's Embassy to the Turkish Government to lend some of its priceless treasures for show in the Persian Art Exhibition in London. The Gazi and İsmet Pasha personally intervened to overcome all obstacles, and to smooth over difficulties in order to give satisfaction to His Majesty's Government, and, as the export of antiquities from the country is forbidden, a special law was passed authorising the export of the exhibits. A flying visit of His Majesty's cruiser "Curacoa" and two destroyers to Constantinople during the summer was cordially received by the local authorities, but this demonstration of friendliness was somewhat offset by the uncompromising refusal of the Ministry of National Defence to allow units of the Mediterranean Fleet to visit certain Turkish ports.

9. A satisfactory solution was reached in 1930 of British pre-war claims presented under article 71 of the Treaty of Lausanne. The Turkish Government was induced by patient effort to agree to pay a sum of £30,000 in five annual instalments in full settlement of these claims. The Bill authorising payments of the first instalment was submitted to the Assembly in the last days of December. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> September the ratifications were exchanged of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation signed on the 1<sup>st</sup> March. The treaty contains consular and residence clauses and makes provision, by an exchange of notes, for most-favoured-nation treatment of British schools and hospitals, after the expiry of the period of privileged treatment obtained for them at Lausanne.

10. The increased friendliness of the Turkish Government in general has brought into sharper relief the two elements in the country that remain grudgingly aloof. Whenever occasion offered, the press struck a note of scarcely veiled hostility. The policy of Great Britain in India was always misrepresented, she was saddled with some of the responsibility for the Kurdistan outbreak, and was even accused of having some connexion with the reactionary incident at Menemen in December. And the attitude of General Staff, though individual officers were pleasant enough in their meetings, with the British naval and military attachés, showed a spirit of nervous suspicion as unreasonable as it seems ineradicable. This attitude is all the more regrettable since, though members of the Government

deplete it frankly to me and admit that it is baseless, yet, Turkey being what it is, the army is a law to itself and no one expects to be able to change its convictions, however erroneous they are realised to be.

*Canada.*

11. No progress has been made towards opening negotiations for a commercial treaty with Turkey, in pursuance of the proposal made in 1929.

*Irish Free State.*

12. No progress has been made towards opening negotiations for a commercial treaty with Turkey, and the relations between the two countries continue to be governed by the *modus vivendi* signed in 1929.

*India.*

13. A commercial *modus vivendi* was established by an exchange of notes on the 3<sup>rd</sup> September, and in November a draft commercial treaty to take its place was communicated to the Turkish Government.

*Palestine.*

14. The year passed without any progress towards the establishment of a commercial *modus vivendi* between Palestine and Turkey, and at the end of the year His Majesty's Embassy, instead, proposed to the Turkish Government to open negotiations with a view to concluding a commercial treaty.

*Iraq.*

15. Turco-Iraqi relations were friendly throughout the year. Ja'fer Pasha el Askeri, Nuri Pasha, Prime Minister of Iraq, and Sir Francis Humphrys successively visited Angora, and were cordially received. Iraq's difficulties in controlling the frontier districts were recognised by Turkey and an incursion of Iraqi Kurds from Barzan into Turkey, where they were soon annihilated, did not disturb the good relations between the two countries. A suggestion was put forward by Turkey that she should be allowed to pursue Kurds into Iraq, but it was withdrawn when it was understood that it would meet with no favour in Iraq. British policy towards Kurds in Iraq was the subject of an enquiry addressed to Sir F. Humphrys in Angora, but he was able to assure the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs that, while Great Britain was pledged to see that Kurds in Iraq secured certain privileges, no countenance would be given to Kurdish nationalistic and autonomous ideas. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs has expressed satisfaction at the conclusion of the Anglo-Iraqi treaty, declaring that he was animated with friendly feelings to the new Iraq and to King Feisal.



### France

16. At the beginning of the year relations between Turkey and France seemed to have entered on a new phase of goodwill, as a result of the conclusion in the previous year (1929) of the agreement respecting Syria, and the elimination of this source of contention. Turkey's unwanted minorities continue to cross the Syrian frontier, though in smaller numbers, and are settled and cared for in Syria, an arrangement which arouses but little open resentment in Turkey. In May the frontier commission set up in accordance with the Turco-Syrian Agreement of 1926 under the presidency of General Ernst, completed the delimitation of the frontier. Some dissatisfaction has been expressed on both sides, on the ground that the line does not appear to have been traced in conformity with either ethnical or geographical considerations, but up till now no official protests appear to have been made. But the improvement in relations promised by the settlement of the Syrian question has not been carried on in other spheres. France was the first of the major Lausanne Powers to sign (in 1929) a new commercial treaty in replacement of the Lausanne Convention; but, although, ratified by the Turkish Grand National Assembly on the 31<sup>st</sup> May, this treaty has not yet been ratified by France. In February of the current year a treaty of friendship, arbitration and conciliation was signed at Paris, and subsequently ratified by Turkey on the 18<sup>th</sup> May, but, likewise, still awaits the ratification of France. On more than one occasion, in conversation with His Majesty's Ambassador and members of His Majesty's Embassy, the Minister for Foreign Affairs let fall remarks which clearly showed irritation with France.

17. The chief motive for bad feeling was France's predominant interest in the Ottoman Debt, which at once came into play when the Turkish Government announced the impossibility of meeting its engagements under the 1928 settlement. Unlike His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, the French Government took a direct interest in negotiations between the Turkish Government and the bondholders from the first. It is true that His Majesty's Ambassador also had occasion to discuss the question informally more than once with the Prime Minister, and that in November His Majesty's Government agreed, on the invitation of the French Government, to make joint representations to the Turkish Government, provided the Italian and German Governments were also willing to participate in the *démarche*. As this condition was not fulfilled, however, representations were made by France alone. The Turkish Government evidently formed the opinion that the representative on the Council of the Debt of the British bondholders was powerless to make any stand against the French point of view when he disagreed with it. This belief, together with the special interest taken by the French Government in the actions of the bondholders' representatives, have combined to cause the Turkish Government to throw upon France the lion's share



of the odium resulting from the unsatisfactory state of affairs subsisting throughout the latter part of the year under review. The difficulties that have arisen in connexion with the Ottoman Debt have revealed that France has been endeavouring of late to follow two incompatible policies with regard to Turkey - she wishes to maintain and enhance the traditional affection for France and French culture in Turkey, and at the same time she is tempted to try to obtain financial and economic control of Turkey through the Ottoman Bank and French banks willing to contemplate a loan to Turkey, should the latter eventually decide on that way out of her present difficulties. The Turkish Government is not unaware of this, but perhaps overrates French intentions in this respect. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, for example, in conversation with His Majesty's Ambassador, affected to see in the report drawn up by the French financial expert, M. Rist, an epitome of the latter policy. It may be supposed however, that France is restrained from bringing too great a pressure to bear in the furtherance of such a policy, by the consideration, hinted at in a communication dated the 21<sup>st</sup> November from the French Ambassador in London to the Foreign Office, that a complete rupture between the Turkish Government and the foreign bondholders might throw Turkey into the arms of Russia.

18. Two further tactical errors served to swell Turkish suspicion and resentment. When Fethi Bey resigned his Embassy in Paris to found his new party, one of the features of his programme was closer co-operation with the West. This was taken to mean particular devotion to France, an impression which was not diminished by the attentions of the Constantinople French organ and the somewhat injudicious civilities of the French Embassy. Whether this interpretation were true or not, the shadow of the leading-strings of the Quai d'Orsay no doubt assisted the downfall of the party. The second error was the failure to invite Turkey (and Russia) to participate in the negotiations for a European Federal Union, a copy of M. Briand's memorandum being handed by the French Ambassador to the Turkish Government for information only. Apart from the belief that France was solely actuated by a desire to consolidate gains made in the Great War, the Turkish Government had many other doubts and objections, notably that such a federation of Europe amounted to an attempt to form a grouping of States directed not only against Turkey and Russia, but also against America, a policy to which the Turkish Government would never subscribe.

#### *Italy*

19. During the year under review Turkey's relations with Italy have been second only in cordiality to her relations with the Soviet Union. There has, indeed, been a marked tendency on the part of Turkey to court Italy's favour, which might at first sight appear to denote the intention of following Italy in a grouping of States destined to act as a counterpoise to a *blox* under French inspiration. Apart,

however, from her dislike of such combinations, Turkey's policy towards Italy may be supposed to be governed by somewhat different considerations. First, no doubt the same uneasiness respecting Italy's intentions, which openly determined Turkish policy some years back, still to some extent subsists. Signor Mussolini stated in a pronouncement delivered in October that Italy's future pacific expansion lay towards the East, and, although Tefik Rüstü Bey professed to see in the phrase merely a reference to Dalmatia and Albania, it is difficult not to believe that his visit to Rome on his way home from Geneva in November was not partly inspired by a wish to be reassured that it had no wider implications of sinister import to Turkey. A second influence drawing Turkey into the Italian orbit is likely to be a natural sympathy for the Fascist idea and a desire to build on the fascist model. Both Anglo-Saxon democratic notions and the Soviet Communist system are alien to the Turkish mind, but the theories and the ideals of fascism are calculated to make a certain appeal to the present rulers of Turkey. In any event, the tendency is manifest, and no opportunities are lost by the Italian Embassy in Angora to exploit it. Italian intervention is, indeed, welcomed by the Turkish Government in certain of her affairs. From the very warm expression of gratitude made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs in his speech on the conclusion of the Turco-Greek agreement, it would appear that Italy made no mean contribution towards composing the differences between the two negotiators.

20. The year ended without the conclusion of a commercial treaty, but meanwhile most-favoured-nation treatment is provided for in a commercial *modus vivendi*.

21. The following treaties were ratified by Italy in the course of the year:

- (i) On the 26<sup>th</sup> August, the Extradition Treaty signed at Rome on the 19<sup>th</sup> June 1926.
- (ii) On the 26<sup>th</sup> August, the Judicial Convention signed at Rome on the 10<sup>th</sup> August, 1926.
- (iii) On the 8<sup>th</sup> August, the Consular Convention signed at Rome on the 9<sup>th</sup> September, 1929.

#### *United States of America.*

22. Relations between Turkey and the United States of America have been consistently friendly, though not very extensive. America is sufficiently remote politically to enjoy a good press in Turkey, and a visit in the autumn by U.S.S. "Chester" and a visit to Angora of a fleet of Curtiss aeroplanes tended to maintain good feeling towards that country. The American educational establishments in Turkey enjoy almost complete freedom from hostile criticism, and continue to attract the cream of Turkish youth. Perhaps the largest financial transaction during

the year with any foreign controlled firm was the grant of the Match Monopoly, in return for a loan of 10 million dollars, to the American-Turkish Investment Corporation, a subsidiary of the Swedish Match Trust. Ratifications of the Commercial Treaty signed in 1929 were exchanged on the 22<sup>nd</sup> April, and the treaty forthwith came into operation.

#### *Germany*

23. Relations with Germany have been characterised by nothing more outstanding than the somewhat arduous negotiations for the conclusion of a new Commercial Treaty in replacement of that of the 28<sup>th</sup> October, 1926. The new treaty was signed at Angora on the 27<sup>th</sup> May of the current year and entered into force on the 25<sup>th</sup> September. The Treaty of Arbitration signed at Angora on the 16<sup>th</sup> May, 1929, entered into force on the 1<sup>st</sup> September of the year under review. The Consular Treaty signed at Angora on the 28<sup>th</sup> May, 1929, was ratified by Germany on the 3<sup>rd</sup> May, 1930, and by Turkey on the 22<sup>nd</sup> May, but ratifications had not been exchanged by the end of the year. The Legal Procedure Agreement signed on the 28<sup>th</sup> May, 1929, was ratified by Turkey on the 15<sup>th</sup> May of the current year.

#### *Soviet Union*

24. Although relations with the Union are not free from a certain feeling of cautious reserve on the part of Turkey, there continue to exist between the two countries bonds of friendship closer and more actual than those existing between Turkey and any other Power. At a critical moment for the Turkish revolution friendship with Russia became a vital necessity for Turkey; conversely Soviet Russia saw in friendship with Turkey a way out of her complete isolation and a bulwark against her "Imperialist" enemies. The urgency of the situation then obtaining has to a great extent disappeared, at least for Turkey, who, having re-established her international position, no longer desires to jeopardise friendship with the Great Powers by too close an intimacy with the Soviet Union. The latter, on the other hand, still finds in Turkey her only friend and is at pains to prevent her being drawn into the orbit of the Western Powers by economic means, now that there is no longer a question of conquest by arms. Turkey's problem is thus to walk the tightrope between friendship with her powerful and potentially dangerous neighbour and good relations with other Powers.

25. It will be recollected that at the close of 1929, as a result of M. Karakhan's visit to Angora, Turkey signed an agreement renewing the Turco-Russian Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality of 1925 for a further three years. This agreement was approved by the Grand National Assembly in February of the year under review, and it seems probable that the Turkish Government were relieved not to have

found themselves obliged to sign considerably more far-reaching undertakings which M. Karakhan is believed to have brought with him in his pocket. In September the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Tefik Rüstü Bey, made an official visit to Moscow to return M. Karakhan's visit. His reception there was, as might have been expected, unusually cordial. A communiqué was issued simultaneously in both countries stating that in the conversations held by Tefik Rüstü Bey with the Soviet Commissary and Assistant Commissary for Foreign Affairs, it had been established that the respective points of view of Turkey and the Soviet Union in all problems of international politics were identical, and that as regards mutual relations there existed no divergence of opinion which could disturb the ever-increasing friendship of the two countries. It should be noted that this visit took place shortly after the appearance of Fethi bey's new party, which stood strongly for closer co-operation with the Western Powers. This new development may have influenced the Soviet Government to make exceptional efforts to strengthen the tie between Turkey and itself; certainly M. Litvinov, in the speech made at the official banquet in Tefik Rüstü's honour, went out of his way to compliment and cajole his guest into open admissions of unqualified solidarity with the U.S.S.R. Tefik Rüstü Bey, however, succeeded in resisting temptation, and, while speaking warmly of Turco-Soviet friendship and its importance for the peace of the world, avoided committing itself too far as to complete identity of views. Indeed, there seems no solid ground for suspicions current at the time of the visit that the occasion had been utilised for the conclusion of an important new understanding between the two countries; such an agreement would be out of keeping both with Turkey's avowed policy and with Turkey's interest. The harmony maintained in the political sphere does not extend to matters of trade, and periodical complaints of the prejudice inflicted on Turkish merchants by the Soviet monopoly of foreign trade continue to be heard. Renewed efforts towards the conclusion of a fresh commercial agreement to replace that of 1927, which still remains in force meanwhile, have had to be abandoned, and negotiations for a new sanitary convention have been no more successful.

#### *Afghanistan.*

26. Ex-King Amanullah came to Turkey in the summer and visited Angora but was coolly treated by the Gazi, who, as Sir F. Humphrys was able to gather in the course of an interview with him in October, had no further use for the ex-King, as he had not justified the support the Gazi had given him. In April Gulam Nahi Khan, a partisan of the ex-King, presented his credentials to the President of the Republic. He subsequently left Turkey for Germany, where he was suspected by his Government of plotting in favour of the ex-King, and was towards the end of the year superseded by Sultan Ahmet Khan. The Turkish Government have been pressing the Afghan Government to accept a military mission, but have met with considerable reluctance on the latter's part.

*Persia.*

27. It will be recollected that the Turco-Persian Agreement of the 9<sup>th</sup> April, 1929, provided for a mixed commission, whose purpose would be to revise on the spot disputed points on the Turco-Persian frontier. At the meetings of this commission little seems to have been achieved, and its labours were interrupted by the serious Kurdish rising in the summer of 1930, in connexion with which Turco-Persian relations went through a period of considerable strain. The rising, of which an account is given in another section of this report, seems to have been genuinely initiated by the Turkish Kurds, but there is no doubt that they were joined by a certain number of sympathisers from Persian Kurdistan and were able to obtain supplies and ammunition from the Persian side of the frontier. Moreover, it is known that the Kurds were at a certain moment in touch with the Persian general at Tabriz, Saffar-ud-Dowleh, though there is nothing to show whether he afforded them any active support. Probably he did not, and any support he may have given seems unlikely, from the evidence available, to have been given on instructions from Tehran. The truth of the matter appears to have been that the fact of its being possible for the Kurds to derive assistance from their Persian kinsfolk was due chiefly to the inability of the Persian Government to exercise complete control over the frontier districts. Another difficulty arose from the fact that the eastern slopes of the lesser Mount Ararat lie in Persia, and, while it was possible for the rebels to retire in small numbers over the frontier line, effective military action to prevent such escapes could only be taken from the Persian side. Be this as it may, however, a violent press campaign broke out accusing Persia of bad faith, and the Turkish Government at first proposed to make a very energetic *démarche* at Tehran. It then became evident that there was a difference of opinion between the Gazi and Ismet Pasha on this point; Ismet Pasha was in favour of strong measures, while the Gazi was inclined to seek a solution by negotiation. Eventually a note, "severe but friendly" in tone, was sent, in which the Turkish Government invited the Persian Government to choose between an immediate rectification of the frontier which would place the eastern as well as the western slopes of Mount Ararat in Turkey, and permission for Turkish troops to pursue Kurdish fugitives into Persian territory and deal with them there. The Persian Government declined both alternatives, but declared that Persia would do everything in her power to prevent the Turkish Kurds from crossing the frontier and to deal with the Kurds on her own territory. This reply was calmly received by Turkey, and the news, which arrived shortly after, that at considerable loss Persian forces had annihilated a band of Kurdish marauders was greeted with approval. Meanwhile the Turkish Ambassador in Tehran, Memduh Şeyket Bey, was forced to resign, and in his place a close personal friend of the Gazi, Ridvanbeyoğlu Husrev Bey, lately Turkish Minister at Sofia, was appointed to Tehran. In receiving Husrev Bey immediately before his departure for Tehran, the Gazi said to him that his mission would be to

strengthen Turco-Persian collaboration on the basis of existing friendship, and made very cordial references to Rıza Khan Pehlevî and to the Persian nation at large. Since arriving in Tehran Husrev Bey initiated negotiations for a rectification of the frontier, which were said to be proceeding satisfactorily at the end of the year.

28. There seems no reason to suppose that Persia was really anxious to embarrass Turkey by encouraging revolt amongst the Turkish Kurds. While the Persian Government is more sympathetic in its treatment of its Kurdish population than the Turkish Government, it has no sympathy with the idea of an independent Kurdistan. The suspicion voiced by the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Feruî Khan, lately Persian Ambassador in Angora, that Soviet Russia had had a finger in the rising with a view to sowing discord between Turkey and Persia seems also far-fetched; it is difficult to see what interest Russia could have in antagonising her one friend from a country in which she never despairs of obtaining a predominant influence. The Turkish attitude towards Persia is governed in part by a belief that Persia desires to exploit her weakness for the purpose of playing off Soviet Russia, Turkey and Iraq, one against another; but Turkey evidently has no desire to revive past quarrels, and the Gazi has shown during the events of the past year his firm determination not to allow them to recur. While political relations between the two countries have thus become normal, their commercial relations are still governed by a *modus vivendi*.

#### *Egypt.*

29. Relations between the Governments were none too cordial. In the summer Tevfik Rüşdî Bey expressed the hope to His Majesty's Ambassador that all foreigners would be inclined within the scope of any measures His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom might take to protect foreign lives and property in Egypt. Later in the year the Turkish Government resented a decision of the Mixed Courts in Egypt that they could not extend Mixed Court jurisdiction to Turks, and therefore that Turks must continue to be subject to the jurisdiction of the native courts.

#### *Arabia.*

30. Nothing occurred in the course of the year to disturb the friendly relations existing between Turkey and the Hejaz and Nejd.

#### *Balkan Federation.*

31. Turkey accepted the invitation of Greece to be represented at the Balkan Conference which was held in Athens in October to consider means of strengthening the ties between the Balkan States, with the ultimate goal of



federation. At first the attitude of the Turkish Government as expounded by Teflik Rüşti Bey was sceptical though friendly. Turkey considered such a federation premature and chimerical, and held that if it took the form of an extension of the Little Entente it would be definitely harmful. At the same time Turkey felt she could not disinterest herself in Balkan politics although she was not purely Balkan State. Her position, Teflik Rüşti Bey suggested, resembled that of the British Empire in relation to schemes of European federation. During the latter half of the year, however, this attitude developed somewhat as a result of M. Veniselos's visit and Teflik Rüşti Bey's journey to Geneva, and it seems likely that Turkey will in the future be willing to play a more active part in Balkan affairs. She will undoubtedly throw all her influence into the scale against any scheme for the absorption by Yugoslavia of Bulgaria, whose independence is a matter of utmost concern to Turkey.

### Greece.

32. The year saw the settlement of questions that had been in dispute between Turkey and Greece from Lausanne onwards. The signature of a commercial *modus vivendi* in January ended a tariff war in which Turkey suffered more than Greece, and was a presage of other agreements in which again the balance of sacrifice was on Greece's side. Ismet Pasha and M. Veniselos both worked hard to effect the reconciliation of the two nations, and an early sign of Turkey's goodwill was the attendance, for the first time in history, of the Turkish Minister in Greece at an official *Te Deum* on the anniversary of Greece's independence. While, however, Ismet Pasha had but to indicate his line of policy towards Greece to the Popular party, i.e., the Government, to secure their approval, M. Veniselos was obliged at every moment to use all his energies to convince both his friends and his opponents of the soundness of his policy in seeking Turkey's friendship. The first half of the year passed in alternate phases of hope and despair of settlement of the questions of the property of the exchangeables and non-exchangeables, and of the rights and status of the latter, and the date of M. Veniselos's projected visit to Angora was being continually postponed. It was suggested that the neutral members of the Mixed Commission for the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations should undertake to arbitrate on the liquidation of property in both countries, but Turkey, fearing that the award might be to her disadvantage, refused to bind herself in advance to accept the award, and the suggestion hung fire. It was at this juncture that Angora proposed the Italian Ambassador in Turkey as arbitrator - a rôle the Ambassador was ready to assume - but Greece rejected the proposal, fearing that an award by Italy would meet with little sympathy in Greece. Both parties then returned to the idea of an award by the neutral members of the Mixed Commission, and, after a characteristic Turkish attempt to wreck all negotiations at the eleventh hour, and intervention from the highest quarters in



Turkey in favour of the treaty, a treaty between Turkey and Greece regarding the property of exchangeables and non-exchangeables, and binding Greece to place at the disposal of the Mixed Commission £440,000, was signed on the 10<sup>th</sup> June. By article 4 of the treaty the two parties left to the neutral members of the Mixed Commission the task of giving their opinion on the solution of the liquidation of the property of exchangeables. This opinion was immediately forthcoming, to the effect that, as no basis existed for ascertaining the net sum due on balance by one Government to the other, both governments would be well advised to waive their rights in this respect under the Lausanne convention. Both Governments accepted the award and ratified the treaty before the end of June. In conversation or in formal speeches on the occasion of the signature of the treaty reference was made to the part played by the diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Republics, of Italy, Hungary and France in helping to bring about the conclusion of the treaty. It is assumed that the reference to the French Ambassador, who did not at any stage intervene, was in the nature of a red herring, to prevent too much significance being attached to the collaboration of his other three colleagues.

33. The main objection of contention having been thus happily removed, negotiations were undertaken with a view to the signature of a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with residence and consular articles, and a Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality, and Conciliation and Arbitration. The negotiations were successful, and M. Veniselos was, at last, enabled to carry out his long-deferred visit to Angora, where, on the 30<sup>th</sup> October, the above agreements, as also an important protocol on the limitation of naval armaments, were signed. The cordiality of his reception in Turkey exceeded all expectations and the friendly atmosphere which surrounded the signature is a better guarantee of their execution than the signatures themselves. On his way back to Greece M. Veniselos, with the full approval of the Turkish Government, visited the Oecumenical Patriarch at the Phanar. It was the Turkish point of view that the Greek minority in Constantinople could no longer form a source of discord between Turkey and Greece, and therefore M. Veniselos's visit to the Patriarch no longer possessed political significance.

#### *Bulgaria.*

34. Turco-Bulgarian relations in 1930 were very cordial. In the summer the Bulgarian Journalists' Association invited a party of Turkish journalists to visit Bulgaria, and on the occasion of the departure of the latter, under the leadership of Falih Rifki Bey, a close friend of the Gazi, the Gazi spoke in highly sympathetic and friendly terms of the Bulgarian people and of his memories of his short stay in Bulgaria as military attaché. The speech was much appreciated in Bulgaria. Kazim Pasha, President of the Grand National Assembly, took the occasion of passing through Bulgaria in the early part of the year to speak flatteringly of the Bulgarian

nation. In the latter part of the year it was noticed that the Bulgarian Prime Minister came to the station at Sofia to greet Tefvik Rustu Bey on his way to Geneva, while the Yugoslav Prime Minister sent a representative to perform the same function at Belgrade. On returning from Geneva and Rome, Tefvik Rustu Bey stayed at Sofia to visit the Bulgarian Prime Minister.

#### *Yugoslavia.*

35. Relations with Yugoslavia are not of a very intimate nature, though a press announcement to the effect that the Yugoslav Government had undertaken to compensate the Turkish owners of sequestered properties in Macedonia caused satisfaction. No news had yet been received regarding the execution of this promise. The post of Yugoslav Minister at Angora remained vacant after M. Taditch's resignation in May 1929 until the appointment in the summer of 1930 of one of the ablest Yugoslav diplomats, M. Ljuba Neshitch, lately Yugoslav Minister at Sofia. This long hiatus caused the Turkish Government some offence, but it may be hoped that in M. Neshitch's hands relations between the two countries will tend to become more cordial.

#### *Roumania.*

36. The somewhat prolonged vacancy of the post of Roumanian Minister at Angora appears to have caused the Turkish Government irritation by the lack of interest in relations with Turkey which it implied, but the appointment of a new Minister in the person of M. Carp, previously Roumanian Minister at The Hague, was made in May of this year. The chief concern of the Roumanian Legation of late has been to maintain contact with Turkey over the increase in strength of the Soviet fleet in the Black Sea. Although the Turkish Government professes to look on this increase with equanimity in view of her relations with the Soviet Union, it may be surmised that Turkey sees a certain interest in keeping in touch with the Roumanian Government in this matter. The Turco-Roumanian Commercial Treaty, signed on the 11<sup>th</sup> June, 1929, was approved by the Grand National Assembly on the 31<sup>st</sup> May of the year under review.

#### *Albania.*

37. The Turkish Government have maintained their policy during the past year of refusing to recognise the Albanian monarchy. Neither country, therefore, has reappointed a diplomatic representative in the capital of the other.

#### *Hungary.*

38. Relations between Turkey and Hungary were particularly friendly during the past year. In April M. Walko, the Hungarian Foreign Minister, paid an official visit to Angora, where he was very warmly received, and seven months later Count

Bethlen, the Hungarian Prime Minister, also visited Angora officially at the same moment as M. Venizelos made his historic visit to the Turkish capital. Between the visits of the two Hungarian Ministers a commercial treaty was negotiated on lines very similar to those followed in other such treaties recently concluded with Turkey. Ratifications of this treaty were exchanged on the 27<sup>th</sup> September, and the treaty entered into force fifteen days later. It has been evident that Hungary has been seeking to strengthen economic ties with Turkey, seeing in this country a market for Hungarian agricultural products, live-stock and machinery. But it was inevitable that some speculation should be aroused by Count Bethlen's visit, so soon after his Foreign Minister's, as to the possible existence of some special political motive for it, such as the endeavour to induce Turkey to join in an Italo-Hungarian-Bulgarian bloc, intended as a counterpoise to France and the Little Entente. In view of Turkey's well-known and oft-repeated desire to be friends with everyone, but tied down to none in particular, this suggestion is unlikely. Nor is it likely that anything very definite was discussed regarding Hungary's chief preoccupation, the revision of the peace treaties, although Count Bethlen, while in Angora, made a public and not altogether happy reference to sympathetic Turkish utterances on the subject. Turkey is in general perfectly content with the delimitation of her frontiers, and the irredentism of some of her neighbours meets with no response here. It must, indeed, be supposed that Count Bethlen's visit is attributable to a policy of keeping Hungary in the public eye by every means possible, and to the fact that there exists a well-known, if somewhat tenuous, affinity between the two peoples which can be exploited for the furtherance of Hungary's avowed purposes.

#### *Poland.*

39. As from the 1<sup>st</sup> June the Polish Legation at Angora and the Turkish Legation at Warsaw were raised to the rank of Embassies. This change had been in the wind for some time, and cannot be said to represent any increase of cordiality in the recent relations between the two countries. Indeed, it seems probable that Turkey only agreed to it with reluctance, partly for budgetary considerations and partly, it is thought, for fear of offending Russia. Though M. Olszowski has now the rank of Ambassador, the post of Turkish Ambassador in Warsaw has not yet been filled; Husrev Bey was at one time on the point of being nominated, but was required to proceed to Persia during the events in Kurdistan in the summer. Meanwhile, no other appointment has been made, although rumour has been busy with the name of Saracoğlu Şukrî Bey, the ex-Minister of Finance.

#### *Switzerland.*

40. On the 7<sup>th</sup> August the Turco-Swiss Treaty of Conciliation, Arbitration and Judicial Settlement, of the 9<sup>th</sup> December, 1928, entered into force. In September

the Turkish Government denounced the Residence Convention with Switzerland of the 7<sup>th</sup> August 1927, and a fresh Residence Convention was negotiated forthwith and signed on the 13<sup>th</sup> December. On the same date a new Commercial Treaty between the two countries was also signed.

*Spain.*

41. A Turco-Spanish Treaty of Conciliation, Arbitration and Judicial Procedure was signed on the 28<sup>th</sup> April.

*Scandinavia.*

42. A Turco-Danish Treaty of Commerce and Navigation was signed on the 31<sup>st</sup> May, and was subsequently ratified by Turkey. It has not yet been ratified by Denmark.

43. In this year a Norwegian Legation was created, and M. Sigurd Bentzon, lately counsellor of the Norwegian Legation in Paris, was appointed Minister. It is to be supposed that Norway sees openings for her trade in Turkey, as political relations between the two countries are negligible. Norwegian interests had previously been in the hands of the Netherlands Legation.

44. The Turco-Swiss Treaty of Commerce and navigation was approved by the Riksdag in February, and by the Grand National Assembly on the 31<sup>st</sup> May.

*Baltic States.*

45. The Turco-Estonian Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, signed on the 16<sup>th</sup> September 1929, was ratified by Estonia on the 4<sup>th</sup> July, and the Finno-Turkish Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of the 12<sup>th</sup> August 1929, was ratified by Turkey.

*Latin America.*

46. The first Turkish Minister to Brazil took up his appointment there in the summer. It is understood that his duties will mainly involve the protection of the Syrian colony in Brazil, which is of considerable size and trading importance and has for the most part retained Turkish nationality. The Minister expects to combine this post with that in the Argentine, where the Turkish Government are believed to be creating a Legation. Meanwhile a Chargé d'Affaires has been appointed to the newly-created Legation at Santiago, and the Turco-Uruguayan Treaty of Friendship entered into force on the 24<sup>th</sup> December.

*Far East.*

47. A treaty of Commerce and Navigation was concluded between Turkey and Japan on the 11<sup>th</sup> October, and relations between the two countries continued friendly throughout the year.

## III - INTERNAL AFFAIRS

*Introduction.*

48. The year began and ended with a call to the population and to civil administration to exercise the strictest economy. Thrift weeks were inaugurated, and the İş Bankası tried to popularise the use of its compact little money boxes in the home. Throughout the year there were restrictions on the purchase of foreign currency, and efforts were made to bring imports below exports. Despite these measures İsmet Pasha alleged that the Treasury was empty, with the result that the Ottoman Debt Convention of 1928 could not be carried out. No effort was made to raise a foreign loan, but a credit of 1 million sterling was accepted from an Italian bank and the Match Monopoly was leased to an American group, a subsidiary of the Swedish Match Trust, for 10 million dollars and royalties.

49. The course of the year was not peaceful. A revolt in Kurdistan kept Turkish troops occupied from April to September. The formation of an Opposition party under the leadership of Fethi Bey ended in seriously perturbing men's minds and in disturbing public order in many districts, especially during the municipal elections, in which, for the first time, women were allowed to elect and be elected. Fethi Bey soon found he had no alternative but to dissolve his party, but in his short life-time it had succeeded in bringing about a reconstruction of İsmet Pasha's Administration and in revealing the existence of widespread dissatisfaction throughout the country and the necessity of drastic reorganisation of the Popular party. In consequence the Gazi set out on a tour of Turkey in order to reinforce the prestige of the party, to study the grievances of the population, and to find a remedy. The tour is to be continued in the coming year. In December a reactionary outbreak of a religious character in Menemen, in the course of which a Turkish officer was barbarously killed amid the applause of some of the spectators accompanied by the inaction of certain soldiers and gendarmes, was regarded by the Government in a serious light, martial law was declared in the district, and those implicated may expect to suffer the full rigours of the law.

50. As opposed to these gloomy events, reference must be made to the constant pushing forward of railway construction by the Government, and the completion of the Angora-Sivas Railway was justly made the subject of public rejoicing, and was referred to by İsmet Pasha as an important step in the defence of the country. Again, the solution of the question of the property of exchangeables as a result of the Turco-Greek Treaty of the 10<sup>th</sup> June 1930, and the visit of M. Venizelos to Angora eased the situation as regards the Greek minority in Turkey.

*Kurds.*

51. Early in the year there were signs that the policy of "Turkification," which included the imposition of military service and of taxation, was not successful in



Eastern Anatolia. In February Turkish troops suppressed a rising in the Beyazir district and quelled disturbances in the Vilayets of Kars, Van and Bitlis. An alleged conspiracy having for object a revolt under the auspices of a Kurdish committee was discovered by the Turkish Government in March, and the ringleader, one Selahettin, son of Seyh Said of Piran, who was hanged for his leadership of the Kurdish revolt in 1925, was arrested in Erzerum. In April and May the Kurds became more active. They conducted guerilla warfare from Mount Ararat - the reputed seat of the Kurdish "Government" - and with the help of Kurds from Persia raised the country north of Lake Van, where the area of disaffection extended from the Turco-Persian frontier through Erçis, Adelvaz and Ahlat almost to Mus and Bitlis. The Turkish Government viewed the situation with anxiety, concentrated a force of 12,000 to 15,000 men, supported by aeroplanes, and in June launched an attack on the Kurds in the Ararat region, which was partially successful. At the same time they attacked the Kurds north of Lake Van, and after operations lasting some three weeks, heavily defeated them in the Zilan Valley, near Erçis.

52. Shortly after, a body of Barzan Kurds from Iraq made an incursion into Turkish territory near Oramar, and was exterminated by Turkish troops. A Kurdish raid into Turkey from Syria under the leadership of the notorious Hajo was repulsed. Measures were then taken by the French authorities to remove suspicious Kurds from the frontier zone. The Soviet Government showed its friendliness for Turkey by strengthening its frontier forces in the direction of Ararat, and preventing all communications between Soviet Armenia and the Ararat Kurds. A few Turkish troops who were forced across the Soviet frontier, during the Kurdish operations, were well treated by the Soviet authorities and returned to their units. The Persian Government was for some weeks in the summer and autumn the object of violent recriminations in the Turkish Government press on account of its alleged arming of the Kurdish rebels, and was peremptorily invited to agree to an adjustment of the frontier line which would enable Turkey to deal more effectively with the Kurds, and also to allow Turkish troops to pursue Kurds into Persia. The recriminations ultimately ceased, but the Turkish Government is still pressing for a final settlement of the Turco-Persian boundary. As the attitude of Great Britain towards the Kurds in Iraq appeared to be misinterpreted even in official quarters, it became necessary for His Majesty's Ambassador to explain to the Minister for Foreign Affairs that, while His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom were pledged to see that the Kurds in Iraq were granted certain privileges, such as the official use of their own language, they would never encourage Kurdish nationalistic intrigues or ideas of autonomy. Sir F. Humphrys, High Commissioner for Iraq, who visited Angora in September, gave assurances in the same strain to the Turkish Government. A half-hearted attempt was made by the Turkish Government to obtain permission for Turkish troops to pursue Kurds into Iraq.

but it met with no encouragement either from the Iraqi Government or from His Majesty's Government, and was dropped.

53. The defeat of the Kurds in Zilan Valley in July was followed by guerilla warfare in the Ararat area, and plans were made by the Turkish Government for the extermination of the Kurdish rebels in this region. In September a general attack by Turkish troops was begun, and, after operations lasting five days, it was announced by the Turkish Government that the Kurds had been decisively defeated, and that the Ararat region was entirely cleared of rebels. Some few of the latter, including one of their leaders, İhsan Nuri, a former Turkish officer, managed to escape to Persia. With the clearing of the Ararat region, the Kurdish rising of 1930 was considered to be at an end but, since September, there have been reports of incidents in the country south-east of Lake Van.

54. Reviewing the history of rising in a speech made to the Assembly on the 22<sup>nd</sup> September, İsmet Pasha, the Prime Minister, attributed it to revolutionary elements working outside the frontiers and to the resentment of Kurdish tribal chiefs at losing their feudal privileges under a republican régime. Their choice of the moment for the outbreak was ascribed to their realisation that Turkey was gradually pushing her railway system nearer the eastern provinces, and that the opening up of these provinces by the railway would be fatal to a successful rising later. İsmet Pasha praised the population of the eastern provinces, and especially those of Van and of the region north of Lake Van, for affording no support to the rebels and for helping the Turkish troops against them.

#### *Fethi Bey's Opposition Party.*

55. Acting under a desire to remove İsmet Pasha, whose rigid policy he considered responsible in great measure for the economic difficulties of the country and for the prevailing discontent among the people, the Gazi, in August, gave the fullest encouragement to Fethi Bey to found an Opposition party on lay and republican principles. The event caused the greatest excitement amongst the public, and their free expression of opinion in the press soon made it evident that the Government of İsmet Pasha was unpopular. İsmet Pasha, however, would not go down without a struggle. With the aid of the Popular party he recalled the Gazi to a sense of duty towards it, as its founder and head. İsmet, too, promised certain modifications of policy, and dropped the Ministers of Justice, Education, National Economy and Public Works, and before the extraordinary session of the Assembly in September, the Gazi - the more so as the army had come out against Fethi - had again returned wholeheartedly to the Popular party fold. At the same time, he did not entirely withdraw his patronage from Fethi, who was encouraged by this to compete in the municipal elections. The denial of the freedom of the vote by the Government to adherents of the Opposition, and the gerrymandering of the ballot



boxes, exasperated the electors, and there were disorders in many districts during the course of the electoral campaign, and even direct attacks on the Government. The latter became alarmed, and their allegation that all the forces of reaction had come out into the open on the side of Fethi Bey finally convinced the Gazi that his only policy was to uphold the Popular party. Faced with the alternative of setting himself in direct opposition to the Gazi, Fethi bey had no alternative but to dissolve his party.

#### *Administration of Justice.*

56. By declaration XI attached to the Lausanne Settlement, Turkey engaged four neutral legal advisers. They were to watch over the administration of justice. Two have now been dismissed and the remaining two are shortly to follow. They were at no time of any special service to foreign interests, and the administration of justice still leaves much to be desired.

#### *Minorities.*

57. The Armenians still to be found in scattered groups throughout Anatolia are treated as helots, and when occasion offers they leave for Syria or drift into Constantinople, where the only desire of their co-religionists is to liquidate their property and depart. The Jewish minority, too, is diminishing. They have this advantage over the Armenians, that they may travel about the country, and this privilege is now to be conferred on the Greek minority, who, as a result of the Turco-Greek agreements of 1930, are in a relatively favourable position. There is a small Bulgarian minority of some 2,000 souls, whose position is far from happy. They have, in the past, been subjected to the same disabilities in respect of religion and education as have been the lot of Turkey's other Christian minorities, in spite of the protests of the Bulgarian Government and the professions of friendship towards Bulgaria made by the President of the Republic. It is possible, however, that, with the improvement of the relations between Turks and Greeks, the situation of the Bulgars in Turkey may also improve. During the municipal elections, Fethi Bey's party ran a number of candidates drawn from the minorities, to the indignation of the Government press. The candidates were in no case successful.

### IV. COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

#### *General.*

58. During 1930 Turkey's economic position has considerably deteriorated. Being at the end of 1929 in an early critical position, she has had the misfortune to be further hit by the general depression which is being felt throughout the entire world. Had it not been for this, there might have been some hope of an

improvement. Following an exceptionally mild winter, the cereal crop was abundant, and other crops, notably tobacco and hazel-nuts, have also been satisfactory, but owing to the fall in world-prices the harvest contributed very little towards improving economic conditions. Turkey has also had to wrestle with an exchange crisis in the past year. At the end of the previous year, owing chiefly to an enormous adverse trade balance, the exchange showed signs of being about to collapse. Energetic action was taken by the Government and throughout the year the exchange was artificially maintained. This measure was essential as a temporary remedy, but it will not solve the fundamental problem, and meanwhile the lack of facilities for obtaining foreign exchange causes considerable prejudice to commerce. The Government has, to some extent, realised this, and has promulgated a law providing for a State Bank, whose chief functions will be to act as a bank of issue and to stabilise the currency. Not less than 90 per cent. of the capital of the bank is to be subscribed in Turkey, and up till the end of the year the Government had steadfastly refused to consider a foreign loan to assist in this scheme.

59. A series of bad crops, combined with an increasingly adverse trade balance in the last few years, has seriously affected the purchasing capacity of the people. This factor, combined with the application of the new customs tariff (and its attendant phenomena), produced a sharp decrease in imports during the year, and, although exports also decreased, a heavy deficit of £T. 100 million recorded in 1929 gave way in 1930 to a favourable balance of nearly £T. 4 million. This is satisfactory so far as it goes, but it would have been preferable had the favourable balance been achieved as a result of increased exports. The decrease in purchasing power and in imports mentioned above will inevitably be reflected in the returns of Government revenue when they are published. A preliminary review of Government receipts for the previous financial year, i.e., 1929-30, showed a deficiency of £T. 11 million as compared with estimates, although customs receipts exceeded estimates by over £T. 5 million. The figures available would, indeed, seem to confirm to some extent the declarations of the Turkish Government that it was unable in present conditions to fulfil its obligations in respect of the Ottoman Public Debt in accordance with the agreement signed in 1928, as mentioned in another section of this report. At the same time under that agreement the annuities represent for the first seven years only 8 or 9 per cent. of the average expenditure of the Turkish Government, and had a judicious provision for the payments of external debts been made in time by the Turkish Government, it seems probable that the moment would at least have been postponed when she was literally obliged to default. The agreement foresaw a possibility of Turkey's not being able to meet all her obligations in foreign exchange, but at the end of 1930 it seems likely that she was genuinely unable even to meet her obligations in Turkish currency without provoking a grave financial crisis.

60. The Government has made serious efforts to effect economies in expenditure not immediately necessary. The programme of public works has now been cut down temporarily to exclude the following works: The Sivas-Erzurum, Ereğli-Filyos, Hanlı-Malaya and the Adapazarı-Bolu Railways, as also the ports of Mersin, Samsun and Ereğli, and the breakwaters of Samsun, Trabzon, Amasya and İneboli, while road-building schemes in and around Angora have been considerably curtailed. Moreover, the budget will be lightened by approximately £T. 5 million in 1930-31 owing to the completion of the Kayseri-Sivas Railway. The sums due to the Swedish group should also be reduced by £T. 4 million. By 1932 the Samsun-Sivas Railway will set free a further £T. 5 million, and the construction of the Kütahya-Balıkesir and Ulukışla-Kayseri lines should also shortly be finished. There is no doubt that expenditure on ambitious schemes of public works to the detriment of agriculture has contributed largely to the present shortage of Government funds. The Government is beginning to realise this, and its economic programme now provides for the allocation of important credits for production in general and agriculture in particular, a simplification and extension of the operations of the Agricultural Bank, including the reduction of rates of interest on advances, and other measures of material assistance designed to stimulate agricultural production and export. These measures for the development of industry, together with the "Buy Turkish" campaign, are steps in the right direction, but the Turkish Government has not learnt yet that production must be followed up by efficient marketing, and that the policy of elbowing out the foreigners, Christian minorities and Jews, with their capital and business experience, is likely to defeat the end it has in view. Nor can it yet be foretold whether the new protective tariffs will effect a fundamental change in the industry of the country.

#### *Trade and Commerce.*

61. For purposes of comparison the import and export returns during the past four years are shown in the following table:

|      | Imports<br>£ T. | Exports<br>£ T. | Difference<br>£ T. |
|------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1927 | 211,398,184     | 158,429,998     | - 52,978,186       |
| 1928 | 223,531,775     | 173,537,489     | - 49,994,286       |
| 1929 | 256,296,379     | 155,214,071     | - 101,082,308      |
| 1930 | 147,534,361     | 151,480,382     | + 3,946,021        |

It will be seen that, though in 1930 exports were the lowest recorded in these years, the trade balance in 1930 was in Turkey's favour owing to a decline in imports resulting chiefly from the following causes:

- (a) The exceptional circumstances arising out of the necessary absorption of an accumulation of stocks made in the summer of 1929 prior to the introduction of the new tariff.
- (b) The reduction in the buying capacity of the country consequent upon a series of bad crops.

It is early yet to say what effect the new customs tariff applied in autumn 1929 is to have on the volume of trade with Turkey. It has contributed inevitably, with the factors just mentioned, to reduce imports, and in consequence there has been a noticeable increase of activity in the country among handicraftsmen and others producing simple articles on a small scale. It is also probably assisting the Government in its efforts to stimulate and extend the textile industry, which already had some standing in the country. This would no doubt account for some of the decrease in imports.

62. As regards the distribution of trade by countries, there has naturally been a falling off in the exports from all the principal countries of supply. For purposes of comparison, the percentage of total exports to Turkey from Germany, the United Kingdom, France and Italy during the first six months of 1930, and those for the corresponding period of 1929, are shown in parallel columns.

PERCENTAGE of Total Exports to Turkey in First Six Months.

| Exports from-  | 1930 | 1929 |
|----------------|------|------|
| Germany        | 20.5 | 14.8 |
| United Kingdom | 12.2 | 12.0 |
| France         | 9.8  | 10.5 |
| Italy          | 10.0 | 11.6 |

It will be seen from this table that Germany's relative share considerably increased during this period, but this is in some measure due to temporary causes. The bulk of German exports to Turkey consist of iron and steel manufactures, railway supplies, machinery, hardware, cutlery, paper and chemicals, which were dealt with comparatively lightly in the new tariffs, and there has been no material change in the volume of imports of these articles. The principal exports of the United Kingdom, France and Italy, on the other hand, consist of cotton, woollen

and silk goods, which were hit by the new tariffs, and in anticipation of the increased rates, the market was flooded with stocks before October 1929. The effect of this accumulation of textiles has been greatly to reduce the normal demand in the early months of 1930. Once these supplies have been disposed of, the volume of imports will no doubt increase to some extent. Some idea of the reductions in the importation of textiles may be gathered from the returns under the heading of cotton goods. During the first six months of 1929 the total value of imports of cotton was £T. 25,314,311, but for the corresponding period of 1930 the value of imports was £T. 10,598,048 only.

### *Industry.*

63. Owing chiefly to the lack of capital, little progress was made in 1930 beyond the construction of important cement works at Kartal and Bakırköy, near Constantinople, and renewal of plant in private and Government-owned textile factories. In furtherance of the Government's "Buy Turkish" campaign, Turkish Industries Fair were opened at Constantinople and Angora with Government support, and a congress of the Association for the Protection and Development of National Industry was convoked at Angora, and submitted various resolutions to the Ministry of National Economy. These resolutions covered notably the ceramic and leather industries. For the latter, modernisation of existing tanneries was envisaged, as well as heavy import duties on leather manufactures and an import prohibition on foreign hides. In the mining industry, the Black Sea coal basin has increased and improved the quality of its output, but mining in general has shown no signs of improvement. On the contrary, the Balya Karaydin Company, exploiting the important silver lead mines of Balya, is known to be in a precarious condition. There are, however, signs of activity on the part of American groups:

- (1) Messrs. Fox Brothers International Corporation, public works contractors, have taken over the construction of 50 kilom. of the Ulukışla-Kayseri line, as well as the erection of a casino and hotel in the town of Brusa.
- (2) A consortium, known as the American-Turkish Investment Corporation, has obtained the Turkish Match Monopoly by virtue of an agreement signed on the 18<sup>th</sup> June last for a period of twenty-five years against a loan of 10 million dollars, and is to construct a match factory in Turkey within a period of two years. The consortium is a subsidiary of the Swedish Match Trust.
- (3) The American Smelting and Refining Corporation has required the working rights in the Bulgar-Maden group of silver lead mines. This corporation is also reported to be interested in the Ergani (Argana) copper mines.

- (4) Messrs. R.C. Megargel, of 1, Wall Street, New York, are prospecting for oil, and their representative, a certain Mr. H. Thomas O'Brien, is said to have located oil south-west of Tekirdağ (Rodosto).
- (5) A tobacco consortium is also reported to have made tentative offers in respect of the tobacco monopoly.
- (6) The Curtiss group of aircraft manufacturers are said to have made proposals to the Ministry of National Defence in connexion with the development of aerodromes and workshops in Turkey.
- (7) Messrs. Ulen sent a representative to Angora, who tried, but apparently failed, to obtain a small contract for some form of engineering work connected with the supply of water to Angora.
- (8) Representatives of an American group of oil producers have visited petroliferous regions in Asiatic Turkey, but nothing further has been heard of their activities.

#### *Budget.*

64. The estimated revenue for the financial year 1930-31 was £T. 222,992,199, and the estimated expenditure was £T. 222,834,330, considerably the largest item being that of National Defence, which amounted to nearly £T. 66 million (including the budget of the Directorate-General of Military Factories). The next most important items were the budgets of the Ministry of Public Works and of the Public Debt at approximately £T. 33 million each, and that of the Ministry of Finance at nearly £T. 17 million. Of the revenue, some £T. 48 million were to be derived from direct taxation, the principal items being approximately £T. 15 million for the tax on live-stock, £T. 14 million for the profits tax, £T. 9 million for the tax on building property, and £T. 7 million for the land tax. Approximately £T. 94 million were estimated to be received from indirect taxation, of which far the greater part, viz., nearly £T. 72 million, was to be derived from customs, and the bulk of the remainder, viz., £T. 19 million, from the transaction tax. Approximately £T. 48 million was the figure estimated for receipts from the various monopolies and from the Postal Administration. Some £T. 14 million were estimated for the produce of stamp and other registration duties, approximately £T. 8 million from various State undertakings, and another £T. 9 million from miscellaneous other sources.

#### *State Bank.*

65. A law was promulgated in 1930 for the institution of a State Bank, which will undertake all treasury operations and is intended, as one of its chief objectives, to stabilise Turkish currency. The capital is to be of £T. 15 million, which can be increased if necessary to £T. 30 million, subject to Government



approval. The initial issue of 150,000 shares of the nominal value of £T. 100 each will be made in four series, A, B, C and D. The A shares are reserved to Government Departments, and are payable in gold at the rate prevailing when they are taken up. They must not exceed 15 per cent. of the bank's capital. The B shares reserved to national banks, and the D shares to the Turkish public and Turkish companies. The C shares, allotted to ordinary banks and concessionary companies, must not exceed 15,000 in number. The bank will take over the Turkish Government's gold reserve of £T. 500,000, shares and bonds to the nominal value of 116,497,925 francs and the present paper currency, which totals £T. 158,748,563. It will have the sole right to issue notes, and will fix the rate of discount.

#### *Agriculture.*

66. No official statistics of the cereal crops in 1930 have yet been drawn up, but according to the estimates received it is believed that they exceeded those of 1929 by 15-20 per cent.

Turkey's other principal crops were:

|                      | 1930      | 1929      |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Hazel nuts (kantars) | 1,000,000 | 80,000    |
| Olive oil (tons)     | 25,000    | 15,000    |
| Cotton (bales)       | 135,000   | 180,000   |
| Raisins (tons)       | 30-35,000 | 58,000    |
| Figs (tons)          | 25,000    | 32,000    |
| Opium (cases)        | 7,500     | 2,000     |
| Cocoons (kilog.)     | 1,500,000 | 2,000,000 |
| Tobacco (tons)       | 45,000    | 35,000    |
| Valonea (tons)       | 35,000    | 55,000    |

It will be observed that the yield of the more valuable crops such as tobacco, opium and nuts showed a marked increase in 1930, but against this must be offset the general fall in world prices. The following table of prices on the Constantinople Produce Exchange in September 1930, at the height of the export season, will serve to show the fall which has taken place:



|                     | September 1930,<br>Piastres per oke.   | September 1929,<br>Piastres per oke. |
|---------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| Hazel nuts, shelled | 68   | 150                                  |
| Maize               | 6  | 13                                   |
| Barley              | 5.5  | 10.5                                 |
| Wheat               | 7-8.5  | 16.5-18.5                            |
| Cotton              | 68-70  | 80-82                                |
| Opium               | 1,500-1,900  | 3,300-4,000                          |
| Silk                | 14-15  | 20-21                                |
| Olive oil           | 67-68  | 80-85                                |
| Cocoons             | 250-260  | 350-400                              |
| Mohair              | 110  | 175                                  |
| Raisins             | 15-20 per cent. below 1929 prices;   |                                      |
| Tobacco             | good quality, 10-20 per cent. above 1929 prices;<br>inferior qualities, below 1929 prices. |                                      |

This disastrous fall in the value of Turkey's crops has prejudiced the economic position of the country and has discouraged producers, who, in many cases, have had difficulty in meeting the advances made to them against their crops.

#### *Forestry.*

67. The annual production of timber in Turkey is estimated at 800,000 cubic metres. Little progress has been made during 1930 towards scientific exploitation of forests, although the Turkish company exploiting the forests of Çangal and Zindan have now completed an aerial ropeway of 28 kilom. in length and a decauville track of 21 kilom. Negotiations were in progress with the British and European Timber Trust for the exploitation of large areas of forest lands in the vicinity of Karadere, but they were suspended owing, it is believed, to the Turks insisting that the group should build a railway from Adapazar to the forests as part of the contract.

#### *Public Works.*

##### *Irrigation.*

68. It was intended to devote the sum of £T. 250 million to irrigation works, to be spread over a period of twenty years, but a law promulgated in 1929 did not provide for such an ambitious scheme. Nevertheless, the Turkish Government decided to spend £T. 100 million for the purpose, but under the present financial stress the Menderes-Gediz and Berdan River irrigation schemes have been

postponed as well as the irrigation of the Susurluk Valley, and it is doubtful whether any additions to the contracts already adjudicated will be made.

### *Railways.*

69. The Angora-Kayseri-Sivas line was completed in August, and the inaugural ceremony was made the occasion for a fighting speech by the Prime Minister in defence of the railway policy of his Government. He maintained that the financial sacrifices entailed in carrying out an admittedly expensive programme were justified by the country's need for security and for means of communication which would permit of economic development. The Fevzipaşa-Diyarbakır line has reached Malatya at kilometre 190. Malatya is a fruit growing centre counting some 30,000 inhabitants, and the local industry may expect to develop considerably through being linked by rail with the country's railway system. Work continues on the Samsun-Sivas line; 70 kilom. of rail have now to be laid for Samsun to be linked with Angora. It is reported that the Kütahya-Tavşanlı-Balıkesir line will be open to service traffic at the end of January 1931. The German contractors for the Ulukışla-Kayseri line, after completing 107 kilom. this year, declared that the financial conditions of the contract would not permit of their concluding the remaining 73 kilom. between Ulukışla and Boğazköprü. Of this stretch, therefore, 50 kilom. have been undertaken by the Fox Brothers International Corporation on the basis of actual cost, plus 20 per cent. for overhead charges and profits. The construction of the remaining 23 kilom. will either be taken over by Fox Brothers or by Turkish contractors. It is stated that 104 kilom. of the Filyos-Irmak line have been completed. Towards the end of July an agreement was signed with a consortium of German firms for the supply of railway material. The cost of the material to be supplied is estimated at 10,138,000 dollars. This material is to be furnished in progression and in such a manner as to permit of the exploitation of the new railway system under construction at the close of the year 1934. Payment is to be effected by 1936, unless the Turkish Government exercises its option to extend this period by three years.

### *Ports.*

70. The various schemes for port construction were all abandoned for the time being in the interests of economy. Nothing, therefore, was done in 1930, and there is little prospect of any fresh construction in the near future.

### *Roads and Bridges.*

71. A law of the 5<sup>th</sup> June 1930, empowered the Minister of Public Works to undertake financial engagements for a programme of road construction, to be spread over twelve years, with a total expenditure of £T. 60 million. Road construction in and around the capital has been undertaken as follows:

Angora-Efimesut (Alimesut) section of the Angora-Constantinople road.

Angora-Gölbasi section of the Angora-Kirschir road.

Angora-Cankaya road.

Angora-Ethik road.

Angora-Keçiören road.

#### *Miscellaneous.*

#### *Port of Constantinople.*

72. Improvements have been made in the Customs Administration in the past year, and an endeavour has been made to co-ordinate the different controls to which shipping is subjected, but the absence of a central port authority causes delay. The measures of control applied by the sanitary authorities are in some cases superfluous, in other cases too stringent, whilst customs regulations until recently prohibited simultaneous loading and unloading. During his recent visit to Constantinople the Gazi called for a report from the Turkish Chamber of Commerce on the economic situation in the Port of Constantinople. It is believed that one of the recommendations made was that the Direction-General of Customs should be transferred from Angora to Constantinople. If this recommendation is adopted, improvement in the administration of the port should follow, much delay be avoided in the solution of the numerous litigious cases between merchants and the customs, and a closer liaison established between trade and commerce and those responsible for the management of one of the country's most important administration.

#### *Commercial Treaties.*

73. Turkey has been engaged during 1929 and 1930 in regularising her commercial relations with most foreign countries. The Anglo-Turkish Treaty of Commerce and Navigation was signed on the 1<sup>st</sup> March and exchange of ratifications took place on the 3<sup>rd</sup> September. The following countries also negotiated treaties during 1930: Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Japan, Greece, Estonia, Hungary and Switzerland. In the case of Germany, a number of tariff reductions were granted reciprocally, and in all cases most-favoured-nation treatment was provided for in matters of commerce and national treatment as regards navigation, except in the case of Hungary and Switzerland, for whom, naturally, no provision was made regarding navigation.

#### *Control of Exchange Operations.*

74. In order to stabilise the Turkish pound, which had steadily depreciated each year and threatened to collapse still further, the Turkish Government, on the

20<sup>th</sup> February, drew up regulations for the control of exchange operations. The regulations prohibit the exportation of foreign securities and the transfer into foreign currencies of deposits in Turkish pounds lying in local banks, whilst as regard sterling and other exchange required to pay for imports, each transaction must be covered by a permit issued by the Bourse authorities. This authorisation is only given in cases where the importer can support his claim by the production of shipping and customs documents providing that the goods are his property. The regulations caused considerable inconvenience at first to commerce, but in general local merchants have now adapted themselves to the situation. The measures taken have at least the merit they have been successful in their immediate object, as the Turkish pound has since kept within a few points of 1,030 piastres to the £ sterling. This method of achieving stabilisation has been condemned abroad on the ground that it does not rest on any economic foundation, but, from a purely local point of view, the bugbear of continual fluctuation has been removed and importers and exporters alike have been given a period of respite in which they could enter into future commitments with some degree of certainty.

#### V.- NAVAL AFFAIRS

##### *Material.*

75. The "Yavuz" (ex-"Goeben") completed the refit which she has been undergoing for the past three years during the month of September. Her speed trials were reported to have given very satisfactory results. She paid a visit to the Bosphorus and was open to the public during October. No progress has yet been made in regard to the construction of the proposed naval arsenal in the Gulf of Ismit. An order was placed in May with an Italian shipbuilding yard for the construction of two destroyers, to be delivered before the end of 1931. In addition to these vessels, there are already under construction for Turkey in Italy two destroyers, two submarines and three submarine chasers.

##### *Exercises.*

76. Combined and naval exercises were carried out during July in the vicinity of the Gulf of Smyrna. All available vessels of the fleet, including submarines, took part, and represented an enemy force attempting an invasion of the coast, for which purpose troops were embarked and landed under cover of naval artillery at various points of the coast. The concentration of the defensive forces was reported to be severely tested. The fleet also carried out elaborate manoeuvres in the Black Sea during the month of August, and visits were afterwards paid to Trebizond, Samsun, and other ports on the Turkish littoral.

### *Training*

77. Two Turkish naval officers who have been undergoing courses, in naval technical establishments in the United Kingdom returned to Turkey in the course of the year. One of these officers completed his examinations with very satisfactory results, but the other officer, presumably owing to a difficulty of acquiring a sufficient grasp of the language, was recalled to Turkey before carrying out the whole programme of instruction arranged for foreign officers. There are also at present Turkish naval officers studying in France, Italy and Japan.

### *Budget*

78. The authorised expenditure for the financial year commencing the 1<sup>st</sup> June 1930 was £T. 6,297,940. a special law passed on the 23<sup>rd</sup> January of the year under review increased the emergency credit of £T. 25 million, voted in 1928, for new construction, &c. to £T. 34 million, the maximum expenditure under this vote being limited to £T. 4 million per annum.

### *Naval Agreement with Greece*

79. On the 30<sup>th</sup> October a protocol was signed at Angora between representatives of Turkey and Greece, by which each of the contracting Powers undertook not to add to the fighting value of their respective navies either by acquiring additional units or increasing the armaments of their present forces, without giving six months' notice of their intentions to the other party. The protocol has since entered into force.

### *Naval Visits*

80. During the autumn cruise of the Mediterranean Fleet, Rear-Admiral A.J. Davies, in H.M.S. "Curaçoa," accompanied by two destroyers, paid a brief visit to Constantinople on the 18<sup>th</sup> August, whilst on passage to Constantia. The usual visits ceremony were exchanged with the local authorities, whose attitude was extremely cordial. Visits were also paid by other units of the fleet to Imbros and Marmarice. Permission for our ships to visit Bodrum, Ysus Bay and Ayaz Bay was refused by the Turkish Government. Foreign warships visiting Constantinople during the year included the Italian cruiser "Pisa," seagoing training ship for naval cadets, the Argentine training ship "Presidente Sarmiento," the United States cruiser "Chester," and a small Soviet squadron, consisting of the cruiser "Chervonaya-Ukraina," two destroyers and two submarines. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom extended an invitation for the Turkish fleet to visit Malta during November. The reply, expressed in cordial terms, regretted the inability of the fleet to make the visit this year, but hoped to carry it out in the autumn of 1931.

## VI. MILITARY AFFAIRS

81. There have been no important changes in the organisation or strength of the Turkish army during the year. The chief event of military importance has been the revolt in Kurdistan. This has been fully described elsewhere. A determined attempt by the Turkish Government to liquidate the question of Kurdish unrest was opposed by the most extensive insurrection since that of 1925. The course of operations has been wrapped in the mystery which characterises all military matters in this country, but it seems certain that the behaviour and achievements of the troops have, on the whole, given satisfaction. A general mobilisation was avoided and a composite force of units of the VIIth, VIIIth and IXth Corps, strengthened by reservists, was put under the command of the energetic Salih Pasha, who, after inflicting a defeat on the Kurds in the Zilan Dere in July, finally cleared their stronghold on Mount Ararat in early September. It is of interest that a local militia was raised from the loyal elements in the eastern vilayets, and was used for defence of villages and for patrol work.

82. Partly due to this campaign and partly to general conditions, financial stringency has been felt even in the army, spoilt child of the Turkish Republic. The signature of several contracts for war material has been postponed, and in some cases orders have been placed with firms whose only superiority was in the leniency of their terms of payment. Delivery of the large orders for guns placed in 1929 has not yet begun. No important steps have yet been taken to remedy the serious deficiency of motor transport.

83. The standard of training of the Turkish army improves steadily. In theory it is high, as is shown by the military periodicals and the exercises carried out at the various schools and courses, but much progress will have to be made before this knowledge can be said to have penetrated the junior ranks. This will become gradually easier as elementary education, facilities of travel, and familiarity with machinery develops the mind of the Anatolian peasant.

84. The most notable changes in the higher command have been the appointment of Mehmed Kazim Pasha as Inspector of Gendarmerie, his replacement at the head of the IVth Corps by Naci Pasha from the Ministry of Defence, and the transfer of Ahmed Derviş Pasha from 1<sup>st</sup> Corps to the post of Under-Secretary of State. All the corps commanders who had not already attained the rank of lieutenant-general were promoted in August, and at the same time a number of junior officers received a step, but no new colonels or lieutenant-colonels were appointed. A recent incident at Menemen, when troops of the 13<sup>th</sup> Regiment allowed an officer to be killed by religious fanatics without intervention, is still *sub judice*, but the fact that the martial law has been proclaimed and that the corps commander in person is presiding over the court martial is an indication of the importance attached to the affair by the General Staff.



85. Aviation continues its progress under French instruction. A number of aeroplanes were used in Kurdistan with good effect, but the daring and the lack of discretion of the pilots resulted in several total losses and many machines being put out of action.

## VII- MISCELLANEOUS

### *Commission for Assessment of Damage Suffered in Turkey.*

86. The work of the commission came to an end in April. The amount paid to British and other foreign claimants was 55 per cent. of the amount of their claims after assessment by the commission. This has caused discontent among claimants and a suit is in process against the Custodian of Enemy Property in London for payments of British claims in full out of funds held by him.

### *Drug Traffic.*

87. Three factories in Constantinople manufacture drugs - principally heroin and morphine. So far as is known, no part of the output of these factories is applied for *bonâ fide* medical and scientific purposes. The Turkish Government claims that it does all that is possible to prevent illicit traffic, but, at a conference held in London in October preparatory to the plenary conference on the limitation of the manufacture of dangerous drugs, it stated that it would apply the full measure of control over the manufacture of, trade in, and export and import of drugs that is provided for by the Geneva convention, if it were given one-third of the whole world production of drugs for medical and scientific purposes. The conference was not able to accept this proposal, and the situation in Turkey as regards illicit drug traffic therefore remains unsatisfactory.

### *British Institutions.*

88. In a note annexed to the Anglo-Turkish Commercial Treaty of 1930 it was agreed that the three British schools in Constantinople, and the two British hospitals, one in Constantinople, and one at Smyrna, might continue their activities according to the terms of the letter of Ismet Pasha annexed to the Lausanne Residence Convention of the 24<sup>th</sup> July 1923, and that after the 6<sup>th</sup> August 1931, the date of the expiry of the terms granted in the letter, they will not be less favourably treated than similar institutions in Turkey, of any other foreign country. Subsequent to the signature of the commercial treaty the directors of the school in Constantinople, known as the British school, which was maintained by the Scottish Mission to the Jews, closed the school for good as they could not obtain assurances that the Turkish authorities would permit the teaching of religion in the school. The Turkish attitude was that school teaching must be entirely secular.



*Ottoman Debt.*

89. Early in the year the Turkish Government let it be known that the payment of the second annuity due to the bondholders under the agreement of the 13<sup>th</sup> June 1928, would have a serious effect on Turkey's financial position, already shaken by the payment of the first annuity, and invited the council of the bondholders to find a way out of the difficulty. While rejecting the idea that it was for the council to find a solution for Turkey's difficulties, the council sent out two delegates to Angora to examine the situation in collaboration with the Turkish Government. As a result of their examination it became clear to the British delegate, even if Turkey reduced her considerable expenditure on defence and railway construction, her situation was such that she would not be able to meet her engagements to the Debt Council unless she could secure a foreign loan. The Turkish Government affected to see in the arrival of the delegates not merely a desire to examine the situation, but a tacit agreement to be ready to accept another solution of the Ottoman Debt problem than that found in the agreement of 1928, and did what it could, by placing the Müller and Schacht reports at the disposal of the two delegates, to prove that Turkey's situation was critical. In their report to their council in Paris on their visit to Angora the two delegates stated that they had insisted on the fulfilment of the 1928 agreement by the Turkish Government, and, having regard to the financial situation, had suggested the engagement of a foreign financial expert in order to inspire confidence abroad, and as an essential preliminary to obtaining a loan.

90. After this the delegates returned to Turkey and informed the Turkish Government that foreign financial circles were favourably impressed by the declaration of the Minister of Finance that Turkey intended to fulfil all its engagements, and repeated their suggestion that the Turkish Government engage a foreign expert, with a mandate to draw up a report on the situation and to formulate proposals designed to enable the Government to meet its engagements. Such a report would form a basis for negotiation between the Turkish Government and foreign financial circles. The Turkish Government agreed to invite M. Rist to draw up this report, and the British delegates hoped that as a consequence of his report the possibility of an international loan would have emerged and a settlement with the bondholders be in sight before the 25<sup>th</sup> November, the date when the coupon fell due. In notifying the council's representatives of the acceptance of M. Rist by the Turkish Government, the Minister of Finance, in a letter dated the 6<sup>th</sup> May, asked that during the period of his mission two-thirds of the payments made from the assigned revenues to the account of the council with the Ottoman Bank should be returned to the Turkish Government on short-term loans, and that it should be exempted from converting the remaining third into foreign currency, if the expert's report declared such transfer to be detrimental to Turkish financial stability. It was agreed that the report was to bind neither the

Turkish Government nor the bondholders, and that the arrangement about the reduction of payment was subject to approval by the council. This approval was forthcoming, but with the proviso that the concession was to expire on the date of the handing in of M. Rist's report or at the latest on the 25<sup>th</sup> October, 1930, and that no further alleviation could be contemplated. The Turkish Government ignored the council's reply, and insisted that its letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> May was the result of agreements reached with the delegates at Angora. It suggested that on the completion of the Rist report further conversations should be opened, pending the issue of which, in its view, the concession accepted by the council should be maintained.

91. M. Rist's report recommended a 25 per cent. reduction of foreign obligations, including the Ottoman Debt, during a period of two years, and the placing of bank credits at Turkey's disposal for the same period, to enable Turkey to pay the balance of the obligations. At the end of that period either a stabilisation loan would be possible, or, failing that, the proceeds of sales of tobacco abroad would be applied for the purposes of refund of the bank credits. M. Rist also recommended that all fresh works be postponed for two years, and indicated that the arrangement to be made with the bondholders was already provided in the 1928 agreement. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs regarded the report with resentment, and described it to His Majesty's Ambassador as being a perfect expression of France's financial policy towards Turkey, viz., to enslave her financially. This did not prevent the Turkish Minister for Finance from quoting the report to the Debt Council as proving the impossibility of Turkey's paying in full, nor from inviting the delegates of the council to return to Angora to resume conversations, "adjourned until the delivery of the report." The council, in reply, summoned the Turkish Government to pay the November coupon in full, and stated that they had come to this decision after studying the Rist report. The only alleviation to which they could agree was that stipulated in article 17 of the agreement of 1928. The Turkish rejoinder was that this article contemplated only a difficulty of transfer, whereas the present crisis was much more deep-seated, the Turkish budget being unable to sustain the burden of the debt payments even in internal currency. The Government therefore again invited the council to renew conversations in Angora. The council realised that the Turkish Government was determined to revise the 1928 agreement, and declined to be drawn into further conversations even though a rupture might ensue. The latter for its part maintained that, pending the overhaul of its obligations and of its resources for meeting them, which it had understood was to be the sequel of the Rist report, it had no alternative but to maintain the arrangement made in May, and pay only a third of the coupon due on the 25<sup>th</sup> November. The council accordingly declared the Turkish Government to be in default as from that date. This notification was received by the Turks unmoved, and merely called forth a fresh invitation to renew

conversations in order to arrive at a practical solution of the question. The council declined to accept the invitation, and at the end of the year the deadlock still persisted.

*Press, News Service and Propaganda.*

92. The organisation of Turkish propaganda for foreign consumption is at present practically non-existent. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs contains a Directorate-General of the Press, consisting of three sections under the control of a director-general. The functions of this office correspond on broad lines to those of the News Department of the Foreign Office. There is also an official press agency, the Anatolian Agency, which maintains a staff of twenty persons in Angora and fifteen in Constantinople. It is a limited company, and receives an annual subvention of £T. 150,000 from the budget of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. It is affiliated to the international union of press agencies, but so far maintains a regular exchange of news with Reuter and Havas only. A reorganisation is contemplated whereby similar arrangements will be established with the press agencies of other countries and the "Daily Mail" service will also be received. So far as is known to Turkish newspaper is directly subsidised by the Government, not even the semi-official "Milliyet" and "Hakimiyeti Milliye," but subsidies are paid by the Popular party, İş Bankası, &c., to certain papers. Cultural propaganda is carried on first and foremost by the Turkish Ojaks, which receive an annual subvention of £T. 75,000, but are mainly supported by the subscriptions of their members, and also by certain other organisations such as the Türk Bilgi Derneği (Turkish Study Association), but this propaganda is exclusively for internal consumption. The Turkish Touring Club is actively concerned in assisting visitors to Turkey to obtain a favourable impression of the country, and is making preparations for propaganda abroad on a modest scale in order to attract the tourist to Turkey.

*Laws Passed in 1930.*

Law 1567.

February 22. Law for safeguarding the value of Turkish currency.

Law 1633.

May 22. Mode of execution of Mixed Arbitral Tribunal judgments.

Law 1546.

January 2. Ratification of decisions taken by the International Telegraph Conference at Brussels, the 10<sup>th</sup> September, 1928.

Law 1593.

April 24. Public hygiene law and measures for combating contagious diseases.

Law 1619.

May 15. Adhesion to modifications made at the Hague on the 6<sup>th</sup> October, 1925, in Madrid Conventions of 1891 relating to trade-marks and false declarations of origin.

Law 1620.

May 22. Ratification of International Convention of the 12<sup>th</sup> July, 1927, relative to Mutual Assistance.

Law 1631.

May 22. Code of Military Procedure.

Law 1632.

May 22. Military Penal Code.

Law 1673.

May 31. Adhesion to International Convention of Berne, the 23<sup>rd</sup> October, 1925, relative to transport of merchandise and passengers and passengers' baggage.

Law 1685.

June 4. Modification of law 1369 of 1928 regarding notification of export of drugs.

Law 1701.

June 9. Tobacco Monopoly Law and Regulations governing cultivation and sale of tobacco.

Law 1715.

June 11. Organisation and function of Turkish State Bank.

Law 1722.

June 15. Cession of Match Monopoly to the American Turkish Investment Corporation.

*F.O. 371/15376/E. 913.*

## No. 59

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 60.

CONSTANTINOPLE, February 23, 1931

*(Received March 3, 1931)*

Sir,

As foreshadowed in my despatch No.37 of the 4<sup>th</sup> instant, all of those condemned to death for participation in the Menemen incident duly hanged in the early hours of the morning after the sentences had been confirmed by the National Assembly, with one exception. While one group of prisoners was waiting before the gallows, a figure suddenly darted from their ranks, burst through the surrounding guard of soldiers and gendarmes, and disappeared in the morning mist under a fusillade of bullets. For thirteen days the countryside was searched in vain, but then the starving, worn-out fugitive entered a village in the neighbourhood and asked for bread and water. Inspired by visions of the reward of 1,000 liras offered by the Government and by fear of the death penalty incurred by anyone who might assist the man in any way, the villagers tied him up and handed him over to the police. He was forthwith taken back to Menemen the same evening and hanged at 4 in the morning, for the crime of having provided some food for the band of Dervishes as, bristling with arms and mad with hashish and fanaticism, they passed through his village.

2. The escape aroused not only great interest, but great sympathy throughout the country - indeed, the man could scarcely have lived thirteen days in the mountains at this time of year unless he had found some to help him at peril of their lives - and even in Angora a hope was general that if the fugitive were ever retaken alive he would be pardoned or at least have his sentence commuted. The fact that this was not done bears out my impression, recorded in my despatch referred to above, that the Government, or rather the Popular party, is determined to show, by the terror of its sentences, that it will brook no opposition. How far this is the Popular party bringing to heel, or how far it is the Gazi seeking to obliterate the belief that he was the sponsor of Fethi Bey's short-lived Liberal party, it is difficult to say. I incline myself to the second view. In my despatch No.28 of the 28<sup>th</sup> January last I observed that the general opinion was that the Turkish Government would content itself with hanging the actual murderers of Kuvâ-yi Milliye. This opinion arose in part from the fact that the president of the court martial, when telling the first batch of prisoners that their sentences would only be communicated to them after confirmation by the National Assembly, added that most of them need not be too uneasy as to their fate. But he then went to pay his respects to the Gazi, who was visiting Smyrna on his tour through the country, and had a two hours' conversation, the result of which, there is little doubt, was the decision to show no leniency. It is noticeable, too, that the references, direct or indirect, which the Gazi has been making to the Liberal party during his tour of

the country have been marked by a note of steadily rising condemnation. Thus, in an important speech made at Adana a day or two ago, the Gazi made what almost amounts to a direct attack on Fethi Bey and his supporters. He said: "Those who try to deceive their fellow citizens and the nation and to induce them to work for the realisation of the illegal aims they follow, have made use of every means. They have had recourse to every trick and every form of deceit. A certain activity has been manifested here" (in the Adana region) "and you know better than I who those are who have placed themselves in the forefront of the agitators. Those people have spoken at large about the great number of taxes, they have insinuated that the present régime suppresses religion, that we should return to the "Seriat." A man, a citizen, an individual belonging to a collective organisation, who would admit the eventual abolition of taxes or who can be led to admit it places himself in the situation of one who would ask for the destruction of society and the annihilation of the Government."

3. Moreover, the cases that are now being tried by the Menemen court martial have practically ceased to have any connexion with the incident itself and are charges of membership of, or association with anti-State religious sects or of the expression of Liberal party ideas. In short the victims of Menemen have suffered not for their own crimes, but for the mistake which the Gazi now thinks he made in bringing to life Fethi Bey's opposition party.

4. No doubt the fierce measures taken by the Government will have, for some time to come, their due effect, but a feeling has been created through the country at large that the vaunted justice and liberty of the revolution is of much the same quality under the republic as it was in the days of the Sultan in Stamboul. Sorrow for the fate of the fugitive Hussein may be largely sentimental, but there is also the feeling that anyone who offers the hospitality that is second nature to nearly every Turk may unwittingly incur the same penalty, and another victim of the court martial has made general the thought that even complete innocence is no protection. This victim was one Joseph the Jew. This man, who of those who were hanged showed the most courage, adjusted the rope himself and with his last breath crying: "Long live the republic!" said before his judges, who accused him of associating with the criminals and calling for the return of the "Seriat" (the sacred law): "Who should I a Jew, wish to see the Seriat back? What do I care for the Seriat? All that I need is peace to carry on my business and to play my game of cards with my friends in the café." Everyone knew that this naïve defence was true, and that even if the man uttered the incriminating phrase, it was only in face of the rifles of the Dervishes. But it is rumoured that there were those who coveted his little shop, the possession of which was the real crime for which he suffered death.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK



## No. 60

*Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 69.

ANGORA, February 28, 1931

(Received March 10, 1931)

Sir,

Despatches from this Embassy have from time to time touched on the tendency to favour the introduction of English and German into the Turkish educational curriculum on a par with, if not to the exclusion of, French, which at present holds a virtual monopoly. The advocates of the change appear to be prompted on the one hand by an appreciation of the increasingly greater practical utility of English and German, and, on the other, by a desire to break the bondage of a culture exclusively French (to the extent that it is not indigenous) and to give Turkey other channels of communication with the outer world besides that which passes through Paris. a number of articles illustrating this tendency have recently appeared in the press, and the following outline of their contents may be of some interest.

2. At the beginning of November of last year the "Vakit," in an article headed "The Vanguard of the Colonisers," took exception to a speech delivered by the French Ambassador on the occasion of a visit to Constantinople by M. Albert Flandin, a member of M. Tardieu's Ministry, in which M. Chambrun stated that all Frenchmen in Turkey, whether lay or clerical, were propagating French culture and serving the cause of civilisation, while M. Flandin expressed his thanks to the members of the congregations (who, the writer observes, are among the commodities exported by France) for the services rendered by them. Commenting on these speeches the writer complains that it is only too true that the French in Turkey, be they priests, members of the congregations or laymen, men, women or children, nuns or loose women, all have but a single aim, to civilise Turkey in the interests of imperialistic France. Turkey is tired of hearing the praises of France sung at every turn. Why do these good people busy themselves with her internal affairs? Why do they interest themselves in cinemas, bars, and the scale of taxation? Why are they so hypersensitive where educational matters are concerned? Why are they not content to take neither more or less interest in our customs than other foreigners? Simply because they wish to civilise us and to serve humanity! If an object lesson were required it would be sufficient to make a journey to Bucharest in order to understand the full measure of the suffering of the peoples of the Balkans, whom the French seek to harness to their chariot by the despatch of women, monks and money changers.

3. In a leading article published in the "Milliyyet" of the 7<sup>th</sup> January, Falih Rifki Bey advocates the transformation of Turkish education from its present Latin basis,



and its remodelling on the lines adopted in Northern Europe. He attributes to the traditions of a Latin education the tendency of Turkish youth and the Turkish *intelligentsia* to congregate in the urban centres and to look almost exclusively to State employment for the provision of a living. A Latin education, is radically unsuitable to the Turkish people, who are temperamentally at the opposite pole from the Latins. The Turks, who are a northern people, should receive a northern education. Turkey should be guided by the example of Russia, where English and German are the sole foreign languages taught. For the education of the masses Turkey cannot do better than study Russian methods, while for the education of the *élite* she should establish three new colleges, for boys and girls separately, one on the Black Sea coast, one on the Mediterranean coast, and one in the East. At present Turkey has but a single college (the Galata Saray College is, of course, meant), where Turkish energy is sapped by the Latin virus. Why remain at Constantinople? To live in a café founded by a Greek, an hotel equipped by an Armenian, amongst those who are not our people? We have no intention of reproducing this atmosphere in other parts of Turkey.

4. This article was apparently reported to the "Temps" by its correspondent, who represented the author as an enemy of French culture, which stimulated him to return to the charge in an article in the "Hakimiyeti Milliye" of the 29<sup>th</sup> January. Falih Rifki Bey quotes a responsible official whom he met on his recent visit to Russia and also the professor of economics of the University of Constantinople, in support of the view that for practical considerations the knowledge of English and German is indispensable for gaining access to modern developments and modern thought, French literature on such subjects being inadequate and behind the times. "We are working," he writes, "for a Turkey which shall not resemble Pera in the slightest" ("Biz Beyoğluna hiç benzemeyen bir Türkiye için çalışıyoruz"). The khaki-clad, gold-braided kavas who follow the French consul about, and the black-frocked priest, who is the herald of French culture, will disappear from our midst.

5. On the 18<sup>th</sup> January Falih Rifki Bey published in the "Milliyyet" a leading article on elementary education, urging that, as soon as Turkey recovers her freedom in this respect on the lapse of the Lausanne Residence Convention next August, it should be made obligatory for Turkish children to receive their elementary education in Turkish schools. A foreign education makes of a child an amorphous being without roots in its own country. This theme is taken up by a leading article in the "Politika" of the 30<sup>th</sup> January, which likewise attacks the congregational schools on the score that they insidiously corrupt the spiritual outlook of Turkish children.

6. I have not yet been able to obtain any detailed forecast of the legislation which the Turkish Government clearly intend to promulgate as soon as the lapse of the Lausanne Residence Convention restores their liberty of action in educational

matters. I shall not fail to report to you without delay as soon as I am in a position to throw any light on their intentions in this respect.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 424/274, p.47-48, No.15.*

## No. 61

*Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson*

No.7.

ANGORA, March 5, 1931

*(Telegraphic) R.*

*(Received March 6, 1931)*

The Gazi returned to Angora on 3<sup>rd</sup> March.

On his initiative Assembly to-day decided that new elections should take place forthwith. The present Assembly will continue in being until the new Assembly meets, which will probably be early in May.

*F.O. 424/274, p.47, No.14.*

## No. 62

*Mr. Ramsay to Mr. A. Henderson*

No.105.

ATHENS, March 9, 1931

*(Received March 25, 1931)*

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that considerable excitement is manifested in the Greek press in connexion with the reported intention of the Prefecture of Constantinople to change the official appellation of the Oecumenical Patriarchate to "Bashpapazlik," on the ground that the temporal power of the Patriarchate has been lost.

2. "Patris" points out that, before the fall of Constantinople, the Patriarchate exercised no temporal power, but that it was none the less called a Patriarchate, a title which it retained after the capture of Constantinople by Mahomet. The prefect, says "Patris," should inform himself of his Government's views before he takes any further steps, and he will learn that the Patriarchate has already been officially recognised by the President of the Turkish Republic as the spiritual centre of Orthodoxy.

3. In a second article "Patris" says that public opinion in Greece is astonished at the action of the Constantinople authorities, and the more so because the

Turkish Premier, in his communications with the Patriarch, gives him his proper title – which is established by the Treaty of Lausanne and recognised officially in Turkey. What renders this action even more strange is the fact that Armenian, Armenia-Catholic and Syro-Chaldean Patriarchates are recognised in Turkey. "Paris" then goes on to say that the old Turkish suspicions of Greece have been dissipated, and that it was hardly worth while to disturb the good relations existing between the Turkish and Greek peoples. "Eleftheron Vema" mentions the grief and astonishment with which the Greek people have learned of the incident, and expresses the hope that Angora will hasten to put the matter right. "Ethnos" describes the action of the Turkish Government as inconceivable, and as a grave affront to the national and religious conscience of all Greeks. Whilst Greece, it continues, has done everything possible to maintain friendly relations with Turkey, the clumsiness of the Turkish Government and the hostility of the Turkish press raise a sentiment of doubt in Greece as to the possibility of a lasting and sincere friendship with Turkey. But, it concludes, it will not be Greece who suffers in the end.

4. "Proia" says that all who have read the letter of its correspondent (which gave the first news of the attitude of the Turkish authorities and press on this subject), will be in a position to appreciate at their true value the agreements which MM. Veniselos and Michalakopoulos signed at Angora a few months ago. The great financial sacrifices then made by Greece, the loss of naval superiority and even of parity, were agreed to on the supposition that Greeks who remain in European Turkey would be left in peace and the head of the Orthodox Church respected. These moral losses which Turkey seems determined to inflict upon Greece are greater than territorial and financial losses, and as such Greece is aroused against them. "Eleftheron Vema" reverts to the question in an article on the anti-Kemalist Turks, who have been obliged to leave Greece. Greece consented to this measure, it says, although it was contrary to her sentiments of hospitality, with the assurance that similar measures would be taken by Turkey against Papa Efthim. Unfortunately, however, Turkey has done nothing of the kind, and the Prefect of Constantinople has allied himself with Papa Efthim against the Patriarch. "Kathemerine" writes sarcastically about the Angora agreements and the present situation of the Patriarch, as compared with that of the Patriarch Gregorios II after the conquest of Constantinople and attacks the Orthodox Liberal press for not being sufficiently moved by the incident.

5. I have transmitted a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

PATRICK RAMSAY

No. 63

*Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 74.

ANGORA, March 9, 1931  
(Received March 16, 1931)

Sir,

The life history of the defunct Liberal party appears to belong even more definitely to the past since the decision, reported in my telegram No. 7 of the 5<sup>th</sup> March, to hold new elections in which, as far as can humanly be foreseen, candidates of the Popular party will alone offer themselves for the suffrages of the population. Nevertheless, the strange vicissitudes of this history have remained so involved in obscurity that, even at this date, I have little hesitation in bringing to your notice a recent conversation between one of the most prominent Deputies of the quondam party and a member of the staff of this Embassy.

2. Agaoglu Ahmed Bey was a very forthcoming vein, and spoke with considerable frankness. Both he himself and his late chief, Fethi Bey, are retiring from politics, and it is believed that the same applies to Nuri Bey and Tahsin Bey. The smaller fry of the party have contrived to make their peace with the Popular party. Ahmet Bey will in the future devote himself to his lectures at the Faculty of Law in Angora on constitutional law, a subject which is in Turkey to-day, as he shily observed, not without pitfalls for the unwary. He has even given up writing for the press, but a political satire of his, entitled "In the Land of Free Men" ("Serbest İnsanlar Ülkesinde"), is to appear shortly, and promises to be a suggestive commentary on present Turkish conditions.

3. Ahmed Bey expressed the view that it was unfortunate that Turkey had not known how to derive fuller advantage from the services of a man of such greatness, notwithstanding his undeniable failings and weaknesses, as the Gazi. By this he alluded to the premature demise of the Liberal party, which, in happier circumstances, might have been a valuable instrument for working out the Gazi's ideas. Ahmet Bey related how the Gazi had, in his presence, said to Fethi Bey that the new Turkey which he had created was an amorphous structure, neither democracy nor dictatorship, neither republic nor monarchy, and that he wished before his work was done to set her on the path towards more normal conditions, by initiating the formation of a second party. Fethi Bey had replied that the conception was sublime, but he feared that, in execution, it would inevitably lead to conflict with its author. The Gazi had nevertheless, with tears in his eyes, insisted on Fethi Bey assuming the task for which he destined him. The disfavour into which the Liberal party soon fell was primarily due to the success of its enemies in scaring the Gazi by depicting a victory for the party at the forthcoming elections, leading perhaps even to the choice of Fethi bey as President of the Republic and to

the taking up of all sorts of affairs in which the Gazi was interested and which he would be reluctant to have thrown into the limelight. Although the initiative in dissolving the party had nominally come from Fethi Bey himself, and the Gazi had professed to try and dissuade him, this had been, Ahmed Bey said, more for form's sake than anything else, and the Gazi had not been sorry to see the last of the party. At the same time his own personal relations with the Gazi remained quite friendly.

4. Ahmed Bey anticipated that the Gazi would in future take the affairs of State more directly into his own hands. He said that the Gazi had at a certain period played with the idea of becoming Prime Minister, and ceding the Presidency of the Republic to Fevzi Pasha, or alternatively of remodelling the Constitution on American lines so as to enable the head of the State to be his own Prime Minister. Ahmed Bey had, it seemed, encouraged the idea, but the Gazi had himself decided against it. Mr. Roberts observed that he had heard argued against the former plan that it would not be understood by the peasant, who would simply see that the Gazi has ceased to be the first man in the State, and his prestige would suffer consequently. Ahmed Bey, while maintaining that the Gazi's prestige and influence would not be damaged in political circles even if he were to accept the position of a simple Deputy, admitted that with the peasantry it might be otherwise, but contended that the attitude of the peasantry on a matter of this kind presented very little importance. The peasantry were, it is true, the mainstay of a country like Turkey, but all they cared for was to be able to sell their produce at a reasonable price, not to be overburdened with taxation and to be free from unduly vexatious interference by officialdom.

5. The above account, in general, serves to confirm and amplify that given to Mr. Helm by a Deputy in September last and reported in Sir George Clerk's despatch No.369 of the 24<sup>th</sup> September, 1930. Ahmed Bey made no mention of what was, there can be little doubt, at least an equally important motive with the Gazi in launching the Liberal party, viz., the desire to "prepare the way for the disappearance of Ismet Pasha. It still remains obscure whether the Gazi's original conception was to replace him at the head of the Government by Fethi Bey at an early date, or whether the latter's party was for the time being to serve only as a bogey with which to render Ismet Pasha more amenable to the Gazi's wishes, and only ultimately, in the words of Sir George Clerk's despatch No.356 of the 10<sup>th</sup> September last, to supply "a potential Government, to take over the administration of the country when, in the course of nature, the present Government had to disappear." The straightforward reading of the letters exchanged in August last between the Gazi and Fethi Bey, and later between the Gazi and Yunus Nadi Bey (a translation of which was transmitted under cover of Mr. Helm's despatch No.312 of the 12<sup>th</sup> August, and of Sir George Clerk's despatch No.357 of the 10<sup>th</sup> September last), points to the latter supposition, though it is true that, in Turkey, the surface

interpretation of such affairs does not always represent the truth, or at any rate the whole truth. If Fethi Bey was indeed cast by the Gazi for the rôle of bogey, events were, in the issue, so manipulated or at least exploited by the Ismet faction that the bogey was turned against its creator, and with devastating effect.

6. One more detail in the picture may deserve recording. In his memorandum, to which reference is made at the beginning of the preceding paragraph, Mr. Helm wrote: "Fethi Bey had, in fact, surrounded himself, possibly at superior dictation, with unworthy instruments." That the unworthiness of some of his principal lieutenants played no negligible part in his downfall is, I think, incontestable, but I venture to doubt whether, at the early stage when Fethi Bey was forming his general staff, the Gazi at any rate (if such is Mr. Helm's implication), conceived so Machiavellian a plan as deliberately to implant in the new party the seeds of inevitable premature decay. On the contrary, a member of the staff of this Embassy was assured by one who had been present at the time that the Gazi entreated Nuri Bey not to assume the post of secretary-general to the new party. In the phase where the party still enjoyed full presidential favour, the only possible interpretation of the Gazi's attitude is surely that he viewed with dismay the accession to it of a man who, however welcome to himself personally as a boon companion, must taint it with an unsavoury atmosphere of corruption and ineluctably condemn it to an early disintegration.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 424/274, p.50-51, No.18.*

No. 64

*Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson*

No.78.

ANGORA, March 9, 1931  
(Received March 16, 1931)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the President of the Republic returned to Angora on the 4<sup>th</sup> March, after a three months' tour of Turkey. During this period the Gazi has visited all parts of his country with the exception of the eastern provinces, in which he intends to travel at some future date. The main purpose of his tour was to make it clear to the Turkish people that he identified himself completely with the Popular party, and that Turkey's salvation lay in confiding its destinies to a Popular party Government. He constantly appealed to the members of the local party centres, to the adherents of the Turkish *çetaks*, to teachers,



officers and especially to the young to act as missionaries for the party ideals, to keep alive the revolutionary flame and to combat the tendency to apathy and lack of confidence in the revolutionary Government which the old and the middle-aged traditionalists endeavoured to create.

2. While pursuing his main object of popularising the Popular party, the Gazi has not been unmindful of the fact that, as shown during the short life-time of the Liberal party, and at the municipal elections, a widespread discontent with the Government existed, and he has been endeavouring to ascertain the causes. To this end he has studied the mentality, and judged the achievements, of his officials, enquired into the social, educational and financial standard of his people, seen for himself the condition of the roads, gathered information about commerce, industry and agriculture, received complaints, and, in general, probed discontent where it came to his notice. The result has been that he has decided to make the party as wide as the nation and to change and improve the programme of the Popular party, i.e., of the Government, so that, while the people will have no choice but to accept, at parliamentary elections, the candidates put forward by the Popular party, it will, at the same time, feel that its best interests are served by a Popular party Government, and that such a Government is the best possible.

3. Primed with the knowledge acquired during his tour, the Gazi, immediately on his return to Angora, summoned a meeting of the heads of the Popular party, and communicated to them the following message:

"In the past few months attempts have been made to create in the country an atmosphere of discontent against the administrative and political activity displayed by the Republican Popular party in the Assembly and in the Government in regard to national affairs. It is natural that there are defects in a State so long neglected, but it is also undeniable that among the people there are some who dislike a policy designed to effect the salvation of the nation. Attempts have been made to disturb the minds of the people without consideration for their better interests. But the clear vision and good sense of the people have not permitted them to be led astray. My three months' tour has convinced me that the programme of my party is the most suitable from the point of view of the nation's interests, and that my party has the devotion and confidence of the people. For this reason, and to ascertain how far the people acquiesce in the measures which consider it necessary to put into force in the near future, I am of opinion that the mandates of the Deputies belonging to the party of which I am the head should be renewed. I am convinced that when I see the nation testify its confidence in me, everyone will see how solid and unshakable is the national ideal towards which our party marches."

4. On receiving this message, the obedient party at once decided that new parliamentary elections should take place, and also agreed to the President's proposal that Deputies' salaries should be reduced.



5. On the following day the Grand National Assembly, on a motion couched in terms almost identical with those of the above message, voted unanimously that new elections should be held, and, amid great applause, adopted the proposal that Deputies' salaries be reduced from £1,500 to £1,350 per month.

6. The Constitution does not provide for the dissolution of an Assembly, but any Assembly may, before the expiration of the term of four years for which it is elected, decide, by unanimity of votes, to hold new elections. In such a case the outgoing Assembly continues in being until the new Assembly meets. It is expected that the new Assembly will meet early in May, and that many of the existing Deputies will be replaced by younger men or men more imbued with the revolutionary spirit. One of his first acts will be to elect the President of the Republic, the President being elected for the period of the lifetime of each Assembly.

7. The Popular party is throwing itself with great energy into the election campaign. A change foreshadowed in the enclosure in Sir George Clerk's despatch No.369 of the 24<sup>th</sup> September last is to-day announced, viz., that Recep Bey, Deputy for Kutahia, has been appointed secretary-general of the party, in succession to Saffet Bey.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 424/274, p.52-53, No.19.*

No. 65

*Mr. A. Henderson to Sir G. Clerk*

*No.152.*

FOREIGN OFFICE, March 10, 1931

Sir,

The Turkish Ambassador called upon me this afternoon at the House of the Commons when I took the opportunity of communicating to him the attached aide-mémoire, setting forth the views of His Majesty's Government as regards the entry of Turkey to the League of Nations.

After reading the aide-mémoire the Turkish Ambassador pressed me very strongly to promise the support of His Majesty's Government for the re-eligibility of Turkey to the Council after she had been elected as a member of the League. I told the Ambassador that I feared that I could add nothing to the explanation of the situation as set forth in the aide-mémoire and that it would not be possible for His Majesty's Government to pledge themselves in advance to vote for the re-

eligibility of Turkey to the Council, although the position would be viewed sympathetically by His Majesty's Government when the situation arose.

I have, &c.

ARTHUR HENDERSON

FO. 424-274, p. 49, No. 16

Enclosure in No. 65

*Aide-mémoire*

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have given their most careful consideration to the request submitted by the Turkish Ambassador on the 5<sup>th</sup> February, on behalf of his Government, that His Majesty's Government should support the candidature of the Turkish Government for a semi-permanent seat on the Council of the League of Nations.

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom feel that it is necessary, in order to make their attitude clear, to recall the exact procedure for elections to membership of the Council:

Under the ordinary rules the Turkish Government can apply for membership of the League of Nations. If Turkey is elected she can stand for election to the Council. If elected to the Council she remains a member for three years, at the end of which time she must retire unless the Assembly by a two-thirds majority then declare her to be re-eligible. As the Turkish Government are no doubt aware, this is according to the latest rules drawn up in 1926, and it was as an exceptional measure that Poland was in that year elected to the Council and, *at the same time* declared re-eligible. Subsequently, the Assembly also agreed to a similar procedure in the case of Spain, but these are only the two exceptions to a rule which, as the Turkish Government will realise, is logically based on the principle that it is only *at the end* of a term of office that the Assembly can decide whether it desires to re-elect a member of the Council, and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom feel that the Assembly will continue to adhere rigidly to this rule in the future.

The situation therefore is, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom that Turkey, according to the usual procedure, should apply for admission to the League of Nations and if she so desires present her candidature for an ordinary seat on the Council, and when the time comes, should she so desire, apply for re-election.

In view of this established procedure the Turkish Government will not fail to realise that it would be impossible for His Majesty's Government to pledge their

vote in advance in favour of the possible candidature of any State for a seat on the Council of the League of Nations at this stage. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom would, however, most cordially welcome the candidature of Turkey for admission to the League of Nations and they would assure her of their warmest support in the event of such candidature being presented. They would support her candidature for election to the Council at the first opportune moment, and at the end of her three years' term (if elected) they would give sympathetic consideration to her application for a declaration of re-eligibility.

*March 10, 1931*

*F.O. 424/274, p.49-50, No.16/1.*

No. 66

*Mr. Ramsay to Mr. A. Henderson*

No.112.

*ATHENS, March 10, 1931*

*(Received March 16, 1931)*

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.654 of the 24<sup>th</sup> December last regarding the Graeco-Turkish agreement, I have the honour to inform you that, according to a semi official statement in the "Messager d'Athènes," the Turkish Minister informed M. Michalacopoulos yesterday of the conclusion of the Soviet-Turkish Naval Agreement. The latter expressed to Enis Bey the satisfaction which he felt at the conclusion of this agreement, which constituted a further element for the stability of peace in the East.

2. The communiqué concludes by stating that the Soviet-Turkish agreement, which is similar to the Graeco-Turkish Naval Protocol, has created the best impression among competent Hellenic circles, as being certain to facilitate the limitation of naval expenditure, for it is evident that the signature of the Turkish agreement with the Soviets fills the gap left by the Turkish Government with Greece in so far as the requirements of Turkey in the Black Sea are concerned.

3. The Greek press of all shades of opinion warmly welcomes the new pact.

4. I am forwarding a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

PATRICK RAMSAY

*F.O. 424/274, p.53, No.20.*

## No. 67

*Mr. Morgan to Mr. Henderson*

No.9  
(Telegraphic) R.

CONSTANTINOPLE, March 11, 1931  
(Received March 11, 1931)

On 7<sup>th</sup> March a protocol was signed at Angora by Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs and Soviet Ambassador to the effect that each of the two Governments concerned, convinced that the only solid guarantee of lasting peace lies in effective reduction of all kinds of existing armaments, agrees not to increase its present naval forces in the Black Sea or adjacent waters, nor to order or to begin building units intended to increase those forces without giving six months' notice to the other.

This protocol is complementary to article 2 of protocol of 17<sup>th</sup> December 1929, reported in Mr. Edmonds's despatch No.491 of 18<sup>th</sup> December 1929.

*F.O. 424/274, p.50, No.17.*

## No. 68

*Mr. Morgan to Mr. Henderson*

No. 81.

CONSTANTINOPLE, March 12, 1931  
(Received March 16, 1931)

\* Sir,

With reference to my telegram No.9 of the 11<sup>th</sup> March, I have the honour to give below the text of the protocol signed at Angora by Dr. Tevfik Rüstü Bey, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and M. Surits, Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, with a view to limitation of naval armaments in the Black Sea:

"The two high contracting parties, conformably with the essential principles enunciated in the treaty of the 17<sup>th</sup> December 1925, and in the protocol of the 17<sup>th</sup> December, 1929, being desirous of consolidating the pacific and friendly relations existing between them, and being firmly convinced that the only solid guarantee of lasting peace in the effective reduction of all kinds of existing armaments, and wishing to manifest their unshakable resolution to continue in future their efforts to bring about a universal reduction of armaments, have considered it desirable, in order to furnish a new proof of the mutual confidence so happily reigning between the two countries to complete article 2 of the protocol of the 17<sup>th</sup> December 1929, by the following reciprocal engagement:

"Neither of the high contracting parties will lay down any fighting naval unit whatsoever intended to strengthen its war fleet in the Black Sea or in the contiguous seas, nor will it place an order for such a unit in any foreign yard, nor will it take any other measure which result in an increase in the present composition of its war fleet in the above-mentioned seas, without having given the other contracting party six months' notice. The present complementary protocol will be ratified and will thenceforth become an integral part of the protocol of the 17<sup>th</sup> December 1929.

"Done at Angora, the 7<sup>th</sup> March 1931."

2. The publication of this protocol follows too closely on the signature of the Franco-Italian Naval Agreement to be attributable to mere coincidence. It is reasonable to assume that the two Governments which, while priding themselves on standing apart from reunions and conferences of the Great Powers, yet feel piqued at not being formally invited to all of them, wish to show the world at large that they, too, can have their naval pacts, and make their own contributions to the cause of world peace.

3. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representative at Moscow and Athens.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 424/274, p.53-54, No.21.*

No. 69

*Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson*

No.83.

CONSTANTINOPLE, March 12, 1931

(Received March 16, 1931)

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the Kurdish chieftain's son Selahettin, who formed the subject of Mr. Edmonds's despatch No. 194 of the 3<sup>rd</sup> June, 1930, has been condemned by the Criminal Court at Angora to fifteen years' imprisonment with hard labour. The sentence was, however, reduced to twelve years and six months in view of the fact that the condemned man had not completed his twenty first year at the time of the conspiracy of Erzerum, which he was accused of having promoted. Of Selahettin's alleged accomplices, one has been condemned to ten years' imprisonment with hard labour, and another to one month's imprisonment and a fine of £T. 51. The remaining two, including an ex-Deputy for Beyazit, were acquitted.

2. The comparative mildness of these sentences, in contrast with the recent wholesale hangings at Menemen, compels the conclusion that little or nothing of a reasonable nature could be proved against Sheikh Sait's son and his companions, and there has been on this occasion no fresh crop of insinuations regarding British complicity such as those reported in Mr. Edmonds's despatch under reference.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the British High Commissioner at Bagdad.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 424/274, P.54, No.22.*

## No. 70

*Mr. Parr to Mr. A. Henderson*

No.45.

TEHRAN, March 17, 1931

*(Telegraphic) Code.*

*(Received March 17, 1931)*

Following telegram has been received from consul, Tabriz, No.9:

"Kurds appear to have started attack near Maku, and General Officer Commanding with considerable reinforcements has hurried there. More troops are to leave also for Ushnu."

(Repeated to High Commissioner for Iraq, No.14, and Constantinople, No.1.)

*F.O. 424/274, p.54, No.23.*

## No. 71

*Mr. Parr to Mr. A. Henderson*

No.46.

TEHRAN, March 17, 1931

*(Telegraphic) Code.*

*(Received March 17, 1931)*

Following telegram has been received from consul, Tabriz, No.10:

"Old pre-conscription soldiers are being called up and lorries and horses commandeered, while four guns have been sent to Maku.

"There is a rigid censorship on news. While I cannot learn anything definite from civilians or military authorities or Turkish consul, it is generally believed that Turks have advanced 24 kilom. into Persian territory near Ararat.

"Turkish consul told me some days ago that Turkish army might this year hold the frontier itself and require Persia to round up Kurds in Persian territory, where any operations would be much easier."

(Repeated to High Commissioner for Iraq, No.15, and Constantinople, No.2.)

*F.O. 424/274, p.55, No.24.*

## No. 72

*Mr. E. Ovey to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 131.

MOSCOW, March 17, 1931

(Received March 23, 1931)

Sir,

With reference to Mr. Strang's despatch No.461 of the 11<sup>th</sup> August last, I have the honour to report that negotiations for a new Soviet-Turkish Commercial Treaty have at last been brought to a successful conclusion and that the treaty was signed here in Moscow yesterday. This treaty takes the place of the Commercial Treaty of the 11<sup>th</sup> March 1927, which lapsed on the 19<sup>th</sup> October last. The scope of the new treaty is outlined in a communiqué issued to the foreign press correspondents by the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, a translation of which is enclosed.

2. The signature of a new Commercial Treaty and of the supplementary Naval Protocol, reported in my despatch No.113 of the 10<sup>th</sup> March, have roughly synchronised with the tenth anniversary of the signature of the Soviet-Turkish Treaty of Friendship, signed at Moscow on the 16<sup>th</sup> March, 1921. The "Izvestia" published an article on the 16<sup>th</sup> March reviewing the history of these ten years of Soviet-Turkish relations. The article is in the usual strain, laying stress on the support afforded by Soviet Russia to Turkey when she was friendless, and emphasising the solidarity between the two countries in the face of the forces of Western capitalism.

3. The article concludes as follows:

"If the U.S.S.R. and Turkey are striving for peace, the Imperialist States, by continuing their struggle against them in the economic and political sphere, have prepared and are preparing for a new world war and a new attack on the Soviet Union. The leading Imperialist Powers are trying to form combinations of States which, finding themselves in economic or political dependence upon them, could be utilised for a new boycott, a new blockade and intervention against the Soviet Union.



"The inclusion of Turkey in a group of this kind is the "supreme" object of the international policy of imperialism. But the independent foreign policy of Turkey has put out of gear and will put out of gear the imperialist plans for isolating the Soviet Union. The Angora Government fully realises that imperialism is trying to tear away Turkey from the U.S.S.R. in order that, having weakened both sides, it will be still easier to settle their accounts with each separately. In view of this the U.S.S.R. and Turkey answered the attempts of imperialism by the pact of neutrality, non-aggression and non-participation in enemy groups concluded in Paris in 1925. This pact is a manifestation of that strong policy of peace which the U.S.S.R. and Turkey are pursuing unwaveringly and logically; and the more tense the international situation becomes, the greater is the importance of Soviet-Turkish relations as a weapon of peace.....

"The most important act of mutual trust is the new addition to the Paris Pact, namely, the Protocol of the 7<sup>th</sup> March, dealing with the fleets in the Black Sea and neighbouring waters. The new Commercial Treaty, which is to be signed in the course of the next few days in Moscow between the U.S.S.R. and Turkey, must still further strengthen the relations between the countries. All these treaties and protocols are an organic development of these principles principles which lie at the basis of the Moscow Treaty of 1921.

" Desire for security, consolidation of all the victories of the revolution, non-interference in the internal affairs of each other, and active struggle for peace and the devotion of all resources to internal economic and cultural construction, these are bases on which Soviet-Turkish friendship is founded. These foundations have been tested by the experience of the past ten years and have proved their strength. They have stood the test of history and have been tempered in the forge of mutual help in battle and co-operation.

" We can say with a feeling of great satisfaction on the day of the tenth anniversary of the Moscow Treaty that Soviet-Turkish relations represent one of the most brilliant pages in the history of Soviet relationship with the outside world."

4. A copy of this despatch has been transmitted to the department of Overseas Trade.

I have, &c.

EDMOND OVEY

*F.O. 424/274, p.55-56, No.25.*

## Enclosure in No.72

*Communiqué issued to Foreign Press Correspondents by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs*

On the 16<sup>th</sup> March, the tenth anniversary of the conclusion of the Soviet-Turkish Treaty of Friendship and Brotherhood, a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation was signed in the Conference Hall of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs between the U.S.S.R. and Turkey. The treaty was signed on behalf of the U.S.S.R. by the Deputy Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Comrade Karakhan, and on behalf of Turkey by the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. The treaty replaces the Soviet-Turkish Commercial Treaty, which was signed on the 11<sup>th</sup> March, 1927, and which lapsed on the 19<sup>th</sup> October 1930. The new treaty regulates questions relating to the settlement of citizens of one of the contracting parties on the territory of the other; the régime of judicial persons; the régime of trade representatives of the U.S.S.R. and their branches in Turkey, questions on export and import of goods by one of the parties to and from the territory of the other; questions relating to goods in transit and questions of navigation. The treaty is founded on the most-favoured-nation principle. Each party has undertaken not to impose upon the trade of the other any limitations or prohibitions not imposed upon the trade of all other countries. The U.S.S.R. in the new treaty confirms the rights of transit for goods of Turkish origin through Batoum granted in the Treaty of 1927, and in addition gives Turkey the right of transit for goods passing from the western vilayets to the eastern vilayets and originating in countries which have commercial treaties with the U.S.S.R. The treaty also contains a number of provisions which will promote the development of navigation between the U.S.S.R. and Turkey. The treaty is concluded for a period of one year with automatic renewal unless one of the parties denounces it at the expiration of one year. Should the treaty be denounced, it will continue in force for a period of six months from the date of the denunciation. The treaty is subject to ratification, and the exchange of ratifications will take place in Angora.

The new treaty creates a favourable basis for the development and widening of economic relations between the U.S.S.R. and Turkey. The régime of trade between the two countries will be organised in such a manner that all trade on Turkish territory will be carried on by Soviet economic organisations. By virtue of the new treaty the contracting parties will be in a position to increase the trade turnover both as regards the export of Soviet goods to Turkey and the purchase of goods of Turkish origin.

The treaty marks a further development of Soviet-Turkish friendship, and together with the other instruments in force between the U.S.S.R. and Turkey creates a solid foundation for the strengthening of friendly relations between the two countries.

*F.O. 424/274, p.56-57, No.25/1*

## No. 73

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson

No.95.

ANGORA, March 18, 1931  
(Received March 23, 1931)

Sir,

The Turkish newspapers, in commenting on the Turco-Soviet Naval Agreement reported in my despatch No.81 of the 12<sup>th</sup> March, link it with the Turco-Greek Naval Protocol signed at Angora on the 30<sup>th</sup> October, 1930, but none appear to notice that the newly-concluded agreement does not include what is a vital feature of its predecessor, viz., the declaration of the intention of the parties to "marcher de pair dans la voie de la limitation parallèle de leurs forces respectives." They are careful to warn the public that the two pacts must not be interpreted as signifying a want of confidence in her two neighbours on Turkey's part, but as a means of strengthening her friendship with them.

2. According to the "République," Roumania, Bulgaria, Greece, and even the big Mediterranean naval Powers were seriously disturbed a year ago when the Soviet Government brought into the Black Sea a super-Dreadnought and a battle cruise belonging to the Baltic Fleet. This disquieting event was the cause of the despatch of a British division to the Black Sea. Roumania, too, began the construction of a strong naval base near Constantza, under the supervision of a British admiral. The Turco-Soviet agreement prevents future uneasiness, for it precludes any sudden transfer to the Black sea of the Soviet Baltic Fleet, or units thereof.

3. The "Milliet" is pleased that the conclusion of the Turco-Russian pact coincides with the completion of the Naval Treaty of London by the Franco-Italian agreement. By their action Turkey and Russia have proved that they mean to be factors of peace in world politics. The Black Sea can now be considered as "disarmed." Competition in naval armaments in that sea can now only begin if some third littoral Power of it furnishes the motive. It cannot be caused by the action of other Powers for, according to the provisions of the Straits Convention, no Power may send through the Straits into the Black Sea a force greater than that of the most powerful fleet of the littoral Powers of the Black Sea existing in that sea at the time of passage.

4. The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in conversation with a member of the staff of this Embassy, emphasised the point, already noted in the press, that the terms of the protocol prevented any sudden reinforcement of the Soviet Black Sea Fleet by the transfer of units from the Baltic. He added that the negotiations for the protocol had been begun and carried through quite recently.

and that the initiative had come from the Turkish side. He expressed considerable gratification at the achievement of this further contribution towards the limitation of armaments and the maintenance of peace, and pointed out that, thanks to the position of Turkey as the common link in the Turco-Greek and Turco-Soviet protocols, a discussion between Russia, Turkey and Greece was practically assured in the event of any development threatening to upset the naval *status quo* in the waters of the Levant.

5. In the course of a reception which was given on the 16<sup>th</sup> March at the Soviet Embassy here to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Turco-Soviet Treaty of Moscow, and which was attended by Ismet Pasha and the members of the Turkish Cabinet, Dr. Tevfik Rüstü Bey spoke to Mr. Roberts of the naval pact and expressed his gratification at noticing that, quite fortuitously, the wording of the preamble of the pact displayed a close correspondence with the tenor of the declarations made in connexion with the Franco-Italian Naval Agreement by the representatives of His Majesty's Government as reported here.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Moscow and Athens.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 424/274, p.57, No. 26.*

No. 74

*Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson*

No.98.

ANGORA, March 29, 1931

(Received March 30, 1931)

Sir,

I have the honour to report with reference to Sir George Clerk's despatch No.64 of the 20<sup>th</sup> February 1930, that the press announces the impending transformation of the Turkish ojak from their present independent basis to that of a cultural section of the popular party, with a corresponding change in the name of the organisation. According to the press an extraordinary assembly of the members of the ojak will be convoked in order to take the necessary decision.

2. A member of the staff of this Embassy took an opportunity of asking Hamdullah Suphi Bey whether this information was correct. Hamdullah Suphi Bey replied that, although no final decision had yet been taken, it was practically a foregone conclusion that the change announced in the press would take place. It had been felt that, while the new Turkey was menaced by such powerful internal

and external enemies it was essential to unify and concentrate the mechanism for propagating the principles of the revolution and stimulating the national consciousness of the country. Any dispersion of activities in these fields was a luxury which could no longer be afforded. Speaking in strict confidence Hamdullah Suphi Bey added that he personally deplored the decision. He favoured the organisation of such manifestations of national life on an autonomous basis, and condemned the tendency to concentrate them in the hands of the State (for in Turkey the identification of the Government with the ruling party is almost as complete as in Soviet Russia). Indeed, Hamdullah Suphi Bey seemed to think that the impending change was yet another outcome of the influence of Soviet Russia over the policy of the present rulers of Turkey, an influence which he once more deplored in unreserved terms. Hamdullah Suphi Bey added that he did not expect to remain at the head of the transformed organisation, being unable to reconcile this with his convictions, there were, however, many other spheres in which he would find it possible to serve his country.

3. I find it difficult not to share Hamdullah Suphi Bey's regret at the forthcoming change. The history of the Turkish oğaks throughout the twenty or so years of their existence during almost the whole of which Hamdullah Bey has been prominently associated with them, is a record of invaluable services rendered to the cause of Turkish nationality, and of the creation from very modest beginnings of a vigorous and independent organisation chiefly maintained by the subscriptions of its members. A body of this kind is much more calculated to appeal to English ideas than a rigidly bound Government or party organisation without any corporate life. On the other hand, it must be admitted that there is some justification for the desire to concentrate in one channel the labours of the artisans of the new Turkey, and to avoid wasteful overlapping and dispersion of effort, which may well in country districts be considerable. Some interest attaches to Hamdullah Suphi Bey's reference to the menace from external enemies. No doubt France is the country of whose machinations Turkey is at the moment most suspicious, yet she probably realises that the only countries whose ambitions might some day lead into active aggression against her are Russia and Italy. Unless Hamdullah Suphi Bey's allusion to external enemies was nothing more than a reflexion of his own personal Russophobia, it would tend to confirm the view put forward in previous reports from this Embassy, that Turkey's cordiality towards the Soviet Union and Italy is principally due to the desire to propitiate those of whose ultimate designs she is most apprehensive.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

## No. 75

*Mr. Morgan to Foreign Office*

No. 17.  
(No distribution)

ANGORA, March 25, 1931  
(Received March 26, 1931)

Following for Sir G. Clerk.

Begins.

The Ghazi would like to receive the Earl of Athlone and Turkish authorities are prepared to have a special coach at the frontier to bring the party to Angora.

In these circumstances I consider it advisable that the party should come to Angora and in that case I should be grateful to learn as early as possible definite date of arrival at the frontier.

I have noted the arrangements desired by Your Excellency. As (sic ? at) Angora the party would presumably stay at an hotel.

F.O. 371/15379/E.1534.

## No. 76

*Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 101.

ANGORA, March 25, 1931  
(Received March 30, 1931)

Sir,

In his despatch No. 105 of the 9<sup>th</sup> March to you, His Majesty's Minister at Athens reported the comments of the Greek press on the recent attempt of Turkish authorities to substitute for the time-honoured title of Oecumenical Patriarch the appellation of Baş Papas or Arch-priest. The attempt was made by the Stamboul authorities in connexion with the service on the Patriarch of certain documents, which he refused to accept on the ground that he was described therein as Bas Papas and not as Patriarch. The incident gave rise to a number of reports in the Turkish press to the effect that the Turkish Government was disinclined to recognise the title of Patriarch.

2. The Greek Minister in Turkey decided to make representations about the matter to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, and, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> March, had an interview with Teflik Rüstü Bey, who told him that the action of the Stamboul authorities was due to a blunder, and had not the approval of the Government. M. Polychroniadis laid before the Minister the historical arguments why the Patriarch was entitled to be so called without this necessarily involving any jurisdiction outside Turkey. It is interesting to note that Teflik Rüstü Bey recognised the claim of the Greek Minister to make representations to him on such a matter, although



he was not prepared to admit that Turkey was bound by any international obligation in this respect, in virtue of the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne.

3. Subsequently, the "Vakit" in two articles, accused the "Greek Baş Papas" of meddling in politics, and, in support of its accusation, alleged that the Patriarch had recognised as his representative in Western Europe a Russian bishop, named Evlogios, who had been head of the Russian Church in Western Europe under Metropolitan Serge of Moscow, until the latter had dismissed him for participating in anti-Soviet manifestations in connexion with the persecution of Christians in Russia. The "Vakit" considered the Patriarch's act as a proof that he nourishes hostile feelings against the Soviet Government. It went on to examine the Patriarch's relation with the Anglican and American Churches, and declared that during the armistice period the Anglican Church was the mouthpiece of the Phanar, and that the heads of the Anglican Church were continually inveighing against the Turks and desiring their expulsion from Europe, and anti-Turkish propaganda was directed by the delegates for the union of the churches.

4. The articles of the "Vakit" were not allowed to pass without criticism. In a leading article in the "République" of the 9<sup>th</sup> March, Yunus Nadi Bey intervened to put a stop to the controversy about the appellation of the Patriarch, and boldly declared that the Turkish Government had agreed at Lausanne to the maintenance of the Patriarchate in Stamboul, on condition that it should enjoy no right or privilege of an administrative or political order. Provided that condition were observed, it would be unprofitable on the part of the individuals or departments to raise the question of the appellation of the Patriarchate, for its situation had been clearly defined at Lausanne. The institution maintained at Stamboul was a Patriarchate, and no decision had been taken at Lausanne to transform the name Patriarch into Prelate or some such title.

5. As a sequel to this article, a letter to the "République" of the 16<sup>th</sup> March pointed out that the title of Oecumenical Patriarch had been sanctioned by the Christian world many centuries before the "Vakit" saw the light of day, and that it was as foolish for the "Vakit" to call a Patriarch an Arch-priest as to call a Brahmin a pariah. The writer of the letter insisted that the relations of the Patriarch with Mgr. Evlogios were entirely non-political, and in accordance with canon law, which prescribed that any Orthodox community rendered independent by geographical or ethnical reasons was at liberty to ask to be attached to the centre of Orthodoxy, represented by the Oecumenical Patriarchate. The relations of the Patriarchate with the Anglican Church were of a spiritual nature, and were dictated by Christian charity and a desire for union.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN



## No. 77

*Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 103.

ANGORA, March 28, 1931  
(Received April 7, 1931)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that, in the course of an interview on the 26<sup>th</sup> March, the Minister for Foreign Affairs informed me, with reference to proposals made in the past that the Turkish fleet should visit Malta, that a decision had been taken that the visit should be made, and that he hoped that it would take place at the very latest before May 1932. If it were possible it would take place this year, but, owing to the fact that there would be a delay of about six weeks in the delivery of units ordered in Italy and to the necessity of time for learning to know the new vessels, he feared that the autumn would be past before the Turkish fleet was ready to proceed to Malta.

2. He emphasised the fact that the first foreign visit made by the reconstituted Turkish fleet would be to a British port, and was glad that this should be so. After visiting Malta visits would be made by the fleet to Italian and Soviet ports.

I have, &amp;c.

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 424/274, p.62, No.31.*

## No. 78

*Foreign Office to Mr. Morgan*

No. 15.

*Telegraphic March 30, 1931**No distribution*

Your telegrams Nos. 17, 18 and 19 of March 25, 26 and 27: visit of Earl Athlone to Turkey.

Following from Sir G. Clerk.

Please express my great appreciation of reception proposed for Lord Athlone, which will certainly be shared by him and H.R.H.

In view of very limited time at Lord Athlone's disposal, I would suggest that if possible programme should be cut down to reception by President of Lord Athlone alone and Presidential dinner on first day, a luncheon at Embassy on

second day followed by tea given by Prime Minister at Marmara Kiosk, whence party could go straight on board train.

I am telegraphing to Lord Athlone in this sense. He is due to arrive at Angora on April 23 or 24, but will inform you direct.

*F.O. 371/15379/E. 1558.*

## No. 79

*Foreign Office to High Commissioner, Jerusalem*

No. 18.

*March 31, 1931 Telegram (R.)*

Following for Earl Athlone from Sir G. Clerk.

Turkish Government are evidently most anxious to show appreciation of your visit to Turkey and have prepared elaborate programme, which I am trying to cut down, but even so remains rather formidable. There will be special coach at frontier to bring party to Angora where you arrive in afternoon. President will receive either you alone or together with H.R.H. and Lady May as you prefer (I suggest former) and give a dinner in your honour same evening. Next day luncheon at His Majesty's Embassy, and tea-party by Prime Minister at Marmara Kiosk (President's villa outside Angora) from where you can go straight on to train for Constantinople, arriving there 9 next morning. I am very sorry to expose you to these official festivities but as Turks are playing up I hope that you will be able to sacrifice yourself in view of great political good that your visit is bound to effect.

I also hope that you will be able to give me at least 2 or 3 days in Constantinople.

Please telegraph direct to H.M. Chargé d'Affaires, Angora, if you can accept programme outlined above and give him date of your arrival at frontier and have telegram repeated to me.

*F.O. 371/15379/E.1558.*

## No. 80

*Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 112.

*ANGORA, March 31, 1931  
(Received April 7, 1931)*

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.101 of the 25<sup>th</sup> March regarding the title of the Oecumenical Patriarch, I have been informed by the Greek Minister here that Yunus Nadi's leading article in the "République" in defence of the Patriarch was written on the instructions of Ismet Pasha, who also supplied the arguments used therein.

2. With the publication of the articles in the "République" the short-lived campaign against the Patriarch's title came to an end. While it lasted M. Polykroniadis advice was freely taken by the Turkish Government.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

F.O. 424/274, p.62, No.32.

No. 81

*Mr. Morgan to Foreign Office*

No.22.

*Telegraphic*  
ANGORA, March 31, 1931

*Important. No distribution.*

*(Received April 1, 1931)*

Following for (? gr. omtd.)

Foreign Office telegram No.15 of March 30 E.1558/1534/44.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs now informs me that it has been found impossible to attach special coach to Taurus Express and they therefore propose that party should go straight through to Constantinople in the first instance. Special coach will be attached to train leaving Haidar Pasha at 2.0 p.m. and arriving at Angora the following morning at 8.0'clock. President of Council would entertain the party to luncheon that day and President of Republic would receive Lord Athlone and entertain party to dinner followed by reception. Next day there would be a luncheon at the Embassy and the party would leave by special coach attached to train departing at 8.0 p.m. and arriving at Haidar Pasha the following afternoon at 1.30. It is apparently impossible to attach a special coach to the express.

I trust that Lord Athlone would be able to fit in the above programme which appears to me the minimum any compression of which would risk offending Turkish hospitality. I should be glad to learn as early as possible the date on which the party would propose to leave Constantinople and the names of any persons by whom they may be accompanied. If possible the party should leave for Angora on the day of their arrival at Constantinople in view of the impending Bairam. Coincidence of visit with the Bairam would be a pity, though no insuperable objection.

I should also be glad to learn duration of visit to Constantinople as requested in my telegram No.19 of March 27.

F.O. 371/15379/E. 1656

## No. 82

*High Commissioner for Palestine to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.*

Telegram

2<sup>nd</sup> April 1931

No. 85

(Received 4.14 p.m. 2 April)

Following from Lord Athlone for Sir G. Clerk.

Begins. Have sent following telegram to Chargé d'Affaires at Angora. Begins. In reply to Ambassador's telegram we gratefully accept President's kind invitation to visit Angora and agree to suggested programme. Leaving Aleppo Wednesday 22<sup>nd</sup> April 19.00 hours arriving Venice following morning 6.42. if connection with Eskişehir coincides with Taurus Express presume arrive Angora 16.00 o'clock Friday 24<sup>th</sup>. Kindly confirm this. Must continue journey Saturday 25<sup>th</sup> 19.00 hours for Constantinople. Ends. May we stay at Constantinople 26<sup>th</sup> till 29<sup>th</sup>?

F.O. 371/15379/E.1656.

## No. 83

*Mr. Morgan to Foreign Office*

No.33.

ANGORA, April 15, 1931

Telegram (R.)

(Received April 15, 1931)

My telegram No.30 of April 9.

President of the Republic will be present at dinner at the Embassy. I am making arrangements for dinner and reception in consultation with Minister for Foreign Affairs.\*

F.O. 371/15379/E. 1671.

\* Bu telgrafın atuna Foreign Office'de şu not düştülmüş:

"...The Gazi is breaking his rule not to attend functions at foreign embassies or legations. He did attend a function at the Soviet Embassy in 1925 or 1926 but since then the rule has been a past one.

It looks as if the visit will give rise to a good deal of comments.

A. K. Helm, 16.4.31"

(F.O. 371/15379/E. 1671.)

## No. 84

*Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 131.

ANGORA, April 15, 1931

*(Received April 20, 1931)*

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 181 of the 30<sup>th</sup> March regarding the Ottoman Public Debt, I have the honour to report that the French Ambassador, shortly after his return to Angora from leave on the 2<sup>nd</sup> April, had an interview with Ismet Pasha, who immediately referred to the bondholders' proposal that they should make contact with the representatives of the Turkish Government at Paris, or, failing Paris, at Angora.

2. Ismet Pasha said that he had indicated to the bondholders his desire that contact should be made at Angora, and declared that his choice of Angora was a proof of his sincere desire to reach an early settlement, and of Turkey's intention not to repudiate her debt. If he had sent representatives to Paris they would have had no power definitely to engage the Turkish Government, matters would have had to be referred to him, and there would have been inevitable delay, with the result that it would have been thought that Turkey's only wish was to prolong discussion in the hope of whittling down the bondholders' claims, of avoiding as long as possible entering into a definite engagement, even of evading her liabilities.

3. M. de Chambrun, in informing me of the foregoing qualified Ismet Pasha's arguments as new and powerful, but somewhat specious. I expressed the hope that in the course of the coming discussions Turkey would clearly be given to understand, in order to avoid possible future disappointment, that the settlement of the debt question did not necessarily mean that Turkey would obtain a foreign loan. At the same time it seemed desirable that on the settlement of the debt question Turkey should obtain such a loan in order to prevent her, under the stress of financial need, embarking on a course which might embarrass France and Great Britain.

4. In a leading article on the debt question the "Millett" of the 6<sup>th</sup> April welcomes the decision of the bondholders to renew negotiations. It states that the bondholders had protested when Turkey declared that it was impossible to apply the Paris Agreement, and that she could only pay one third, but that their subsequent investigations showed that Turkey was right. The French bondholders must recognise the gravity of the crises through which the world is passing. Australia can no longer pay her foreign debts. Germany had to receive financial aid in order to be able to pay reparations. Turkey has, however, been the object of a

financial blockade since Lausanne, although she showed goodwill by signing an agreement at Paris and making payments despite the menace of an approaching financial crash. At Paris, Turkey's creditors declared that if she signed an agreement and commenced to pay her debts, her financial credit would develop. But this promise was illusory. If our creditors sincerely wish to come to an agreement with us, they must give us facilities and must produce proposals for the increase of our capacity of payment.

5. Yunus Nadi, writing in the "République," states that last year when the delegates of the Debt Council left Angora, it had been agreed that it was not possible literally to apply the terms of the Paris Agreement, and it had been decided that: 1) A specialist should examine the economic and financial situation of Turkey to ascertain whether she could integrally meet her engagements; 2) delegates of the council should then visit Angora to initiate fresh negotiations on the basis of the specialist's report; and 3) Turkey should in the meantime pay only one-third of the annuity. According to Yunus Nadi, Turkey gave facilities to M. Rist to enable him to draw up his report, paid one-third of the annuity and then awaited the arrival of the delegates of the council. Their arrival was delayed because of criticism of the council and of the French Government by the bondholders. But, if instead of the council, the bondholders had directly entered into negotiations with Turkey, what could they have done on ascertaining the truth about Turkey's capacity for payment?

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 424/274, p. 63-64, No. 34.*

No. 85

*Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson*

*No. 132.*

*Confidential*

ANGORA, April 15, 1931

(Received April 20, 1931)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 95 of the 18<sup>th</sup> March regarding the Turco-Soviet Naval Protocol, I have the honour to report that the French Ambassador told me confidentially that he had questioned Ismet Pasha about the protocol and the Turco-Soviet Commercial Treaty and that Ismet was emphatic, and in M. de Chambrun's opinion sincere, in declaring that these agreements contained no secret clauses.

2. M. de Chambrun thought that the Naval Protocol was of greater advantage to Turkey than to Russia, and that it was of decided advantage to all non-Russian naval Powers interested in the Mediterranean. The decision to bring about the signing of the protocol had not been sudden on Turkey's part, as Tevfik Rüstü had foreshadowed it at the time of the signature of the Turco-Greek Naval Pact, but the publication of it came as a surprise to many.

3. He gathered the impression that there was now in Ismet Pasha a slight tendency away from Russia (Tevfik Rüstü was still, however, as pro-Soviet as ever), and thought this was due to the Gazi's influence.

4. Fethi Bey had informed him that the Gazi and Ismet were now on very good terms - better than they had been for a long time - and give and take between them had probably produced the slight change in Ismet's attitude towards the Soviet Government.

5. Dr. Tevfik Rüstü himself told me that he had been working for three years to bring about the signature of the Turco-Soviet Naval Protocol, and that, with its signature, Turkey would be able to forgo the completion of her naval programme, half of which had been realised.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representative at Moscow. \*

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 371/15378/E. 2046.*

*F.O. 424/274, p. 64-65, No. 35.*

\* Bu raporun atına Foreign Office'de şu not düşülmüş:

"The Naval Protocol is more likely to be of use to the Black Sea Powers and Greece than to the Western Mediterranean Powers.

I think we could only welcome any improvement in the personal relations between Ismet and the Gazi...



No. 86

*Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson*

No.138.

ANGORA, April 21, 1931  
(Received April 27, 1931)

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit, with reference to Mr. Edmond's despatch No.97 of the 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1930, fourteen copies of the report of the Straits Commission for the year 1930.

2. The commission continued to work in complete harmony throughout the year and its report invites little comment. The commission draws attention to the large increase in the number and tonnage of foreign shipping passing to and from the Black Sea via the Straits in consequence of the operation of the Soviet Five-Year Plan. This results in a considerable addition to the revenue collected by the Turkish Government in sanitary, life-saving and light dues, of which last the Turkish Government receive almost 50 per cent. When allowance is made for the depreciation of the Turkish £, the revenue is now nearly double the annual total to which it amounted when the dues were imposed after the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne. This fact should provide a substantial argument in favour of their reduction, and I understand that there is good reason to anticipate that the life-saving dues will be reduced by one-half next year.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 424/274, p.74, No.37.*

No. 87

*Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson*

No.143.

ANGORA, April 21, 1931  
(Received April 27, 1931)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the primary elections just held throughout Turkey have resulted, according to the organs of the Popular Republican party, in a triumph for the party. The elections were free in that the citizens could either vote for the secondary electors, and thus ultimately for the candidates, chosen for them, and presented to them by the party - these being the only candidates who solicited their suffrages - or refrain from voting for them. According to the Government newspapers, less than 20 per cent. of the electorate abstained from voting, while those who voted included not only Moslems, but representatives of all the non-Moslem elements, who thus showed their devotion to the Popular party.

Independent newspapers allege that only one third of the electorate voted, and I am informed that at at least one polling booth passers-by were decoyed in for the purpose of recording their votes and the formalities of verifying whether their names were included in the lists of voters were dispensed with. In any case the public now know from the columns of the newspapers that the great majority of the electors of Turkey have publicly signified their approval of the past and future programme of the Popular party.

2. The Popular party secondary electors who have thus been honoured by the approval of 80 per cent of their countrymen now have the task of electing 317 Deputies. Of these 287 have already been recommended to them by the Gazi, in his capacity of head of the Popular party, and he has informed the electors that he leaves them free to elect the remaining thirty from among persons, not members of the Popular party, who may present themselves. The only condition laid down is that these persons must have national, lay and republican principles, and be sincere. The election of the 317 Deputies will take place on the 24<sup>th</sup> April, the Gazi, at the pressing request of the Popular party, allowing himself to be put up for Angora; and the new Assembly will meet on the 4<sup>th</sup> May, and will at once proceed to elect a President of the Republic. At least seventy-three members of the existing Assembly will not be re-elected. They have been dropped either for the purpose of being appointed to diplomatic or administrative posts or to make place for independent Deputies or for Popular party Deputies chosen from among the agricultural or artisan classes, whom the Gazi wishes to see more strongly represented in the Government of the country.

3. It is stated that among the candidates for the thirty independent seats will be Fethi Bey and Nuri Bey, leader and secretary of the defunct Liberal party. They had a long interview with the Gazi on the 19<sup>th</sup> April. It is understood that there is no intention of reviving the Liberal party, but the Gazi is determined that it is essential that there should be an Opposition in the Assembly. He has, therefore, published a manifesto to the secondary electors, in which he declares that it is his wish that representatives of that section of the nation which does not share the views of the Popular party should have an opportunity of examining and criticising the work and activities of that party in the Assembly, and he adds that he welcomes criticism as very salutary. He, therefore, begs the electors to choose for a limited number of seats independent persons who are opponents of the Popular party programme.

4. In a further manifesto addressed to the nation, the Gazi alludes to the solid work done for the nation by the Popular party in the past, and explains the aims of the party, which are, briefly, to maintain the sovereignty of the people, to interest the Government in economic affairs while respecting individual effort and zeal, not to allow any class-warfare, all classes being equally useful, to assist, by opening

credits, co-operative production, and thus help the producing classes, to open credit establishments to help artisans and small individual traders and to take measures to safeguard the rights of the labourers and the workers. The party will also, according to the Gazi, continue the construction of ports, railways and roads, and will work for peace at home and abroad.

5. The turbulence and popular exuberance manifested during the municipal elections were absent during the primary elections for the Assembly. Compared with the municipal elections, when the citizens had the joy of being able to nominate, if not to vote for, the candidates they desired, the present elections have been very tame, the determination of the Gazi to provide an Opposition is laudable and the fortunes of the independents in the new Assembly will be followed with interest.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 424/274, p.74-75, No.38.*

No. 88

*Sir G. Clerk to Foreign Office*

No.14. (R.)  
Telegraphic

CONSTANTINOPLE, April 27, 1931

Lord Athlone, Her Royal Highness Princess Alice and Lady May Cambridge arrived at Constantinople this morning on conclusion of their visit to Angora as guests of President of the Republic and Turkish Government.

Visit was most successful. Turks did all in their power to show how pleased and flattered they were by the presence of their distinguished guests and the cordiality of the President was emphatic. His Excellency broke his hitherto invariable rule of not dining in foreign houses and dined at British Embassy and laid almost embarrassing stress on his desire to show that he took occasion of visit to mark his friendly feelings towards England.

I need scarcely add that the impression made on the Turks by distinguished party could not have been better. The Turks were frankly charmed and delighted.

The party leaves here April 30<sup>th</sup> direct for Paris.\*

*F.O. 371/15379/E. 2214.*

\* Bu telgrafın altına Foreign Office'de şu not düğülmüştür:

"This visit will have had a valuable political effect, to mark a further step in the reestablishment of cordial relations with Turkey

## No. 89

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 147.

CONSTANTINOPLE, April 29, 1931

*(Received May 4, 1931)*

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the Earl of Athlone, H.R.H. Princess Alice, and Lady May Cambridge, who were passing through Turkey from Palestine and Syria on their way to England, broke their journey in order to pay a visit to Angora, as the President of the Republic, on hearing of their intended arrival in this country, had intimated that he would have pleasure in receiving them. The visit to Angora passed off most successfully and has given great satisfaction and gratification to the Turkish authorities, who displayed the traditional Turkish hospitality and throughout the stay of their guests showed the utmost friendliness and cordiality.

2. On their arrival at the Syro-Turkish frontier the distinguished visitors were met by special officials placed at their disposal to facilitate their journey, and at Konya they found the presidential railway coach, which had been assigned to them for their accommodation during the journey to Angora, awaiting them. Under the guidance of the Vali of Konya and an official of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the party visited the town of Konya and then proceeded to Angora, where they arrived on the 24<sup>th</sup> April, and were met by representatives of the President of the Republic and Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and by a police guard of honour and a large crowd of interested onlookers. The party were the guests of the Turkish Government during their stay in Angora, and as such were accommodated at the Angora Palace Hotel.

3. Shortly after his arrival in Angora the Earl of Athlone, accompanied by myself, was received by the Gazi, with whom were the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Secretary-General of the President of the Republic. After half-an-hour's cordial conversation, Lord Athlone returned to his hotel, where the Gazi shortly afterwards called on him and Her Royal Highness. On this occasion the President was alone and, free from the restraint of interpreters and official entourage, was, I understand from Lord Athlone, even more friendly and genial than the first interview.

4. In the evening a dinner was given in honour of the visitors by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, at which the Gazi, the cabinet Ministers and their wives, and the staff of this Embassy were present. The dinner was followed by a reception

attended by the diplomatic body and high Turkish officials. During the whole evening the Gazi was in his gayest and most friendly mood, a fact which was not lost either upon the diplomatists or the Turks who were present.

5. During the reception, at which the greater part of those who assisted were Turks, I was struck by the fact that the uncouthness of behaviour and ignorance of Western manners, displayed even by Turks of high position during the early days of the Republic, were now completely absent. The majority of the Turkish ladies were as charmingly dressed and as well-mannered as any of their Western sisters, and in many cases so indistinguishable from them in style of dress and fairness of complexion that one was almost tempted to accept the theory which the Gazi developed to me at great length, to the effect that the earliest settlers in Britain were Turks, that Kent, Tashkent, and Samarkand had a common origin in the Turkish tongue, and that the Uz tribe of the Black Sea coasts had given its name to the numerous Ouses, great and small, that flow sluggishly through our English counties.

6. On the following day, a luncheon, attended by some forty guests, was given by İsmet Pasha, and later an excursion was made to the Gazi's farm, where Lord Athlone's party were able to admire the rather special features of the presidential kiosk. Multi-coloured lights appearing and disappearing with great rapidity threw added radiance over the daylight scene, while the fitting rural atmosphere was preserved by a sumptuous buffet, laden with native butter-milk, cheese, curded milk, eggs and other products of the farm.

7. In the evening I gave a dinner at the Embassy, at which the President of the Republic attended. This was the first occasion on which his Excellency has ever dined at any foreign Embassy, and many Turks present at the dinner or at the subsequent reception of the chief diplomatic and official personages, drew my attention to the fact. The Gazi's attendance to the dinner had nothing of the stiffness of an official visit. He told me that he felt entirely at home in the Embassy, and made himself so. The sentiments of friendship and esteem which his Excellency expressed to Her Royal Highness and Lord Athlone, became almost embarrassingly fervent, but the tact and charm of Her Royal Highness were more than equal to the occasion. Later on, his Excellency took advantage of the presence of the Diplomatic Corps to make an earnest appeal to them, duly translated by Tefik Rüşü Bey, to lay aside competition in armaments and to work for peace and brotherhood between all nations, and then proceeded to show himself as able a strategist at the poker table as in the field.

8. On the 26<sup>th</sup> April the Earl of Athlone's party left for Constantinople in the presidential coach, seen off by a large crowd and amid genuine expressions of goodwill on the part of representatives of the Gazi and of the Government. At Constantinople, where the party has done me the honour of staying in His Majesty's Embassy, the visit became one of purely private character.\*

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 371/15379/E. 2330.*

*F.O. 424/274, p. 75-76, No. 39.*

\**Bu rapor İngiliz Kralına ve Bakanlar Kuruluna arz edilmiş ve Koloniler Bakanlığına da gönderilmiştir. Raporun altına Foreign Office'de şu not düşülmüştür:*

"The Gazi must have been in wonderful form! The fact that he made his return call on Lord Athlone unaccompanied is notable.

His theories of English names (para 5) are typical and novel, while his ovation to the diplomatic corps at the Embassy reception no doubt gave the Angora telegraph clerks plenty of work next day. I learn that the poker party broke up at 4.30 a.m.

A. K. Helm, 5.5.31"

*F.O. 371/15379/E. 2330.*

No. 90

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

*No. 148.*

CONSTANTINOPLE, April 29, 1931

(Received May 4, 1931)

Sir,

With reference to my immediately preceeding despatch, I have the honour to submit some observations upon the political significance of the visit of the Earl of Athlone and Her Royal Highness Princess Alice.

2. I owe it to Lord Athlone and Her Royal Highness to begin by saying that the cordiality of the Turks, to which I can only apply epithet "amazing," was in a very great measure due to their charm and tact. Their dignity of bearing, their naturalness of manner and the way in which they accepted the genuine friendliness underlying the rather uncouth and exuberant welcome of their hosts won the admiration and affection of every Turk whom they met. Moreover, in any attempt to gauge the significance of the visit it must be borne in mind that at the time when the invitation to visit Angora was issued the President and the Turkish Government had no knowledge whatever of the personalities of Lord Athlone and



Her Royal Highness beyond such references to their popularity in South Africa as the Turks might by chance have seen in the English press. It must also be remembered that the invitation was entirely spontaneous. I met Lord Athlone in Cairo on my last, and his first, day in that city, and, on his telling me that he was thinking of passing through Constantinople on his way home from Palestine and Syria, I merely telegraphed to His Majesty's Chargé d'Affairs at Angora instructing him to see that proper facilities were made at the frontier for the journey of the distinguished party from Aleppo to Haidar Pasha, and I made no suggestion whatever of any visit to Angora. It was the Turkish Government itself that, on learning of the possibility of Lord Athlone's presence in Turkey, expressed the earnest hope that his Lordship and Her Royal Highness would visit Angora, and it was by the direction of the President of the Republic that this chance visit was given the character of a State occasion. No doubt some of this can be attributed to a desire to enhance the importance of Turkey in the eyes of the world outside. It is, I believe, the first time that a Princess of the Royal House of England has been in Turkey, and the Turks were quick to take the opportunity. But, allowing for all that, I am convinced that the Gazi seized the occasion to make a public demonstration of his wish to stand well with the British people and His Majesty's Government. He broke his rigid precedent and dined at His Majesty's Embassy in Angora, and his manner and language could not have been more effusive had we been Turkey's greatest friends.

3. It would be foolish to suppose that the Gazi's attitude was merely a rather effusive welcome to illustrious guests. That is contrary to the man's whole nature. It certainly had an object, and to my mind there can be only one answer to the question what that object was, though the answer is twofold.

4. In the first place, the Gazi and the Turkish Government do feel that the only European Great Power that is genuinely working for lasting peace is Great Britain, and they are honestly anxious to work together with us to that end, which is just as sincerely desired in Angora as it is in London.

5. The other factor is a steadily growing fear of Russia. The Five-Year Plan may or may not succeed. If it succeeds, and success need not necessarily come within the prescribed five years, Turkey will be the first to feel the economic effect. For myself, I am of those who think, possibly wrongly, that the menace to the outside world of the success of the Five-Year Plan within ten or even fifteen years is exaggerated, for the first-fruits of success must be a rising of the material well-being of some 180 million Russians, a result that can, it seems to me, only offer advantage to commerce and industry in general. But the world at large is just beginning to realise the implications of the plan, and is getting thoroughly scared, and no country is more scared than Turkey.



6. In the event of failure of the plan, the feeling here, so far as I can, if I may use the word, "sense" it, is that the Soviet Government will have to do something to avert the rage of a people already tried to the limit - indeed, if they were not Russians or Chinese, beyond it - of human endurance, and that the only remedy is the old one of averting revolution at home by raising the Nationalist cry of danger abroad. This is, I think, what the Turks really dread. They may feel that any Russian military effort will first be directed against the west, most probably Bessarabia, but they know that, in whichever direction Russian troops may go beyond the frontier of Russia, Turkey will sooner or later be involved. The Turkish Government is therefore anxiously seeking to find a counterpoise; Germany is still too weak; France is distrusted, because any appeal to French help involves submission to French finance; and Italy, despite great admiration for the Duce and his political system, is feared more than all; there only remains of the strong disinterested Powers Great Britain, for the United States are too remote. I believe that, crudely though I may have expressed it, these are the thoughts at the back of the minds of the Gazi and the more far-seeing of his Turkish collaborators, and that here is the real reason for the warmth of the welcome accorded to Lord Athlone and Her Royal Highness.

7. Human nature is a contrary thing, and across the picture I have sketched comes a curious shadow. The Turk, like the Serb, is a soldier by instinct, and, even though he is absolutely genuine in his refusal of foreign adventure and in his desire for peace, he finds it perfectly natural to spend more than a third of his scanty and hardly-raised income on his military forces. He sees no incompatibility in his action. Unfortunately, his General Staff, as is the way of General Staffs, remains suspicious and mistrusting of recent enemies. The Gazi can make a public demonstration of his belief in, and desire for, real friendship between England and Turkey, but the General Staff forbids British naval officers to shoot partridges on the uninhabited coast of Asia Minor and British yachts to visit the Gulf of Smyrna. One can only be patient and wait for truth to prevail over prejudice.

8. It is possible that my immediately preceding despatch may give the impression that the Gazi's somewhat exuberant friendliness at His Majesty's Embassy in Angora was partly inspired by good cheer. Indeed, an impartial spectator might have been tempted to ascribe it largely to the excellence of my champagne. But to do so would not be fair to the character of the man. He is isolated on a pedestal erected by his rightly grateful countrymen, who, being Turks and inheriting the customs and ways of thought of their forefathers, surround the pedestal with clouds of verbal incense. From amidst these clouds the Gazi speaks like an oracle, and has, almost insensibly, grown to believe that he is an oracle, so that on such occasions as this he gets carried away by the exuberance of his own language, and he is intoxicated more by his own eloquence and the flattery of the sycophants around him than by the liquor that he has imbibed. None the less the

sentiments to which he gives expression, exaggerated though their language may be, are what he really feels.

9. I should add that I learn from a good source that the Soviet Ambassador, alarmed by this open manifestation of a trend away from Moscow, has at once set about a counter-demonstration, and is trying to arrange for a visit from M. Litvinov to Angora next October.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*E.O. 424/274, p. 76-78, No. 40.*

### No. 91

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 149.

CONSTANTINOPLE, April 30, 1931

(Received May 4, 1931)

Sir,

With reference to Mr. Morgan's despatch No. 143 of the 21<sup>st</sup> instant recording the result of the primary elections, I have the honour to report that the secondary electors proceeded on the 24<sup>th</sup> instant to the election of 317 Deputies for the Grand National Assembly. Of these, the election of 287 was a foregone conclusion, as they had already been chosen by the Gazi, the head of the Popular party, to be the representatives of the party in the new Assembly.

2. The Gazi had intended that the remaining thirty Deputies should be persons not belonging to the Popular party. He laid it down as a condition for their election by the Popular party representatives that they should satisfy these representatives that they were possessed of the qualities of sincerity and devotion to national, laic and republican principles. Numerous candidates professing to be possessed of these qualities presented themselves, but the secondary electors were only able to discover among them twenty fit to be Deputies. At Constantinople some fifty independent candidates, including Kazim Karabekir Pasha and Refet Pasha, former leaders of the Progressive party, sought election to four seats, but were all rejected as unworthy. Similarly at Tekirdağ and Samsun, where three seats were available for independent candidates, none were elected. At Manisa the secondary electors appear to have been under the illusion that Ismet Pasha was opposed to the Popular party, for they elected him to the independent seat, despite the fact that he had already been re-elected by his own constituency, Malatya. Ismet Pasha has since declared that he will not undertake the task of

criticising himself, and will decline the honour thrust on him by the electors of Manisa. Similar situations arose at Burdur and Bolu, where Recep Bey, secretary-general of the Popular party, and Selah Cimcoz Bey, newly elected Popular party Deputy for Constantinople, were elected to independent seats.

3. Ten seats therefore remain to be filled. It is not yet decided whether they will be again offered to independent candidates. In any case, there will be twenty Opposition Deputies in the new Assembly, but no Opposition party, as each of the Deputies has a separate programme. None of the members of the late Liberal party sought re-election, and its leader, Fethi Bey, is retiring from politics. He still retains the friendship of the Gazi and may return to the diplomatic career.

4. Among the Government members of the late Assembly who have not been re-elected are Hamdullah Suphi and Tevfik Kâmil, who are being taken into the diplomatic service, and Niazi Asim, Ali Cenani and Nusret Sadullah, who have been dropped with others to make way for representatives of the artisan and agricultural classes. Among the new Popular party Deputies are Memduh Şevket Bey, ex-Ambassador at Tehran, Halil Bey, ex-director of museums, and Muhittin Pasha, Minister at Cairo.

5. The new Assembly will meet on the 4<sup>th</sup> May and will devote itself to the task, prescribed for it by the Gazi, of promoting prosperity at home and working for the peace of the world.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/274, p.78-79, No.41.*

No. 92

*Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson*

*No.36.*

*(Telegraphic) R.*

ANGORA, May 4, 1931

*(Received May 5, 1931)*

The Ghazi was to-day unanimously re-elected President of the Republic.

*F.O. 424/274, p.79, No.42.*

No. 93

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson

No. 151

ANGORA, May 5, 1931  
(Received May 11, 1931)

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the opening of the new Grand National Assembly took place on the 4<sup>th</sup> instant. It forms the forth of the series of Assemblies which have followed each other since the date when Mustafa Kemal Pasha set up in Anatolia a Government distinct from that already existing in Constantinople.

2. The first Grand National Assembly devoted itself to the task of saving the country from the Greek invaders and of securing the independence of Turkey. The second abolished laws and customs which were considered to be out of date and a bar to Turkey's progress. The third repressed at home movements of discontent or revolt engendered by the imposition of new habits and ideas, and insisted abroad on Turkey's right to participate, on equal footing with other nations, in international affairs. The fourth Assembly will have to find a solution for Turkey's economic difficulties, and at the same time to prevent enthusiasm for the new order of ideas from flagging and to combat a spirit of discontent, lethargy and even despair which is now and then discernible among certain classes of the population.

3. The new Assembly consists of 317 members; of these 289 were present at the opening session, ten are yet to be elected, and the remainder were prevented from attending by illness or distance. The swearing-in of the Deputies emphasised the laic character of the republic, the Deputies no longer calling on Allah to witness their fidelity to the republic, but giving their word of honour to this effect. The election of the various officers of the Assembly resulted in few changes from the last Assembly. Vasif Bey (Smyrna), however, who was expected to become Minister of Public Instruction in the new Cabinet, was chosen to be one of the vice-presidents. After the election of these officers the Assembly proceeded to the election of a President of the Republic. One of the new independent Deputies, Halil Bey (Smyrna), a former Committee of Union and Progress Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1916, endeavoured to show that as the Constitution prescribed that the term of the President's office was four years, it was unconstitutional to elect a new President before November next, when the Gazi would have completed four years of office. He was refuted by Recep Bey (Kutahia) and Suleiman Sirri Bey (Yozgat) who quoted the Constitution to show that the President's tenure of office was coterminous with the life of the Assembly which elected him. The Assembly, thereupon, as reported in my telegram No. 36 of the 4<sup>th</sup> May, unanimously re-elected Gazi Mustafa Kemal President of the Republic.

4. The election of the President was celebrated by the firing of guns from the citadel, and the news was conveyed to the Gazi at Cankaya by Kâzım Pasha, President of the Assembly. The Gazi at once proceeded to the Assembly, where he thanked the Deputies for electing him, and gave his word of honour to be faithful to the republic. As he left the Assembly Hall the deputies rose to their feet and gave him an ovation. It was noticeable that Marshal Fevzi Pasha, Chief of the General Staff, who occupied the Presidential box, seemed, on this occasion, to rise to his feet with some hesitation and delay. The proceedings of the day terminated with a reception of the Diplomatic Corps and of the Deputies by the new President of the Republic, after which İsmet Pasha presented to the President the Cabinet's resignation, which was accepted. The Cabinet was almost immediately re-formed without any change.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 424/274, p.80, No.43.*

No. 94

*Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson*

*No.156.*

ANGORA, May 6, 1931  
(Received May 11, 1931)

Sir,

Turkish susceptibilities have been somewhat ruffled in these past few days by an attempt to withhold from Turkey the same treatment as that accorded to other States participating in the Commission of Preliminary Enquiry in regard to European Union. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs considers that another injustice to Turkey has been committed and the relevant correspondence between the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and the Turkish Government has been published and commented on in the local press.

2. From the press it appears that M. Briand's scheme for the realisation of European union contemplated an initial activity of a political nature. Germany and some other countries held that the problem should first be attacked from an economic angle and their view prevailed. Germany then, seconded by Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria and Greece, urged that, to obtain practical results, it was essential that Turkey and Russia should be invited to collaborate with other States already represented in the Commission of Preliminary Enquiry in the commission's study of the economic world crises in so far as it affected the collectivity of

European States. Through the intervention of Great Britain a decision was taken to issue invitations on the above lines to Turkey and Russia, and on the 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1931, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations addressed to Turkey an invitation of this nature requesting Turkey's participation in a meeting of the commission at Geneva in May of this year. An agenda was enclosed with the invitation.

3. On the 20<sup>th</sup> February 1931, the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs accepted the invitation, mentioning in its letter of acceptance that the aim of the States participating in the commission could only be achieved if the sovereignty of each State was fully respected and if all were placed on a footing of absolute equality, and if the union was not directed against any group of European or extra-European States. On the 1<sup>st</sup> April 1931, the Secretary-General of the League notified the Turkish Government that the commission would meet on the 15<sup>th</sup> May, that an organising sub-committee had drawn up a provisional agenda, and that certain Governments had reserved their right to suggest certain changes in the order of the items of the agenda with the result that it was not possible to indicate when item 3 of the agenda would come up for discussion. (Details of item 3 were not published, but it is presumed it dealt with the study of the economic world crisis.)

4. In its reply published on the 26<sup>th</sup> April the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs took exception to the provisional agenda drawn up by the organising sub-committee on the grounds that it did not seem to be in conformity with the task assigned to the commission, which was to be the study of the economic world crisis in so far as it affected the collectivity of European States. It also objected that as it was for the commission to decide on its method of working, it could not understand why a sub-committee on which certain members of the commission had not been represented should prescribe the method of working to be followed by the commission. Such procedure was contrary to the principle of absolute equality between all States participating in the commission. It included by announcing that the Turkish delegation to the commission would be prepared to leave for Geneva at any date between the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 25<sup>th</sup> May on being notified of the exact date on which it might usefully appear there. According to a communiqué in the "Millieu" of the 5<sup>th</sup> May, the Secretary-General of the League has now requested the Turkish delegation to be present at Geneva from the 15<sup>th</sup> May onwards.

5. In a leading article in the "Millieu" Mahmut Bey, Deputy for Siirt, praises the Turkish Government for the attitude it has taken up, and adds that Turkey could not let pass without protest an invitation to appear at an indeterminate date, with the result that its delegation would have had to wait about in the corridors until the commission notified it either that it was now ready to consider the question for which Turkey had been invited, or that it had adjourned



consideration of the question for another session. In the matter of European Union, Turkey must be treated on a footing of equality with other Powers.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

F.O. 424/274, P. 80-81, No. 44.

## No. 95

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson

No. 159.

ANGORA, May 6, 1931  
(Received May 11, 1931)

Sir,

I have the honour to report, with reference to my despatch No. 98 of the 23<sup>rd</sup> March, that on the 10<sup>th</sup> April last there was held at Angora a *kurultay*, or general assembly, of the Turkish *ojaks*, to decide the question of merging the independence of the organisation in the Popular party.

2. The result was, I need scarcely say, a foregone conclusion. It is noticeable that in his presidential address Hamdullah Suphi Bey described the proposal as due to the initiative of the Gazi, and, while enumerating the advantages expected to be derived from absorption by the Popular party, could not bring himself to make any pretence of personal enthusiasm for the scheme. In commenting on the forthcoming transformation the press observed that the *ojaks* had performed an invaluable function as a focus of national energies and of the national idea at a time when these were signally absent in Government circles, but, now that Turkey enjoyed a régime which was essentially national, the *ojaks* had largely lost their *raison d'être*.

3. Since the *kurultay* the press has been busy with Hamdullah Suphi's name as a candidate for a diplomatic post in various capitals. The last to be named is Bucharest, and the Roumanian Minister tells me that application has in fact been made for the *agrément* of Hamdullah Suphi Bey as Turkish Minister at that capital.

4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Bucharest.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

F.O. 424/274, p. 81, No. 45.



No. 96

*Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 170.

ANGORA, May 13, 1931

(Received May 19, 1931)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the third general congress of the Republican Popular party was opened by the President of the Republic in the Grand National Assembly buildings on the 10<sup>th</sup> instant. It was composed of all the party Deputies, and of delegates from all the branches of the party throughout Turkey, and the purpose for which it had been called together was to receive an account of the work accomplished during the life of the last Assembly by the party, i.e., the Government, to report on the situation, and the needs of the population in the different parts of the country, and to discuss and approve the programme which the Government proposes to carry out during the lifetime of the present Assembly.

2. In his opening speech the Gazi, who is president of the party, recalled the meeting of the first general congress twelve years ago at Sivas. The resolutions then taken by a handful of men menaced with death by their own people and by foreign foes had all been carried into effect. He begged those present to strive to retain the confidence which the nation reposed in them as shown by the result of the elections.

3. İsmet Pasha then read to the congress a review of the Government's activities at home and abroad during the past four years. At home it had been necessary to have recourse to extraordinary measures, such as the law of 1927 for establishment of security, the independence tribunals, and martial law in order to defend the principle of a republican, popular, nationalist, secular and revolutionary State against Kurdish rebels, partly encouraged from abroad, against reactionaries at Menemen, and against a subversive Opposition press. The rise and decline of the Liberal party was touched on, and its regrettable disappearance was ascribed to its having gone beyond the limits assigned to it. Reference was made to the experiment of having direct elections for municipal bodies, and of allowing women to vote at the municipal elections, and it was indicated that a similar experiment would be tried at elections to the Assembly. The adoption of Latin characters was characterised as a turning-point in Turkish history. Passing to the point of reconstruction of Turkey and economic questions, İsmet Pasha showed how imports had now fallen below exports, and that Turkey was now independent of outside supplies of food-stuffs. He was cheered when he mentioned the progress accomplished in railway construction, in the development of the merchant marine, and in the supply of means of national defence. He concluded by reminding his

hearts that Turkey had relied entirely on her own resources in carrying out the work she had accomplished in the past four years.

4. Part of Ismet Pasha's review had reference to Turkey's foreign relations. A French translation of this section of the review was supplied to the foreign missions by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and I enclose herewith a copy.\*

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 424/274, p. 83-84, No. 48.*

\* Ciltte yok. Yayımlanamadı

No. 97

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

*No. 184.*

*Confidential*

ANGORA, May 30, 1931

(Received June 8, 1931)

Sir,

With reference to my telegram No. 21 from Constantinople of the 29<sup>th</sup> May, relative to the breakdown of the Ottoman Debt negotiations, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of a confidential note by Mr Wyatt on the conclusions of the discussions, together with copies of the final proposals put forward by the representatives of the bondholders and by the Turkish Government respectively. It proved impossible to bridge the difference between these two proposals and, as further discussion was clearly useless at the moment, the bondholders' representatives left Angora on the 28<sup>th</sup> May.

2. I also enclose a copy of the agreed communiqué announcing the rupture of negotiations, together with a semi-official explanation of the situation, which were published together in the Government paper, the "Milliet". It will be observed that both the communiqué and the explanation are so worded as to leave the door open for further negotiations.

3. As Mr. Wyatt, I understand, will be furnishing a full report of the discussions to the Foreign Office and the Treasury, it is unnecessary for me to attempt to give an account of them here. The breakdown came, as Mr. Wyatt points out in his note, on a question of principle on which neither side felt able to give way. The Turks insisted on a permanent settlement here and now, while the bondholders' representatives were equally firm in refusing to consider anything more than a provisional agreement.

4. On my arrival here to-day I went to see my French colleague. Comte de Chambrun said that the fact that it had proved impossible to reach agreement was largely due to the attitude of the Turkish delegate, Saracoglu Sükrü Bey, the late Minister of Finance, who had set out to win a personal triumph, and had therefore laid down conditions which it was impossible for the bondholders' representatives to accept. His Excellency had, however, not lost hope, for he had yesterday, just after the bondholders' representatives had gone, received an unexpected visit from İsmet Pasha, from which he derived the impression that the Prime Minister had not been kept accurately informed of the course of the discussions by the Turkish delegate and seemed, though careful not to commit himself in any way, impressed by the reasons given to him by M. de Chambrun for the attitude adopted by the bondholders' representatives. M. de Chambrun was encouraged in this view by the fact that İsmet Pasha's last words to him were: "I shall have something to say to you on the 9<sup>th</sup> June." As that is the day on which M. de Clossières is due to arrive in Paris, M. de Chambrun hopes that this rather cryptic utterance may mean some fresh suggestion on the part of the Turkish Government.

5. The Prime Minister is to dine with me quite privately and unofficially next Monday, and if, as is possible, he speaks to me about this question, I may have something further to report.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/274, p.87, No.51.*

No. 98

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

*No.186.*

ANGORA, June 1, 1931

*Received June 8, 1931)*

Sir,

As I anticipated in my despatch No. 184 of the 30<sup>th</sup> May, İsmet Pasha spoke to me yesterday evening about the question of the Ottoman Debt.

2. The Prime Minister showed no resentment at the breakdown of the negotiations, but expressed his deep disappointment at their failure, for he had, he plaintively said, been confident that this time, with all the facts of Turkey's financial difficulties before them, the representatives of the bondholders would understand the situation and make proposals for a final settlement within Turkey's capacity to pay. He was steadfast in his determination that Turkey should honour her

obligations, and he realised the importance of keeping up and improving her financial credit abroad, but she could not do the impossible, and, unless the bondholders realised this and reduced their demands to a figure which Turkey could meet, the position was hopeless. His Excellency then asked me how I viewed the situation that had arisen and what I thought would happen next.

3. I said that, speaking quite objectively, I saw no reason to despair. Both parties had to be educated, which took time, the bondholders had to be convinced as to the true state of the financial situation in Turkey, while the Turkish Government had to learn why an immediate and final fixation of the annuities was not in the circumstances feasible. It was, I felt, an excellent sign that both the communiqué recording the breakdown of the discussions and his Excellency's own words to me showed that the intentions of the Turkish Government to arrive at an equitable solution still remained, and for myself I felt that time would show that the present gulf between the two parties was not unbridgeable. I considered that the offer of the bondholders' representatives to accept a temporary annuity of £1 million was eminently reasonable, and I could not believe that the real difficulty lay in the difference between the £800,000 in the last Turkish offer and the £1 million demanded by the bondholders. The trouble was, so it seemed to me, that the Turkish Government insisted on an immediate final settlement, while the bondholders stood out for a provisional period. There, I must tell his Excellency frankly, I was on the side of the bondholders. I understood his desire not to have hanging over him the uncertainty of heavy financial demands that might be made upon him in two or three years time, but his Excellency must remember, firstly, that it was not possible to base a fair calculation of the capital value of the Ottoman bonds upon the market price as quoted to-day. The lowness of that price was to a great extent due to the failure of Turkey to implement the 1928 contract, and any attempt to estimate the value of Turkish bonds must include the discountable value of the payments stipulated in the 1928 agreement. The bondholders' representatives would be failing in their duty to their clients if they were to come to an agreement that had as a basis the market price of Turkish bonds to-day. Moreover, it was to be hoped that in two or three years' time the world would have passed through the economic crisis from which it was suffering now, and that Turkey, like every other country, would be better off. That would mean that money would be easier to get, and if during the interval Turkey had steadily paid the annuity her credit would have improved and she would therefore be able to get better terms for the settlement of her obligations. As regards the next step, presumably the bondholders' representatives would make their report to their council, and for the moment there was nothing to do but to await this action; but clearly when the two parties to a question were, as in this case, both anxious to arrive at a settlement, opportunities of renewing the discussion could not fail to arise.

4. The Prime Minister did not demur to any of my observations, but neither did he show any advance on the attitude adopted in the final proposal of the Turkish Government, transmitted in my despatch under reference. Still, neither I nor my French colleague, to whom I related my conversation with Ismet Pasha, regard the situation as hopeless.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/274, p. 87-88, No.52.*

No. 99

*Sir. G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

*No.187.*

ANGORA, June 4, 1931  
(Received June 15, 1931)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that yesterday I held my customary reception at this Embassy to celebrate the birthday of His Majesty the King.

2. The reception was attended by the Diplomatic Body in Angora, the leading personalities in Turkish public life, and such few British subjects as reside here.

3. It was obvious that the Turkish authorities wished to take the occasion to mark a sense of respect for His Majesty and their feeling of the friendliness of the relations between the two countries, for, besides the usual visit in the morning of the Director of Protocol to offer the congratulations of the Turkish Government, the President of the Grand National Assembly, the Prime Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and every Minister, high official and important Deputy who could get away from their duties came to offer their personal congratulations. One Minister, indeed, was so anxious to show his goodwill that he arrived, much to my embarrassment, half-an-hour early, while Colonel Tevfik Bey, Secretary-General of the Presidency, rose from a sick bed in order to present the President's good wishes and congratulations.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/274, p. 88-89, No.53.*

## No. 100

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 225

ANGORA, July 8, 1931  
(Received July 13, 1931)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 196 of the 19<sup>th</sup> June last, I have the honour to report that King Feisal arrived here from Bagdad on the 6<sup>th</sup> instant on an official visit, which ends this evening.

2. The arrangements for His Majesty's journey from the Turkish frontier onwards and for his entertainment here were very similar to those made for the visit of the Earl of Athlone and Princess Alice in April, the only difference being that, since the visit was an official one from the Head of a State, the President of the Republic met the King at the station here, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired as the Royal train came in. The three days spent in Angora have been fully occupied with the usual luncheons, dinners and receptions. King Feisal was accompanied by Rustam Haidar, Minister of Finance, his Chamberlain and an aide-de-camp. Nuri Pasha, the Prime Minister of Iraq, who is returning from Europe to Bagdad, met His Majesty at Angora.

3. The origin of the visit still remains wrapped in a certain obscurity, but I am inclined to think that the simple explanation which I have deduced from my talks with the King and Nuri Pasha is right, namely, that the King wished to come into personal contact with the Gazi and to get by personal observation some idea of the development of Turkey and its capital. The King's journey to Europe afforded a natural opportunity for this, and it was equally natural to arrange for the Iraqi Prime Minister to pass through Angora on his way back to Bagdad in order that outstanding questions between the two countries might be discussed at the same time. But I do not think that these discussions were in themselves the motive of the visit. In fact, when I asked Nuri Pasha on Monday evening how the various questions were getting on, he replied that, while of course prepared to talk on any point that the Turks chose to raise, neither the King nor he himself intended to initiate such discussions. Yesterday evening he told me that in the course of the day the Turks had touched upon the three outstanding points, the Treaty of Commerce and Residence, frontier incidents, and oil royalties.

4. The talk about the treaty of commerce was rather for the purpose of speeding up the negotiations than for settling disputed points. As regards the violation of the frontier, the Turkish Government had undertaken to send strict instructions to their frontier authorities to punish the offenders and prevent the



recurrence of these regrettable incidents, and Nuri Pasha expressed himself as quite satisfied with the assurances that he had obtained and said that there was now no need for me to associate myself with, or support, the Iraqi protest. Accordingly, unless and until there is some fresh development, I do not propose to take action under the instruction conveyed to me in your telegram No.20 to Constantinople of the 3<sup>rd</sup> June.

5. As for oil, Nuri Pasha's account was not very clear, and we were continually interrupted during our conversations, but both he and Teflik Rüştü Bey gave me to understand that there was a possibility of meeting the wishes of the Turkish Government by acceding to its claim that the twenty-five years of payment of royalties should date from the new agreement with the Iraq Petroleum Company, and not from the Mosul Treaty. Nothing definite had been settled as yet, but both parties seemed hopeful of reaching agreement.

6. As regards the visit itself, there is no doubt that it has given considerable pleasure to the Turks, partly because it gratifies their national vanity, which sees in such events a pleasing and public tribute to the importance of their country, and partly because it is an undeniable proof of genuinely good and friendly relations. The formal speeches exchanged between the Gazi and King Feisal at the President's dinner on Monday, of which I enclose the text herein, (') are more or less platitudinous, but Turkish sentiment is more precisely set forth in a leading article in the "République" of yesterday, of which I also enclose a copy. (') Incidentally it is perhaps worth noting that Yunus Nadi, the writer of the article and no particular friend of ours, observes that the excellent relations prevailing between Turkey and Iraq owe their birth to the uprightness of England in its character of mandatory Power, a point to which the Gazi also deliberately drew King Feisal's attention when I was talking with them yesterday evening. I have also the impression that King Feisal has been genuinely pleased with his reception here and feels that his idea of making the visit has been completely justified.

7. The visit seems to have caused a certain flutter in the French dove-cote, and my French colleague admitted to me that he had been a little harassed by requests from his Government as to the meaning to be attached to this political manifestation. I gave M. de Chantbrun my own opinion as to the genesis of the visit in the same words as I have used in this despatch, very greatly to his relief, for he told me that he had already, failing to find any other reasonable explanation, telegraphed in much the same sense to Paris, and he was frankly delighted to have his views confirmed by me. He did not tell me that it was not surprising that our views coincided, for, as I have since discovered, his were based on a conversation with a member of my staff.

8. I should perhaps also put on record that both King Feisal and the Gazi have been almost demonstratively friendly to me personally during the visit. In the case



of the Gazi the method employed was to call me to stand between him and King Feisal, while he held forth at length on his great pleasure at the visit, his sincere feeling of mutual friendliness between the two countries, his appreciation of our share in bringing this about, all of these happy sentiments being pledged, much, I surmise, to the King's discomfort, in bumpers of sweet champagne. King Feisal, for his part, has gone out of his way to show a desire to meet and talk with me and his pleasure at my tentative offer to entertain him at Constantinople, which he admitted he had hoped I would make.

9. The King left for Constantinople this evening, the departure being marked by the same ceremonial as the arrival, with the added thrill of Turkey's foremost airman performing evolutions in a machine constructed entirely by himself at a height of a few feet over our heads. In Constantinople the King's visit becomes a private one, although he will be lodged in the Palace of Dolmabahçe. I shall have the honour to entertain King Feisal to dinner at His Majesty's Embassy on Saturday next, and he intends to leave on the Sunday or Monday for Berne, where he will spend a month for medical treatment and then go on to London.

10. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Acting High Commissioner at Bagdad.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/275, p.1-2, No. 1.*

No. 101

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

*No. 224.*

ANGORA, July 8, 1931  
(Received July 13, 1931)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that for some weeks past a violent press campaign has been in progress between the Government organs and the Opposition papers of Constantinople, the protagonists being Yunus Nadi Bey, of the "Cumhuriyet," and Arif Oruç Bey, of the "Yarın." The vituperation and abuse indulged in by either side have been quite out of the ordinary, epithets such as "thief," "traitor," "scamp" and "parasite" being among the more respectable of those in daily use, while incidents from the lurid past of each of the two principal opponents have been served up daily for the delectation of a public still Byzantine in its relish of scandal in any form.

2. It was hardly to be expected that Yunus Nadi Bey, stung by the taunts and revelations of his colleagues, would not make use of his superior tactical position as a leading Deputy and influential journalist of the Popular party to marshal the whole forces of the Grand National Assembly and the Government itself against his somewhat obscure antagonist. The most vulnerable spot in Arif Ötügen Bey's armour was the fact that he had been a recipient of the attentions of an Independence Tribunal on account of alleged treasonable activities during the armistice period, and when the advantages of this line of attack were realised, other Government organs, including the semi-official "Milliyet" and its French counterpart, joined in the onslaught, which was now directed also against the remaining Constantinople Opposition papers, the "Yılmaz" and "Son Posta," and the Opposition press of Smyrna. Certain articles in these papers were alleged to have contained reflections on the Gazi himself, as well as, in less measured terms, on the pure patriots who had collaborated with him in achieving national independence and bestowing the benefits of the ensuing revolution upon a grateful people. It was considered intolerable that all that the nation held most sacred should be wantonly outraged in the name of free criticism and the liberty of the press by a faction of hypocritical reactionaries who represented all that most ignoble in the old régime, and the Government was called upon so to modify the Press Law as to put an end for ever to such baneful activities.

3. Matters came to a head on the 5<sup>th</sup> July, when the delinquencies of the Opposition press and the question of altering the existing law were made the subject of a full-dress debate in the Assembly. After Yunus Nadi Bey and a number of orators had delivered themselves of fiery harangues, consisting mainly of amazing personal attacks on the various Opposition editors, the Prime Minister himself rose and delivered a lengthy speech, which, as far as can be judged from the available text, was studiously moderate in tone and general in character. The attitude of the Opposition press was, indeed, most deplorable, but really powerless either to weaken the Government and lower its prestige, or seriously to impair the essential soundness of Turkish public opinion. The liberty of the press, whatever its disadvantages, was a sacred principle, and even the present situation was hardly sufficiently grave to warrant drastic measures. The Government had, however, in response to the demand of the Deputies, prepared a measure designed to remedy all the abuses which alone threatened the liberty of the press in this country, although they could not claim that it would necessarily prove fully efficacious. Even if it did not, however, there was no cause for alarm, for the Government had every confidence in the competence of the Assembly to provide for every emergency that might arise. They hoped that the new measure, far from injuring the life of the press, would actually secure for the country all the benefits of free controversy, and the Assembly would have the glory of the success thus achieved.

4. Ismet Pasha's speech was received with loud and prolonged demonstrations of approval, and the Assembly, having declared itself satisfied with the Prime Minister's explanations, and reiterated its attachment to the person of the Gazi, passed a vote of confidence in the Government without a dissentient voice.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/275, p.3, No.2.*

No. 102

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No.229.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *July 14, 1931*  
(*Received July 20, 1931*)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.223 of the 8<sup>th</sup> instant, I have the honour to report that King Feisal, accompanied by the Minister of Finance and the Grand Chamberlain, left Turkey to-day for Vienna and Berne on the conclusion of his visit to this country, Nuri Pasha having already left direct for Bagdad yesterday. I enclose a copy of the official communiqué recording the political results of the visit.

2. The King's stay in Constantinople has been entirely unofficial, though His Majesty has remained the guest of the Gazi in Dolmabahçe Palace. The time has been occupied by excursions to Yalova, the forest of Belgrade, and the Bosphorus, and visits to His Majesty's relations and the haunts of his youth, the only social engagements accepted by the King being to dine with me and to lunch with the Egyptian Minister, who is an old personal friend of His Majesty's having been, in an earlier stage of his career, the King's lawyer.

3. Both at my dinner party and to-day, when I said good-bye to King Feisal at the station, His Majesty and his suite all expressed themselves, and, I think genuinely, as delighted with the visit and its excellent effect on the relations between the two countries, a sentiment which I am tempted to share. One tangible and, for the Turks, gratifying result has been that the Iraqi Government has agreed to give Turkey the 10 per cent of the £400,000 to be paid to Iraq by the Iraq Petroleum Company under the new agreement concluded in March last.

4. I am recording the impressions derived from my conversations with King Feisal and Nuri Pasha in a separate despatch No.230 of to-day.

5. I have sent a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Acting High Commissioner at Bagdad.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/275, p. 4, No. 3.

Enclosure in No. 102

Extract from the "Akcham" of July 9, 1931

*Le Voyage du Roi Fayçal et l'Amitié turco-irakienne.*

Au cours de la visite par laquelle Sa Majesté le Roi de l'Irak a bien voulu honorer Ankara, plusieurs entrevues, empreintes d'une sincère cordialité, se déroulèrent entre lui et son Excellence le Président de la République. Au cours des prises de contact et des conversations qui eurent lieu également entre le Président du Conseil et Said Nouri Pacha, le Ministre des Finances irakien Rustem Haydar Bey et le Premier Ministre Ismet Pacha ainsi que les Ministres des Affaires Etrangères, de l'Intérieur et de l'Economie nationale des échanges de vue ont eu lieu au sujet des relations économiques entre les deux pays et des conditions de séjour des ressortissants des deux parties sur leur territoire respectif.

Un accord intervint pour que des négociations soient entreprises immédiatement en vue de la conclusion d'un traité de commerce et d'une convention de séjour.

Les deux parties tombèrent également d'accord pour reconnaître que les liens d'amitié et de bon voisinage entre la Turquie et l'Irak sont conformes aux intérêts mutuels et à la politique de paix et de tranquillité des deux pays. Il a été également constaté de part et d'autre avec satisfaction que les mesures prises pour assurer la sécurité sur les frontières ont été appliquées avec sincérité et qu'elles ont donné les meilleurs résultats. On a confirmé encore une fois le principe de l'interdiction des mouvements hostiles de part et d'autre des frontières et la nécessité de poursuivre avec persévérance cette politique de vigilance.

F.O. 424/275, p. 4, No. 3/1

## No. 103

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*

No. 230

CONSTANTINOPLE, July 14, 1931

*(Received July 20, 1931)*

Sir,

At the dinner party and reception which, as reported in my immediately preceeding despatch, I gave last Saturday in honour of King Feisal, His Majesty spoke to me at length. He said that some little time ago the Turkish Minister hinted that a visit would be welcome and the idea had appealed to the King. Perhaps the determining factor was the surrender of Sheikh Mahmoud in May last, for so long as that chieftain remained at large there was always a possibility of some incident making trouble between the two countries but, with Sheikh Mahmoud safely out of the way, King Feisal could feel that a meeting with the Gazi and the Turkish Government would be all to the advantage of relations between the two countries.

2. His Majesty spoke freely about his conversations with the Gazi which, he said, had frankly surprised him. But shortly, the Gazi had confessed that he was disappointed with the Russians, who, he realised, would not really help him. He distrusted the French and was far from sure of the Italians, but what was really good was the steady improvement in Turkish relations with England, and he looked to the day when he could count on England as a steadfast friend of whose support he was sure. It was due to this improvement in our relations and to the strength forward attitude of His Majesty's Government in all questions between Turkey and Iraq, as well as to the Gazi's belief that we alone of the Great Powers were disinterested, that relations between Turkey and Iraq had prospered so greatly and would, he felt sure, continue to develop. In fact, the Gazi seems to have come out into the open and expounded what I have always felt to be one of his favourite political conceptions, namely, a close understanding, if not an actual alliance, between Turkey, Iraq, Persia, Afghanistan and, one day, Syria, and possibly, though at a still more distant date, the small Soviet Republics to the north-east of Turkey, with the friendship and blessing of England in the background - see for instance, my letter to Sir Lancelot Oliphant of the 6<sup>th</sup> June 1928, and my telegram No. 26 of the 26<sup>th</sup> June of the same year. The Gazi may not have committed himself definitely to this as his settled policy, but from King Feisal's account he certainly went some way towards it, and he emphasised his disappointment with Russia, the desirability of encouraging Persia to move along the same lines as Turkey and Iraq, and his hopes of a genuine friendship between Turkey and England. King Feisal was evidently both astonished and impressed by

his talks with the Gazi, and he told me that he was turning over in his mind whether a visit from him to Tehran next year might not be useful.

3. Obviously a *bloc*, such as described in the preceeding paragraph, should it ever come into existence, could either be, as Teyfik Rüşü once said to the late Iraqi Minister, Sabih Bey, "a solid wall for the English," or cause us a good deal of anxious thought. And we could a) try to oppose it, b) give it active encouragement, c) remain entirely aloof, or d) show by our attitude that we believe it to be a policy which makes for stability and peace in the Near East, and with which we are accordingly in sympathy.

4. In my humble opinion, course (a) would be both fatal and useless, for the result would be to quicken the advent of the *bloc* and imbue it with a spirit of hostility to us. Course (c) would be only a shade less unfortunate. It might make Turkey's neighbours take longer to commit themselves to the Gazi's ideas, but aloofness would certainly be interpreted in Angora as hostility. The time is not ripe for course (b) and, indeed, may never be so. Tehran and Moscow have to be considered as well as Angora, as the Gazi has still to discover. But should he bring about a grouping of the Near East, unaggressive and wishful to be friendly to us, determined to maintain its independence and capable of doing so, our attitude should, I venture to think, be that suggested in course (d).

5. Later in the evening I had a talk with Nuri Pasha. The Iraqi Prime Minister, while doing full justice to the eminently satisfactory professions of the Turkish Government, was more sceptical as to their performance. The impressions of King Feisal and Nuri Pasha taken together rather resemble my own feelings in my dealings with the Turks. In their foreign policy I find myself in general agreement with the line they adopt, but in concrete questions between our two Governments I find them obstinate, trickily, unreasonable, and blindly nationalistic, though even then patience and sincerity does sometimes bring them to a more possible frame of mind.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Acting British High Commissioner at Bagdad.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

## No. 104

*Tyrell, British Embassy, Paris, to Mr. A. Henderson*

*Private.*

PARIS, 1<sup>st</sup> August, 1931  
(Received 29<sup>th</sup> August, 1931)

My dear Henderson,

I called on Berthelot a few days ago in order to find out what impressions he had brought back from London as Briand has been on the sick list and not visible.

2. As regards the latter's health Berthelot told me that he had persuaded Briand to be overhauled by a good doctor. The result of the examination has been that organically he has been found fairly sound with the exception of his heart which he has got nurse. He is also suffering from insomnia at night which partly accounts for his somnolence in the day-time. The idea at present is that he should take a month's holiday and then it will be decided whether he is fit to go to Geneva or not.

3. From all accounts he is making a great mistake not to resign and Laval is too loyal and kind to suggest it to him, but I think a decision will have to be taken at the end of this month.

4. Berthelot was pleased with the results of the London Conference and he paid a handsome tribute to the share you had in bringing it about. He thinks the Press sadly underrated the good results of the conference which he summed up by saying that it increased the contact between Ministers which is all to the good and that it sent the Germans away to Berlin not discontented and realising that there is no Anglo co-operation directed against France. He thought that it was most important they should have realised this.

5. He also indicated that if in the course of the summer the Germans were able to carry on till October he rather expected another conference that would deal with the big issues involved in the present world crisis.

6. At the end of our interview Berthelot told me that Laval was determined to clear up relations between France and Italy. For this purpose he was very anxious to go and see Mussolini but Berthelot had warned him that a considerable amount of spadework would have to be done before such a meeting took place as it was essential that it should succeed since failure would leave things worse than they were before. For this purpose he had submitted a new scheme to Laval. It aimed at telling the Italians that France and Italy should no longer discuss concessions in North Africa. France had made up her mind to establish herself firmly in that part of the world and the small concessions which France and Italy could make to each other would not solve the problem as they would disappoint Italian aspirations and create irritation in France. It would be far better if Italy would make up her mind to face the determination of France to establish herself in North Africa and look elsewhere for satisfaction to her desire for expansion.



7. In this direction France would be willing to co-operate by giving her a free hand in Ethiopia, a country which Berthelot thought was crumbling. France would be content to safeguard her position at Jibuti and he presumed that we should be satisfied if we could protect the sources of the Nile.

8. Berthelot would be prepared to let the Italians understand that France sympathised with their desire for a mandate and would be ready to agree to it as regards Asia Minor as he was convinced that the death of Mustapha Kemal cannot be long deferred owing to the serious condition of his health. As regards Yugoslavia Berthelot would propose a tripartite treaty between France, Italy and Yugoslavia on the lines he has so frequently indicated, and would be prepared to tell the Yugoslavs that they must give up all their ambitions in the Adriatic and find an outlet to their expansion in co-operation with Bulgaria in the direction of Constantinople. He thought it essential to bring it home to the Yugoslavs that the rivalry between them and the Italians must stop in the Adriatic. The latter solution would of course depend on the dissolution of the Turkish Empire which would raise the question of Constantinople. The solution would have to be found in Serbo-Bulgarian co-operation.

9. Berthelot ended by saying that his scheme depended on the preliminary settlement of the naval question and he assured me that Laval was determined to impose an agreement on the naval and financial elements here that had hitherto prevented it.

10. Berthelot expected that Italy would eventually consider some such scheme favourably provided she came to realise that she could no longer play off Germany against France. He therefore attached the greatest importance to a rapprochement between French and Germans, if for no other reason.

11. I asked Berthelot what opinion he had formed of von Bülow. He replied that in spite of his strong prejudice against him he had found him in his conversations, though a violent pan-German, much more reasonable and ready to co-operate in smoothing our relations than he had been led to expect.

12. I need to tell you how delighted I am at the success of your visit to Berlin. All I can do now is to wish you a pleasant and peaceful holiday which nobody deserves more than you do, especially after the great work which you did here in Paris a fortnight ago. I was disgusted at the lack of appreciation displayed by our Press on this subject. I anticipated your thanks to Laval by thanking him for the denial he had issued to the lie published in London with regard to your activities here.

Yours sincerely,

TYRRELL.

## No. 105

*British Embassy, Rome, to Mr. Orme Sargent, Foreign Office**Private*ROME, August 20, 1931  
(Received August 25, 1931)

My dear Sargent,

I shall look forward with great interest to seeing a copy of the Secretary of State's reply to Tyrrell's letter to him of August 1<sup>st</sup>. Your language about Berthelot's ideas has prompted me, for my own guidance, to re-arrange them in what I suppose you would regard as an ascending order of outrageousness.

1. (Paragraph 9 of Tyrrell's letter). A preliminary settlement of the naval question. As you say, if this is one that we can accept, we have no reason to do anything but welcome it.

2. (Paragraph 6 of Tyrrell's letter). There is no room for anything but merely face saving concessions in Northern Africa. I think this was always been fairly clear to us and it ought to have been clear to the Italians. I find it hard to believe that they really hope for much more than so many square miles of "light soil" as I think Lord Salisbury called it.

3. (Paragraph 7 of Tyrrell's letter). France would abandon her dog-in-the-manger attitude in Abyssinia; would in fact renounce in favour of Italy her economic ambitions in that country, much as we did in 1925, and just as we concentrated on Lake Tsana so would France concentrate on Jibuti. Only our interests are more spécifique easily defined than the French would be.

4. (Paragraph 8 of Tyrrell's letter). If Mustapha Kemal disappears shortly France would not stand in the way of an Italian mandate over Asia Minor.

5. (Still paragraph 8 of Tyrrell's letter). Yugoslavia would be induced to renounce her ambitions in the Adriatic by being allowed to participate in some sort of Serbo-Bulgarian occupation of Constantinople.

Arranged in this order I put forward the following comments on Berthelot's imaginings with great diffidence and in the hope that you will tell me how far you agree with me.

1, we cannot quarrel with,

2, may be unfortunate but is hardly a surprise,

3, In view of our own agreement with Italy in 1925 we cannot seriously criticise.

4, is based on two assumptions, (1) that Mustapha Kemal's early demise is inevitable, and (2) that without him the modern Turkish State will be quite unable to keep going. How far these assumptions are warranted I have no means of judging. In any event they seem to leave out of account the attitude of Russia.

5, appears to me fully to deserve your description as almost incredible, although, if Berthelot's postulates under (4) are accepted, i.e., the death of Kemal and the collapse and dissolution of Turkey, the fate of Constantinople would at once come in question. I cannot think, however, that it could be solved by a Yugoslav-Bulgarian combination, much less that, in advance of any such developments, Yugoslav ambitions in that direction should be encouraged.

Finally, as I think the Ambassador has already pointed out, if Laval decides to come to Rome he must first make up his mind to meet the Italian wishes over at any rate one or other of the questions at issue between her and France, or otherwise his visit will do more harm than good.

I shall be on the look-out for any echo of these fantastic ideas here. So far I have heard none; indeed, as far as I can judge Mussolini's attention is entirely directed towards disarmament and European collaboration and away from anything in the nature of "Realpolitik".

Yours ever,

(Signed) ? I. MURRAY

*F.O. 371/15254/C.6594.*

## No. 106

*Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading*

*No. 317.*

CONSTANTINOPLE, September 30, 1931

*(Received October 6, 1931)*

My Lord,

I have the honour to report that the inaugural session of the second annual Balkan Conference will be held in Constantinople on the 20<sup>th</sup> October. It had been intended to hold it earlier in the month, but this was found impossible, partly because the Roumanian delegates were then to be attending a meeting of the International Parliamentary Conference at Bucharest, but chiefly because Ismet Pasha and Dr. Teyfik Rüşü Bey were, between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> October, to be absent from Turkey on an official visit to Athens and Budapest.

2. The conference will be presided by Hasan Bey, Deputy for Trebizond and vice-president of the Grand National Assembly, and the opening speech will be

delivered by İsmet Paşa at Dolmabahçe Palace. Thereafter the deliberations of the conference will take place at Yıldız Kiosk, the final session being held in Angora on the 26<sup>th</sup> October in the building of the Grand National Assembly. The delegates will then be received by the President of the Republic.

3. In addition to the delegates of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Roumania, Turkey and Yugoslavia, the following have been invited to send representatives for the conference: The League of Nations, the International Labour Bureau, International Peace Bureau and the International Parliamentary political and commercial sections. The diplomatic representatives in Turkey of the Balkan States will also attend the conference as observers.

4. The work of the conference will be carried out by six commissions which will deal with political rapprochement, including the desirability of concluding a Balkan Pact, the outlawry of war and settlement of the question of minorities; economic co-operation including the possibility of a customs union, and with questions of co-ordination of legislation transport and means of communication, intellectual hygiene and social co-operation. The agenda will be as follows:

- (1) Enquiry into a Balkan Pact and into the protection of minorities.
- (2) Possibilities of a Balkan postal union and of improvement of railway, telephonic and telegraphic communications.
- (3) Freedom of travel and residence for Balkan citizens.
- (4) Health and social co-operation.
- (5) Protection of tobacco and cereals.
- (6) Co-operation of financial establishments.
- (7) Equality of Balkan civic rights.
- (8) Creation of a Balkan Chamber of Commerce.

5. Six memoranda have already been addressed to the conference, two by Greece regarding a Balkan Pact and a Balkan Chamber of Commerce, two by Yugoslavia regarding political rapprochement, non-aggression and arbitration and two by Bulgaria regarding Bulgarian war graves, and obstacles to Balkan mutual understanding. This last memorandum deals at length with the treatment of Bulgarian minorities in Yugoslavia, Greece and Roumania, and demands that the question of minorities be discussed before all other questions. It will be seen from the agenda of the conference that the wishes of Bulgaria have been acceded to. It is the hope of the Bulgarian delegation that Turkey will use her good offices to settle Bulgarian differences with the other Balkan States, and this hope was expressed during a recent visit to Constantinople of a party of Bulgarian tourists.

including a number of deputies. As against this may be set an intense activity now displayed by Greece to consolidate good relations with Turkey, and to ensure the support of Turkey for the Greek point of view in Balkan affairs.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Athens, Sofia, Belgrade, Bucharest and Durazzo.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/275, p. 40-41, No. 17.*

No. 107

*Sir L. Oliphant to Sir G. Clerk*

*Private*

FOREIGN OFFICE, *October 5, 1931*

My dear George,

As I told you some weeks ago, the uncertain political situation made it impossible to act on the suggestion in your letter of August 10 that the Secretary of State should give Tevfik Rûstü a pat on the back at Geneva. But we have kept in mind your desire that some friendly overture should be made to the Gazi or to the Turkish Government.

2. The receipt in the Department of the proofs of the Official History of the Gallipoli Campaign has suggested to us the idea that no little pleasure might be given to the Gazi if you, on behalf of H.M.G., were to present to him officially a suitable bound copy of the History. I believe I am right in thinking that the Gazi still dearly loves to talk of his part in the campaign and it is possible that a gesture like this would be appreciated as much as would something of a more ambitious nature.

3. The idea is however tentative, and, unless you give it your blessing, you will hear no more about it. But please let me know what you think.

4. I am told that the final volume of the History will probably be published about the end of the year. Incidentally, Helm has read it through and considers that it contains nothing which could possibly offend the susceptibilities of the Gazi or of the Turks in general. On the other hand the History does show that Mustafa Kemal played a large and almost a decisive part in the defence of the Peninsula.

5. So let us have your blessing for the proposal.

(Signed) LANCELOT OLIPHANT.

*F.O. 371/15381/E. 4836.*

## No. 108

*Mr. Ramsay to the Marquess of Reading*

No. 485.

ATHENS, October 7, 1931  
(Received October 21, 1931)

My Lord,

I have the honour with reference to my telegram No. 154 of the 3<sup>rd</sup> October, to inform your Lordship that the visit of the Turkish Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs to Athens passed off in a spirit of cordiality and goodwill.

2. The visitors arrived on board the Turkish ship "Egée" on the 3<sup>rd</sup> October, and were met outside the Piræus by the cruiser "Helli" and two destroyers, while a squadron of aeroplanes flew overhead. After exchange of salutes, they were escorted to the Piræus, where M. and Mme Veniselos, M. Michalakopoulos with his wife and daughter, those of other Ministers who were refugees, and numerous officials, were on the quai to receive them. The Prime Ministers of Turkey and Greece exchanged a kiss of friendship, and after some short complimentary remarks to the Mayor of the Piræus, proceeded to Athens by car. The police were massed in great force, but no untoward incidents occurred. Certain administrative steps had been taken to ensure the presence of imposing crowds. Free tickets were issued in large numbers for persons to proceed to the Piræus and back, and on completion of the trip it is reported that they received 25 drachmas.

3. Athens, for the first time since 1820, was decorated with Turkish flags. A large crowd stood along the route and acclaimed the Turkish Ministers, who were accommodated as guests of the Greek Government at the Petit Palais Hotel. Later they paid their official calls on M. Veniselos, M. Michalakopoulos, and on the President of the Republic. The usual complimentary speeches were exchanged, stress being laid on the fact that the cordiality of the guests' reception was an indication of the feelings of the whole Greek people, feelings which, according to Ismet Pasha, were heartily reciprocated by the Turkish nation. Ismet Pasha delivered to the President a special message from Mustafa Kemal Pasha, in which he sent his best wishes and assured M. Zaimis of his complete approval of the policy of Graeco-Turkish friendship. The Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs then returned the Turkish Minister's call, and at 2 P.M. the guests and the officials who received them had an unofficial lunch.

4. After lunch the Turkish guests were shown over the Acropolis by a prominent Greek archeologist and returned to receive representatives of the Greek, Turkish and foreign press. Later M. Veniselos gave an official banquet of 100 covers at the Grande Bretagne Hotel, followed by a reception, which I attended. After dinner speeches were exchanged, the text of which forms an enclosure to this despatch\*. M. Veniselos, proposing the health of the Ghazi and

\* *Culture yok.*



the guests, and drinking to Graeco-Turkish friendship, declared that the treaties were now approved by all parties and had already borne fruit, but that they would yield still further benefits to the two countries. Greece and Turkey set an example of progress and reconciliation which might well be recommended to other adversaries in the late war. They were a living example of the worth of the movement for Balkan rapprochement a movement which unfortunately, still met with obstacles. One could not see how long it would take to get over the illusion, dear to every nation, that they were always right, and everyone else was always wrong. But Greece and Turkey by their friendship were doing a service to the peace of the world. İsmet Pasha, replying, said it had been his ambition to exchange the ratification of the Treaty of Angora, signed on the 30<sup>th</sup> October 1930. The edifice which they had built together was solid because it rested on identity of interests, which would remain as long as geography and economics remained the main factors of contact between the nations. He then quoted, with hearty approval, M. Venizelos's own words to the effect that Greece and Turkey had had enough of warlike adventures, and that so long as the Balkan Union was not achieved, their close collaboration gave the best security for peace in the Balkans.

5. The next morning the Turkish guests were taken to see the new dam at Marathon, which they greatly admired. On their return they were entertained to lunch at Kelissia, together with a number of Turkish and other journalists. The party then proceeded to the Stadium to watch the Balkan athletic games, while Greek aircraft flew up and down in formation under a threatening sky.

6. In the evening the President gave a dinner at the palace in honour of İsmet Pasha and Tevfik Rushdy Bey, followed by a reception to the Diplomatic Corps and others. The principal guests left early to attend a special performance of Othello, in which a Turkish actor played the part of Othello to a Greek Desdemona.

7. The following day, the 5<sup>th</sup> October, the ratifications of the Treaty of Angora were formally exchanged at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Both M. Venizelos and İsmet Pasha made short speeches, in which they emphasised that though they were now completing the formal exchange of ratifications, the treaties had already been amply ratified by the approval of the two peoples. They then pledged the continuation of Graeco-Turkish friendship. After the exchange of ratifications, MM. Venizelos and Michalakopoulos, with the Director-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Turkish Minister to Athens and the Greek Minister to Angora, held a conference, and a communiqué describing the results was subsequently issued to the press. The text, as published in the "Messager d'Athènes," is enclosed.\* It will be seen that it was agreed that both parties should adopt a conciliatory policy towards their respective minorities; that exchangeables should henceforward be allowed to visit Turkey and Greece respectively, though not to settle there except with special permission; that a conference on tobacco should be held at Constantinople, to which Turkey would also invite Bulgaria; that a mixed



commission should be set up to decide upon measures for the suppression of smuggling between Asia Minor and the islands; and finally, that steps should be taken for the prompt liquidation of the Mixed Commission for the exchange of Populations. After the conference, M. Veniselos made a declaration to the press in which he again emphasised the identity of interests of the two countries and declared that agreement had been reached on all points in suspense.

8. The party then drove to Eleusis, where they inspected the antiquities and the modern industrial plant of the Condopulos factories adjoining, and were entertained to luncheon by the municipality. At 5.30 they attended an official reception in the Chamber of Deputies, where M. Sophoulis, the President of the Chamber, made a speech of welcome, and Ismet Pasha returned a suitable reply. The parliamentary reception was followed by a concert, and then the Turkish Minister gave a dinner at the Grande Bretagne, followed by a reception at the Turkish Legation.

9. On Tuesday, the 6<sup>th</sup> October, their Excellencies visited the various museums of Athens, and then attended a reception at the Town Hall, where complimentary speeches were exchanged. The mayor might have been expected to absent himself, as his wife was dying, and in fact died that day, but it shows the importance attached to the reception, that he attended and made his speech of welcome. A private lunch with M. Veniselos was followed by a tea party at the Soviet Legation, whence the visitors left directly for the Piraeus, where they attended a final reception given by the Mayor of the Piraeus before taking leave of the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs at the gangway of their ship.

10. The full programme was carried out, there were no unpleasant incidents, and M. Veniselos and his Government may congratulate themselves on an extremely successful visit.

11. I attended the above mentioned receptions but was unable, from brief conversations with Ismet Pasha, Tewfik Rushdy Bey and M. Veniselos, to ascertain that anything more concrete was being realised than the confirmation of the Graeco-Turkish rapprochement of the previous year. There is no doubt that the Hellenic Government did everything possible to stage a friendly reception for their Turkish visitors and that their efforts met with considerable success. Ismet Pasha who is very deaf, told me he was very touched by the atmosphere of friendship here, and particularly with the Turcophil attitude of the crowd at the Stadium, which was proof of the sincerity of the Greeks. Tewfik Rushdy Bey remarked, with reference to the Graeco-Bulgarian negotiations, that Turkey as a disinterested party was always ready to use her friendly influence with a view to bringing about a settlement. Both Ismet Pasha and Tewfik Rushdy Bey spoke in the most friendly terms of His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

12. I asked M. Venizelos whether there were any new developments with regard to the position of exchangeable and non-exchangeable Constantinople Greeks. His Excellency said that the treaty provided for the former, that is to say, they could visit Constantinople with the consent of the Turkish Government. With the improved relations such consent would no doubt be more readily given. As regards the latter and the question of their being able to travel in Turkey, his Excellency remarked that that was a purely internal question, in which the Greek Government had no desire to intervene. His Excellency said that his object was to enhance the atmosphere of friendship rather than to raise the points for discussion, but that, after the formality of exchanging ratifications, there would be an opportunity of a general review of the political situation and current events from a mutually sympathetic standpoint.

13. As M. Venizelos has been confined to his room with a slight cold since the departure of the Turkish Ministers, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs did not receive heads of missions last Friday, I have not had an opportunity of learning what, if any, more concrete results were arrived at.

14. I enclose a translation extracted from the "Messenger d'Athènes," of an article published by M. Venizelos in the review "Ergassia,"\* and citing the occasions in the remote past when Greeks and Turks acted in alliance. His object is to answer the charge that the present Graeco-Turkish *entente* is too unnatural to be real. Scrutiny of the dates rather defeats this object, but the article is not devoid of historical interest.

15. I have transmitted a copy of this despatch to his Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

PATRICK RAMSAY

*F.O. 424/275, pp. 49-51, No.22.*

No. 109

*Mr. Ramsay to the Marquess of Reading*

No.486.

ATHENS, October 7, 1931  
(Received October 21, 1931)

My Lord,

With reference to my despatch No.485 of to-day's date, I have the honour to report as follows on the attitude and comments of the Athens press with regard to the visit of the Turkish Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs to Athens:

2. The Government press, the Republican Opposition papers, and "Proia," a moderate Royalist organ, welcome the Graeco-Turkish *entente* whole-heartedly, but the other Royalist papers either regard it as a disagreeable necessity or are covertly hostile, and pretend to believe that an understanding with Turkey has been bought with too many concessions by Greece.

3. M. Leon Maccas, a prominent Veniselist Deputy, writes in "Patris": It is not only a liquidation of the past which we witness to-day, but it is a historical creation of the future, which does not deny our past glory, but, on the contrary renews it in a more noble arena, that of peace, civilisation and progress. "Eleftheron Vema" in an article entitled 'A historic Day' says that there are people in Greece, in Turkey and in Western Europe who have been astonished and scandalised at Graeco-Turkish friendship, which they describe as a denial of history. But these are superficial readers of history, who take prejudice for tradition and fatalistic slavery to the past for historic continuity. But the Greek people are not deceived, and they have given unanimous consent to the idea of Graeco-Turkish friendship and co-operation. They await with conviction the fruits of this idea, the first signs of which they feel in the reduction of the burden of military preparations and in freedom from the not always inexpensive intervention of third parties in their relations with Turkey. As M. Veniselos and Ismet Pasha have put it, the meaning of Graeco-Turkish friendship and co-operation, is not the ignoring of the past, not slavery to the past, but conscientious co-operation in conquering the present, and progress in the future.

4. Elsewhere "Eleftheron Vema" points out that Greek public opinion has been in complete accord in its sentiments respecting the Graeco-Turkish *entente*, with the sole exception of one or two papers which consider it patriotic to appear as champions of the "Great Idea." These papers, it continues, naturally belong to those circles which denied the "Great Idea," and ridiculed it when M. Veniselos was transforming it into a splendid reality, when he led the evzones under the dome of St. Sophia and the sailors to the Sea of Marmara.

5. "Proia" remarks that the indisputable sincerity of the welcome accorded to the Turkish statement is due to the fact that the rapprochement corresponds to the real desire of the two peoples, and is therefore a stable and unchangeable policy not to be affected by changes of persons. Greece and Turkey prove by their example that there are no obstacles to a general *entente*, that the reconciliation and union of the peoples is no chimera.

6. Elsewhere "Proia" admits that many Greeks had, at the bottom of their hearts, some doubt as to the future evolution of Graeco-Turkish relations because they were not more definitely friendly manifestations on the part of Turkey. But Ismet Pasha's statements are really proof of more sincerely friendly dispositions.

7. "Akropolis" (Republican Opposition) asks whether the incredible sight of Athens decorated with Turkish flags and welcoming Ismet Pasha and Rushdi Bey, official representatives of the race, hatred for which was in the very blood of all Greeks, does not shout forth to the world the will of two age-long enemies to live in future in peace, without war, without hatred, and without the influence of revengeful tradition. Germany and France, Greece and Turkey are at this moment at the head of an international movement for consolidating a *pacific status quo*, which will enable mankind to achieve economic restoration and to devote itself to works of progress and civilisation.

8. "Kathemerine" (Royalist) says that it prefers to be silent at a moment when triumphal arches are erected in Athens to welcome the Turkish Ministers. Turkish friendship towards Greece is said by some to be valuable. "Kathemerine" can well believe it, since it has cost so much! However, it concludes, let the visitors be welcome, and let them believe that the discords arising from the columns of "Kathemerine" do not mean hostility; they are only an example of an incurable attachment to the past.

9. "Helleniki" (Royalist) apparently does not consider the event worth a leader, but it takes the opportunity to print articles from correspondents hostile to Turkey and to begin the publication of what purports to be a history of the Balkan Wars.

10. I have forwarded a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Angora.

I have, &c.

PATRICK RAMSAY

F.O. 424/275, pp. 51-52, No.23.

No. 110

*George Clerk to the Marquess of Reading*

No.330.

CONSTANTINOPLE, October 8, 1931

(Received October 13, 1931)

My Lord,

In continuation of my despatch No.325 of the 6<sup>th</sup> October, relative to an alleged Armenian plot to assassinate Ismet Pasha, I have the honour to report that Mr. Ravensdale's informant has now expanded and made more definite the suggestion referred to in the last sentence of that despatch. He has told Mr. Ravensdale that the Dashnak "comitaji" incident took place on the 20<sup>th</sup> September., although the authorities insisted on keeping it dark until the Gazi who was of course informed at once, had got away from the neighbourhood of

Constantinople, where he had been spending the summer, and that this was the cause of his sudden and unusually early return to Angora on the 25<sup>th</sup> September. By deferring the publication of the news of the episode until the 1<sup>st</sup> October, the authorities prevented the general public from suspecting that the affair had had the effect of frightening Mustafa Kemal away from his summer quarters.

2. It certainly seemed fantastic that this "comitaji" if he really wanted to kill Ismet Pasha in Budapest, should take the unnecessary risk of going there via Istanbul, while the nervousness of the local authorities and the, for this country lavish reward of five hundred liras given to the two policemen who traced the Armenians would agree with an attempt on the Gazi having been frustrated. In any case it appears that the President had a consultation with the Prime Minister, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of the Interior, who came to the conclusion that the Gazi had braved the comparative insecurity of Istanbul and its environs long enough, and that a return to the strictly guarded precincts of the Presidential villa at Çankaya was advisable at the present time.

3. Although this story may sound somewhat fantastic, I have ventured to report it to your Lordship, since it throws a possible light on the Gazi's unprecedentedly sudden departure from Istanbul some weeks before there appeared to be any need for such a move, and at a time when the climate here is more delightful than at any other season.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/15370/E.5133.

## No. 111

*Sir George Clerk to Sir Lancelot Oliphant, Foreign Office*

*Private*

CONSTANTINOPLE, October 12, 1931

(Received October 19, 1931)

My dear Lancelot,

Since Helm has passed the text of the Official History of the Gallipoli Campaign as containing nothing to offend the very delicate susceptibilities of the Gazi or the Turks in general, I think that it is an admirable idea to give Mustafa Kemal a suitably bound copy. So go ahead and send it out to me as soon as possible.

Yours ever,

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/15321/E.5237.

## No. 112

*Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading*

No. 337

CONSTANTINOPLE, October 14, 1931  
(Received October 19, 1931)

My Lord,

On the eve of the opening in Constantinople of the second annual Balkan Conference, Yunus Nadi, owner and editor of the "République" has published in his newspaper an interesting article on the Gazi's attitude towards Balkan union.

2. According to Yunus Nadi, the Gazi, some three years ago, in the course of an intimate conversation, expressed his firm belief in the possibility of a new *entente* between Turkey and the peoples of the Balkans, based on community of origin, similarity of outlook and a manner of life which, as a result of the mingling for centuries of Turkish and Balkan races, was identical. History showed that while the passage of Ottoman Turks from Asia into Europe was comparatively recent, Turks of the primitive stock had long before spread from Turkestan into Russia and the Balkans, and had penetrated from Europe into Anatolia. It was false history to maintain that the first settlement of Turks in the Balkan Peninsula was that of the Ottoman Turks. Many centuries before, the Turco-Bulgars of Turanian race had colonised the Danube basin, while Turco-Huns ruled from the Carpathians to Thessaly, and perhaps to Morea. The common racial origin of Balkan peoples might be obscured by religion or force, but would ultimately shine out clearly before all. There was no reason why the different Balkan peoples who, mingled together, had led a common life until quite recently should not live in the future in full harmony and understanding. Turkey, which by virtue of its successful revolution was worthy to rank with the great European Powers, was, on extension of Europe into Asia, a European, but above all, a Balkan State.

3. Under the force of these ideas the Gazi declared to Yunus Nadi that he felt called to the sublime task of realising a general *entente* of Balkan peoples. He would wish not to be called again to the presidency of the republic so that, as a simple head of the Popular party, he might visit all the Balkan States, confer with men of all parties, and inspire them with his belief in the racial bonds and common feelings uniting Turks and Balkan nationals and through them work up among the peoples of the Balkan countries an enthusiasm for the idea of agreement among the Balkan races.

1. The article appears to me to ring true. It certainly reflects the Gazi's ideas, by now communicated to all who come in contact with him of the Turkish origins of European races and European civilisation, and its publication at this time should be helpful to the cause for which the Balkan delegates are now assembling in Turkey.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/275, pp. 48-49, No. 21.*

### No. 113

*Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading*

No.347.

CONSTANTINOPLE, October 22, 1931

*(Received October 26, 1931)*

My Lord,

With reference to my despatch No.317 of the 30<sup>th</sup> September last, I have the honour to report that the delegates to the second annual Balkan Conference, to the number of some 200, had all assembled here on the 19<sup>th</sup> instant, on which day the council of the conference held a preliminary meeting in the Hall of Ceremonies of the Palace of Yildiz. In the evening the presidents of the foreign delegations and the members of the council were entertained to dinner by the president of the conference, Hasan Bey, Deputy for Trebizond and an ex-Minister of Finance.

2. On the following morning, the 20<sup>th</sup> October, the first plenary session of the conference was held in the Great Hall of Dolmabahçe Palace on Bosphorus. The whole diplomatic and consular corps, together with numerous journalists and representatives of the Turkish official and social world, were invited to be present at the inaugural ceremony, which I attended with a member of my staff. The Ministers of the four Balkan States other than Turkey and Albania, whose purely nominal *Chargé d'Affaires* is not accorded official recognition, were present in their special capacity of observers of the conference, and as such will attend all the meetings. The Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs arrived last of all, and when they had taken their places the proceedings opened with the playing of the Turkish national anthem, followed by that of each of the five other countries. The president of the conference, Hasan Bey, then addressed the gathering in a speech which began by referring to M. Papanastassiou, the principal Greek delegate, as the "initiator" of the Balkan Conferences, and went on to thank



the Gazi for having given them the use of the Dolmabahçe Palace for this year's meeting. Then came complimentary references to last year's conference in Athens, the subsequent preparatory meeting at Salonica, and certain practical achievements of the last twelve months. These included the propagation of ideas of collaboration and mutual understanding between university students of the different Balkan countries, the founding of the Balkan Tourist Federation, and the creation of an inter-Balkan press bureau. In this last connexion Hasan Bey had to complain of certain old-fashioned habits of the European press outside the Balkans, which was still prone to acrimonious criticism of the Balkan peoples and their affairs. Happily, however, this attitude was becoming more and more rare, and the interest in Balkan union shown by the Carnegie Trust had had a good effect in Western Europe. The proposed meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Balkan States had unfortunately not taken place, but this had not been the fault of the Ministers. "True idealism," continued Hasan Bey, "consists in considering time as a great factor in favour of successful results, in recognising a faithful helpmate in patience which wears away the will. Seen from this point of view, the result obtained after a year of toil is far from encouraging." Nevertheless, in the times of crisis and instability, the whole world was looking for the gleam of light that should announce salvation. Their institution must prove to be the source of that light. Each of their countries represented a force, but they must remember that the strength of each was only the sixth part of that mightier force which it was their task to make one and indivisible.

3. Each of the foreign presidents then addressed the gathering in alphabetical order, and it was, curiously enough, the Albanian delegate, Mehmed Bey Konitza, and not his Bulgarian colleague, M. Yanko Sakozoff, who, even at this early stage, touched on the thorny topic of the treatment of minorities under alien, i.e., Serbian rule. The proceedings were finally brought to a close by a speech of welcome by the Prime Minister, Ismet Pasha, who introduced into the usual optimistic platitudes a reminder that Turkey had begun by settling all the questions outstanding between her and her neighbours, and that this primary condition constituted the best basis for international co-operation.

4. In the afternoon there was a meeting *in camera* of the various committees of the conference at the Palace of Yıldız, and in the evening the delegates were entertained to dinner at Tokatlian's Hotel by the Mayor-Vali of Constantinople. Another similar meeting of the committees was held at Yıldız next morning, the 21<sup>st</sup> October, when I understand that the minorities question was discussed by the Political Committee, although no statement to that effect has been published. According to the morning's press, the Economic Committee examined and approved a project for the creation of a commercial bureau, whose business it would be to find outlets for Balkan produce and another project for the protection of cereals and tobacco was referred to a sub-committee. It was decided to found a

Balkan Chamber of Commerce with its seat at Constantinople. In the Social Committee the question of mutual freedom of travel and residence in Balkan countries gave rise to lively discussions, the issue of which was that the mutual abolition of passports for travelling in the Balkans (including, presumably, Turkey-in-Asia outside the military zones) was alone accepted in principle, the other recommendations of a kindred nature being rejected. In the afternoon, after a visit to the local museums and the Seraglio, the delegates were entertained to tea by the Union of Turkish Women. To-day's programme includes further meetings of the committees at Yıldız, a visit to the principal mosques, &c. and tea, followed by speeches, at the University of Stambul.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Athens, Sofia, Belgrade, Bucharest and Durazzo.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/275, pp. 53-54, No. 24.*

No. 114

*Mr. Strang to the Marquess of Reading*

*No. 554.*

MOSCOW, October 23, 1931  
(Received November 3, 1931)

My Lord,

I have the honour to report that M. Litvinov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, left Moscow for Angora on the evening of the 22<sup>nd</sup> October to return the visit paid to Moscow a year ago by Tefik Rüşti Bey. This visit was, I think, arranged when the Turkish Foreign Minister was here.

2. It is natural to suppose that, in addition to trying to co-ordinate the attitude of the two Governments in view of the forthcoming Disarmament Conference, M. Litvinov will do his best to wean Turkey from the idea of becoming a member of the League of Nations and from any purpose she may have of entering into a financial arrangement with United States capitalists. These are the leading ideas of an article in the "Izvestiya" of the 22<sup>nd</sup> October, which observes that the Great Powers are not in a position to help Turkey, but are more likely to plunder her, and that the League, which is their *alter ego*, would in such an event stand idly by; Turkey's policy should therefore be to develop herself in reliance upon her own resources, and to await the day, now approaching, when the Soviet Union will be able to show the world for the first time an example of international economic

assistance based not upon exploitation but upon equality. A translation of the relevant paragraphs of the article is enclosed.\*

I have, &c.

WILLIAM STRANG

F.O. 424/275, p.35. No. 26.

\* Çiltre yok

### No. 115

*Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading*

No. 353

ANGORA, October 28, 1931

(Received November 3, 1931)

My Lord,

I have the honour to report that M. Litvinoff, Soviet Commissary for Foreign Affairs, arrived at Angora on the 27<sup>th</sup> October at the invitation of the Turkish Government, and will remain as its guest until the 30<sup>th</sup> instant. During his stay he will assist at the ceremonies which will take place on the 29<sup>th</sup> October on the occasion of the National Holiday of the Republic. The visit was arranged early in the present year, as mentioned in Mr. Morgan's despatch No. 113 of the 31<sup>st</sup> March to the Foreign Office, and has no ostensible object other than that of strengthening and emphasising the ties of friendship that unite Turkey and Russia. It might, indeed, possibly have remained unpaid, but for the visit of the Earl of Athlone in April last (see my despatch No. 148 of the 29<sup>th</sup> April).

2. In a speech made on arrival at Constantinople to members of the Turkish press, M. Litvinoff expressed his pleasure at visiting Turkey, which for over ten years had been joined to Russia by ties of friendship and common endeavour, and at having the opportunity of seeing again his old friend Teflik Rüşti Bey, and of entering into contact with Turkey's statesmen. Friendship with Turkey was the keystone of Russian foreign policy. Each nation had such confidence in the other that, without any anxiety, it left the other free to follow its own independent line whenever it seemed preferable to do so. The relations which Turkey and Russia maintained, despite their different social and economic policies, were an example to other foreign States, and a powerful factor for peace. Both nations desired peace. Russia, as all its energies were needed to rear the edifice of socialism, and to carry out its plan of making agriculture collective and technical, and Turkey, in order to develop its natural sources of wealth, its industry and its economic life. He

was certain that both nations would in future collaborate in the economic and technical field.

3. Compared with the hectic enthusiasm of M. Venizelos's visit, and of the meetings of the Balkan Conference, M. Litvinoff's reception in Angora seems prosaic and matter of fact, but I cannot draw the conclusion that Russo-Turkish relations, despite Turkish irritation at Russian dumping and communistic activities in Turkey, are showing any signs of being less close than in the past.

4. A copy of this despatch is being sent to His Majesty's Ambassador in Moscow.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/275, pp. 55-56, No. 27.*

## No. 116

*Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading*

No. 354.

ANGORA, October 28, 1931  
(Received November 3, 1931)

My Lord,

The delegates to the Second Balkan Conference, whose departure from Constantinople I reported in my despatch No. 352 of the 26<sup>th</sup> instant, arrived, here the following morning, the 26<sup>th</sup> October, and were met by the municipal authorities, under whose auspices they were shown the sights of the town. The Minister for Foreign Affairs entertained them to lunch, and at three o'clock they repaired to the Grand National Assembly building, where they were received by the President of the Republic accompanied by the President of the Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Minister of the Interior. The Gazi received each delegation separately, in alphabetical order, and then delivered a general address of welcome in French. A copy of the official text of his Excellency's speech is enclosed herein.\*

2. The next item on the programme was the fourth and last plenary session of the conference, held in the Chamber where the delegates were already assembled. In the course of the session M. Pella, Vice-President of the Roumanian delegation and *rapporteur* of the Political Committee, read the resolutions which it had drawn up, and which were now unanimously adopted amid loud applause. I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of the text of these

\* Çatme yok.

resolutions as published in the press. The session which was necessarily short owing to the exigencies of the official programme of the visit, was brought to an end by speeches by Rusen Eşref and Hasan Bey, respectively secretary-general and president of the conference.

3. The visitors then proceeded to the Gazi's farm, where tea was served, and the Prime Minister, İsmet Paşa, conversed with the delegates and the journalists who accompanied them. In the evening they were present at a really excellent concert of European music in the theatre of the former Turkish Ojak building (now known, since its acquisition by the Popular party, as the 'House of the People'). The programme was rendered by the Gazi's own orchestra, and was followed with rapt attention by everyone present except the Gazi himself, who, surrounded by his Ministers and "adopted daughters," kept up a constant and animated conversation, which was particularly distracting during the soft passages.

4. It was long after midnight when the weary delegates were conducted to their trains, which left in the small hours for Constantinople *en route* for the various Balkan capitals. The journalists were given the option of remaining at Angora, if they so wished, in order to be present at the festivities connected with the Feast of the Republic on the 29<sup>th</sup> October.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Athens, Belgrade, Bucharest, Durrazzo and Sofia.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/275, p.58-59, No.29.*

## No. 117

*Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading*

No. 358.

Confidential

ANGORA, November 1, 1931

(Received November 9, 1931)

My Lord,

In continuation of my despatch No 353 of the 28<sup>th</sup> October regarding the visit to Turkey of M. Litvinoff, Soviet Commissary for Foreign Affairs, I have the honour to report that the ceremonial on the occasion of his stay followed the usual lines. He was received by the President of the Republic, was entertained at luncheon or dinner by the Prime Minister, by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and by the President of the Grand National Assembly, and in his turn entertained these and other notable personages at the Soviet Embassy. On the eve of his departure he was

the principal guest of honour at the review held on the national holiday of the republic.

2. According to the Turkish press the visit has no other object than that of consolidating the long-established friendly relations between Turkey and Russia. Such relations had rarely been possible when Tsars and Sultans reigned, for the two peoples had then been stirred to artificial hostility against one another. Turkey could not forget that Soviet Russia had been her friend in her hour of need - a kindness reciprocated by Turkey when Soviet Russia was menaced on all fronts. The friendship of the two peoples was a powerful factor for peace in the Near East. The "Son Posta" suggests that Soviet Russia fears that Turkey, under the pressure of financial need, may yield to the imperialistic Powers in Europe and America and come to an understanding with them, and join the League of Nations, and that, in consequence, M. Litvinoff has come to Turkey to tell its statesmen and the Turkish press and people that the time is not far off when Russia will be able to help Turkey economically. The "Hakimiyeti Milliye" too expresses a hope that M. Litvinoff's remarks about wider economic co-operation signify something in the nature of financial help.

3. At a dinner given in honour of M. Litvinoff by Dr. Tevfik Rustu on the 27<sup>th</sup> October, speeches were delivered by these two Ministers. The Turkish Minister described the profound feelings of friendship and sympathy of the Turkish people for their great neighbour and friend, and his firm conviction that the recently concluded commercial treaty would give a new impetus to mutual economic relations. In regard to the foreign policy of the two countries he declared that each of them was working for peace, which was vitally necessary for the cause of the interior progress and welfare of both peoples. He stated also that advantage would be taken of M. Litvinoff's visit to extend the duration of the Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality of the 17<sup>th</sup> December, 1925, and its appendices.

4. In reply M. Litvinoff expressed his pleasure at his reception in Angora - so closely linked with Turkey's most brilliant success in her national struggle and her development in recent years. Turco-Soviet friendship had its roots in the hearts of the people of the two countries. It was founded on mutual confidence and was strengthened by collaboration in the cause of universal peace. He referred to the recently-concluded commercial treaty as a proof of the respect of each party for the social and economic organisation of the other, and praised the energy of the Gazi and of Ismet Pasha in economic organisation and in developing the natural resources of Turkey. As the time approached when the economic development of Turkey and the Soviet Republics reached its zenith, the field of economic collaboration between the two countries would widen. M. Litvinoff concluded by expressing his pleasure at being afforded the opportunity during his visit of signing



the extension of the period of validity of the Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality of the 17<sup>th</sup> December, 1925.

5. The signature of the Protocol of Extension of the treaty and its annexes took place on the 30<sup>th</sup> October, and its effect is to prolong for five years from the dates when they would otherwise have expired the validity of the following instruments:

- (a) The Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality concluded at Paris on the 17<sup>th</sup> December 1925, and its appendices - three protocols of the same date;
- (b) The protocol, signed at Angora on the 17<sup>th</sup> December 1929, extending the treaty of 1925; and
- (c) The Naval Protocol of the 7<sup>th</sup> March 1931.

References to these acts will be found in Constantinople despatches Nos. 930 of the 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1925, 491 of the 18<sup>th</sup> December 1929, and 81 of the 12<sup>th</sup> March 1931. The text of the Protocol of Extension is being forwarded to your Lordship in a separate despatch.

6. M. Litvinoff left Angora on the 30<sup>th</sup> October and a communiqué, of which the following is a translation, was issued:

"Very cordial conversations took place between M. Litvinoff, Commissary for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., on the one hand, and İsmet Pasha, Prime Minister of the Turkish Republic, and Teyfik Rüşdü Bey, Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the other. In these conversations, in which M. Suritz, Ambassador in Turkey of the Soviet Union, and Hüseyin Ragıp Bey, Ambassador of Turkey in Moscow, participated, there was an exchange of ideas about questions connected with the relations of the two countries and on big international questions. As a result of these conversations the soundness of the basis on which Turco-Soviet friendship - sealed ten years ago - reposed was once more verified and the possibilities of great development which the present Turco-Russian economic relations offered were recognised. In the course of these conversations, which had for their object the preservation of peace and the continuation of cordial and close relations existing between the two countries, the most complete and absolute concordance of ideas of both parties was shown.

"M. Litvinoff repeated the invitation given to İsmet Pasha to visit Moscow by M. Suritz some time ago in the name of the Government of the Soviet Union, an invitation which was accepted with great pleasure. The date of the visit will be fixed later.

"One of the happiest results of the above fruitful interviews is the extension of the period of validity of the Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality, signed at Paris on



the 17<sup>th</sup> December 1925, and the three protocols of the same date which are attached to it; of the Protocol of Extension signed at Angora and dated the 17<sup>th</sup> December 1929, and of the Naval Protocol also signed at Angora on the 7<sup>th</sup> March 1931."

7. I understand that M. Litvinoff will take advantage of a short stay in Venice to meet certain Italian personalities and will then return, probably via Berlin, to Moscow.

8. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Moscow.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O.371/15378/F.5543

F.O.424/275, p.60-62, No.31.

No. 118

*Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading*

No.359.

ANGORA, November 1, 1931

(Received November 9, 1931)

My Lord,

I have the honour to report that the first session of the fourth Grand National Assembly was opened to-day by the President of the Turkish Republic, who pronounced on this occasion a speech of which I enclose a copy."

2. It will be seen that the Gazi referred to the necessity for economy, confidence in the Government and peace at home and abroad in face of the international crisis, and that, in speaking of Turkey's foreign relations, he declared that Turkey's object was, through a policy of peace, to assure her own security. I have attended many sessions of the Assembly and for the first time I gathered the impression that the faint applause which was occasionally heard during the speech was entirely perfunctory. Half-hearted during the Gazi's references to the visits of Ismet Pasha and Tefik Rüşü Bey to Athens and Budapest, it was conspicuously absent when he mentioned the visits to Turkey of King Faisal and M. Litvinoff, although opportunity was given the Deputies to express audibly their feelings if they so wished. It seemed as though their interest in foreign countries was entirely lacking, and that even the presence of the President stirred them to little enthusiasm in the ceremony.

3. Fethi Bey, ex-leader of the defunct Opposition, and Mme. Fethi Bey occupied the presidential box. They are at present staying with the Gazi, from

whom it is reported that Fethi Bey receives an allowance to console him for the loss of his diplomatic and parliamentary emoluments.

I have, &

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/275, p. 62, No 32

\* Cilt 104

No. 119

*Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading*

No. 361.

ANGORA, November 1, 1931

*Confidential*

(Received November 9, 1931)

My Lord,

My despatches Nos. 353 and 358 of the 28<sup>th</sup> October and the 1<sup>st</sup> November have recorded the outward form of the official visit of the Soviet Commissary for Foreign Affairs to Turkey. The inner meaning of the event is harder to set forth, and I can only give a personal impression, which is that M. Litvinoff has gone away rather annoyed than otherwise.

2. Although a visit this autumn was vaguely arranged last March, I am fairly confident that it only became a certainty—from the Russian side, a necessity—after the striking reception given to the Earl of Athlone and Her Royal Highness Princess Alice in April; and, as a counter blast, it has fallen distinctly flat. True, the press has paid its full meed of lip-service, but no impartial observer could describe the general attitude as other than apathetic. If I wanted confirmation of this, I had it half an hour ago, when I was listening to the Gazi opening the first session of the Fourth Grand National Assembly. His Excellency's warm allusion to the visit of M. Litvinoff and to Turkey's "grande amie" Soviet Russia, was listened to in complete silence by the Deputies, normally only too eager to take the Gazi's signal for a storm of handclaps.

3. Again I have reason to believe that M. Litvinoff expressed considerable disapproval of Turkey's flirtation with the League of Nations and received a reply that was far from satisfying him, while, in one instance, of a direct proposal—namely, that Turkey should close the Dardanelles if Russia were at war—I am told from a good source that he met with a direct refusal. Lastly, the general election at home certainly threw a shadow over the occasion, at least so far as M. Litvinoff was concerned. My Swedish colleague, who was for years in Moscow and in close personal relations with M. and Mme. Litvinoff, told me that the latter, evidently

echoing her husband, called the election a tragedy for Russia, and he also said that M. Litvinoff, whom he saw off on Friday, left here depressed and in a bad temper. I should in justice add that M. Heidenstam found M. Litvinoff very troubled about the condition of things in Russia, so that his depression may not have been entirely due to disappointment with the visit to Angora, but it is probably equally true that he found little here to cheer him up.

4. By what I have written above I do not wish to convey that there has been any serious weakening of the friendship between Russia and Turkey. What I think has happened has been that M. Litvinoff has learnt that Turkey is definitely out of Russian leading-strings, and that he does not like it.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Moscow.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/275, p. 6263, No. 33.*

*F.O. 371/15378/E. 5545*

## No. 120

*Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading*

*No. 364.*

ANGORA, November 1, 1931  
(Received November 9, 1931)

My Lord,

With reference to my despatch No. 423 of the 4<sup>th</sup> November, 1930, I have the honour to report that annual celebration of the national holiday of the Turkish Republic took place on the 29<sup>th</sup> ultimo. M. Litvinoff, Soviet Commissary for Foreign Affairs, and Mme. Litvinoff were present at the celebration as guests of honour of the Turkish Government.

2. Following the reception of the members of the Diplomatic Body by the President of the Republic, detachments of the land, sea and air forces and of boy scouts passed in review before the Gazi. The sturdiness and virility of the troops were as impressive as usual, while the alignment and marching were better than last year. New features were a battery of Bofors mountain guns and four Vickers anti-aircraft guns drawn by caterpillar tractors and the formation flying of the numerous aeroplanes, while there was happily no repetition of last year's aerial acrobatics. The boy scouts were more numerous than in previous years, perhaps to emphasise the peaceful, side by side with the warlike, activities of the State. After

the passage of the boy scouts, the presidential patience, as usual, gave out, and the schoolgirls and others who, year by year, wait to take their part in the review were again frustrated in their hopes. The effect of the review on the spectators is thus summarised by a writer in the "Hakimiyeti Milliye": -

"M. Litvinoff beheld with profound satisfaction this awe-inspiring manifestation of a friendly and neighbouring State. In the Ambassador's stand there reigned a silence of appreciation and of close attention while each detachment came in for its separate share of the applause of the Deputies of the nation."

3. The Gazi drove away from the review with Fethi Bey, ex-leader of the short-lived Opposition, and in the evening was present at a dinner to M. and Mme. Litvinoff and the Diplomatic Body at the Angora Palace Hotel. The dinner was followed by a ball at the hotel given by the Republican Popular party, and this lasted until the early hours of the morning. I profess no judgment of feminine fashions, but if the dress of its women is one of the measures of a country's standard of life, even my ignorant eye can see a steady advance in modishness from year to year, though Angora may still be far from Paris. The fact that Mme. Litvinoff was much impressed by the well-dressed appearance of the ladies present at the ball, while a Brazilian secretary, fresh from the cabarets and night clubs of the West, declared that he had rarely seen so many people badly attired, shows fairly exactly the degree of "smartness" that the ladies of Angora reached.

4. The Gazi, as usual, outstayed most of the guests, and took occasion at a late hour of the presence of the British and French military attachés to let them know in all solemnity that their respective countries had conquered most of the world, but were at present acting against humanity, and that he hoped they would not persist in such a course. His Excellency, as he was leaving, enjoined on Major O'Leary to remember every word that he (the Gazi) had said, whereupon Fethi Bey, who had been doing the translating, said *sotto voce* that, for himself, he trusted Major O'Leary would forget every word. On which, at 7 A.M., the celebration of the National Day drew to its close.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

## No. 121

Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading

No. 366.

Very Confidential

ANGORA, November 2, 1931

(Received November 9, 1931)

My Lord,

Having waited for an hour at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs this afternoon to keep an appointment made by the Minister, I decided that I had sufficiently complied with the requirements of official courtesy and returned home, leaving word that I had not liked to force myself on his Excellency, as he was apparently seriously engaged, but that I was at his disposal whenever he wished to see me. Shortly after I got back, I was rung up by Tefvik Rüşti Bey with profuse apologies for a staff error - his Excellency had never been told that I was waiting to see him - and an urgent request to receive him at once. I begged his Excellency not to bother, for the hour was late and there was no pressing need for an interview. However, the Minister insisted and arrived at eight o'clock.

2. I have seen Tefvik Rüşti Bey excited and vehement, but I have never seen him so agitated as he was on this occasion. The cause of this agitation was, as I briefly reported to your Lordship in my telegram No. 65 of to-day, that he had just received confirmation of an offer of the throne of Syria by the French Government to King Feisal, which offer it seemed probable that His Majesty would accept. I asked the Minister if he was quite sure of all this, of which I'd seen vague reports in the press, for to me it seemed that King Feisal would be kept busy enough in Iraq without adding the problems of Syria to his burden. Tefvik Rüşti replied that King Feisal in Bagdad had admitted having received the offer and had said that the acceptance depended upon a satisfactory settlement of the conditions attaching to it, while it was a fact that when the King was in Paris M. Berthelot had, at some banquet in his honour, drunk a toast to the King of Iraq and Syria, which His Majesty had accepted *sub silentio*.

3. The Minister for Foreign Affairs then launched forth. He said that he was in despair over French policy in Syria - or rather, it was not the policy of France or even of the French Government, but of M. Berthelot, and, at the back of M. Berthelot, the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, otherwise M. Finaly. It was not the first time that M. Berthelot and banks had worked together, and the precedent had not been a happy one. His Excellency had no objection, *per se*, to a union of Iraq and Syria under one head, nor indeed to an Arab union, provided that the conditions in Syria were the same as they were in Iraq, where our position caused the Turkish Government no anxiety at all. We had been perfectly straightforward in our dealings with Turkey as regards Iraq and he recognised that, with our commitments in India and the East, Iraq must have a definite political interest to

ns. But we had left, or were about to leave, Iraq to full independence and the Iraq frontier would be defended by Iraq soldiers. That was far from having the proposed arrangement about Syria. There, the French troops and French administration were to remain, and King Feisal would merely be a means of extending French influence into Asia. Turkey was at peace with all her other neighbours and on the best of terms with them. The best proof of how secure she felt in the good intentions of the neighbouring countries was that on the frontiers contiguous to Greece, Bulgaria, Russia and Iraq there were no soldiers, nor were there any on the coast facing the possessions of Italy, while those that were maintained on the Persian frontier were solely there, not for fear of any aggression on the part of Persia, which was out of the question, but, he was sorry to have to admit, because of the weakness of the Persian administration. Only opposite the Syrian frontier did the Turkish Government feel any nervousness, and in that region Turkey was obliged to maintain from two to three divisions. Turkey was as friendly disposed to France as to any other Power, but the Minister felt that France could not forgive Turkey for refusing to become, at least in spirit, a member of the Little *Entente*. Turkey for her part was determined to have no entangling alliances. She only sought to live in peace with all the world and to develop herself as a cultured and civilised European State. She had definitely cut loose from Asia. There was a time when she had thought of playing a rôle in Afghanistan, but she had been let down and his Excellency had never been more thankful than when he had safely extricated the Turkish Military Mission and his other nationals from the mess made by Amanullah. From that time Turkey's eyes were fixed on the West, and she was so good a European that he was prepared to welcome the extension of the International Straits Commission to the whole of the Black Sea, while he made no secret of his wish that Turkey should join the League of Nations, as he had just told M. Litvinoff. The Soviet Commissary had replied that while Moscow considered that Turkey was wrong, she was an independent country and was free to decide as she thought best. (This is interesting as corroborating the reasons for M. Litvinoff's dissatisfaction with his visit suggested in my despatch No. 361 of the 1<sup>st</sup> instant.) Turkey was, moreover, an upholder of Europe as it was to-day. Theoretically she might share some of the misgivings about the sanctity of the Treaty of Versailles, but she was above all a realist in her policy, and she would never take an active part in the upsetting the treaty. But neither would Turkey consent to be the "gendarme" of Versailles. Perhaps that was why France made things so difficult. His Excellency was frankly at a loss to know what France was aiming at in the Near East. He only knew that he was filled with anxiety by the latest development. Had he got to guard against an eventual move on Cilicia, or had he to expect French political penetration through Syria and Iraq into Asia? If the invitation to Feisal had no sinister basis, why had Turkey been kept in the dark and left to find out what was happening by herself?



4. The Minister talked for over an hour with more than his usual volubility, and I have tried to give your Lordship the gist of his observations, but I cannot pretend to complete accuracy. His Excellency made no direct request, and seemed to be using me more as an outlet for the expression of his feelings than for anything else. None the less it was obvious that he hoped for some assurance from us, either that Feisal would not accept the throne of Syria except on conditions analogous to those in Iraq, or that we were confident that France had no ulterior aims when extending the invitation to the King.

5. Your Lordship will doubtless instruct me in due course as to the line you wish me to take if and when Tefdik Rüşti recurs to the subject, but it is clear that it will not be easy to eradicate the intense suspicion which the Turkish Government feels towards the French policy in Syria, or perhaps I should say which Tefdik Rüşti feels towards M. Berthelot and the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas. I have always considered that the Ottoman Bank or rather the French Board, have underestimated not only the determination of the Turkish Government to avoid submission to French financial control in any shape or form, but also the power of Turkey to retain her independence. The attitude of the bank has been that it has only got to sit tight and sooner or later the Turkish Government will be bound to come to it on bended knees for the wherewithal to carry on. This I believe to be an entire misreading of the situation, but it seems to have inspired the policy of the bank from the start, and the feeling that this is the bank's policy lies to my mind at the root of much of the uneasiness displayed in Tefdik Rüşti Bey's outburst.

6. My French colleague, who usually talks to me very openly of his relations with the Turkish Government, so far as they have interest for us, has not said a word on this matter of the Syrian throne, and as his Excellency is in Constantinople at the moment I shall have no opportunity of any discussion with him for some little time.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/275, pp. 64-66, No. 35.*

## No. 122

*Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading*

*No. 367.*

ANGORA, November 3, 1931  
(Received November 9, 1931)

My Lord,

With reference to paragraph 5 of my despatch No 358 of the 1<sup>st</sup> instant, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of the protocol, signed at



Angora on the 30<sup>th</sup> October last, extending for five years the duration of: (1) the Russo-Turkish Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality of the 17<sup>th</sup> December 1925, (2) the Protocol of Extension of the above treaty, dated the 17<sup>th</sup> December 1929, and (3) the Naval Protocol of the 7<sup>th</sup> March 1931.

2. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Moscow.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/275, p. 66, No. 36.

Enclosure in No. 122

Extract from the "République" of November 1, 1931

PROTOCOLE DE PROLONGATION DU TRAITE ENTRE  
LES GOUVERNEMENTS TURC ET SOVIETIQUE

Le Gouvernement de la République Turque et le Gouvernement de l'Union des Républiques Soviétistes Socialistes, estimant conforme à leurs intérêts mutuels et au désir dont ils sont animés de maintenir et de consolider davantage leurs relations normales durables et de sincère amitié, ont décidé de prolonger la durée de validité du Traité d'Amitié et de Neutralité signé à Paris le 17 décembre 1925 et des trois protocoles y annexés portant la même date, ainsi que celle du Protocole signés à Ankara, et ils ont nommé à cet effet, d'une part, Tefik Ruschdi Bey, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de la République Turque, et Hussein Raghib Bey, Ambassadeur extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire de Turquie dans l'Union des Républiques Soviétistes Socialistes, et, d'autre part, M. Litvinoff, Commissaire du Peuple pour les Affaires Etrangères de l'Union des Républiques Soviétistes Socialistes, et M. Souritz, Ambassadeur extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire de l'Union des Républiques Soviétistes Socialistes en Turquie, lesquels, après s'être communiqué leurs pleins pouvoirs, trouvé en bonne et due forme, ont arrêtés les dispositions suivantes:

**Article 1<sup>er</sup>.** La validité du Traité d'Amitié et de Neutralité conclu à Paris le 17 décembre 1925 et des trois protocoles y annexés portant la même date ainsi que celle du Protocole de Prolongation du 17 décembre 1929 et du Protocole navale du 7 mars 1931, signés à Ankara, est prolongée pour la durée de cinq ans à partir de la date de leur expiration: toutefois, si une des parties contractantes ne prévient pas l'autre six mois avant le terme de cinq ans de son désir d'y mettre fin, le traité ainsi que les protocoles susmentionnés seront considérés comme automatiquement renouvelés pour une nouvelle période d'une année.

**Article 2.** Le présent protocole entrera en vigueur dès sa ratification, qui sera notifié par chacune des parties à l'autre partie contractante.

Fait à Ankara, en deux exemplaires, le 30 octobre 1931,

F.O. 424/275, p. 66, No. 36/1

## No. 123

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

*No 73. Confidential  
Telegraphic*

ANGORA, November 28, 1931  
(Received November 28, 1931)

Your telegram No.59.

President of the Republic, knowing that I am just going on leave, sent the Turkish Ambassador at Berlin, who is staying with him and very much in his confidence, to see me yesterday evening with a personal request to impress upon you as soon as I got home his earnest hope that the British and Turkish Governments would make common cause in this question of the Islamic Conference, which he felt was as potentially mischievous for us as for Turkey. President considered that the vital interests of Turkey are so closely involved that he had made up his own mind as to the policy he would have to adopt in their defence if he had to act independently, but he made it clear that this was said without any idea of forcing our hands, for the Turkish Ambassador at Berlin said that the Gazi much hoped it would not come to this, for he believed His Majesty's Government to be as alive to the situation as he was, and his real wish was to see His Majesty's Government and his own Government united on this question. The Gazi would not take action until he knew the definite attitude of His Majesty's Government, but he was naturally anxious to learn it as soon as possible.

I shall be very grateful for the earliest possible intimation of which of the two alternatives set forth in Colonial Office telegram to Palestine No.262 is decided upon. Meanwhile I shall be seeing the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs this afternoon to take leave, and I shall inform them that the views of the Turkish Government on this question are receiving your most (?group omitted) and sympathetic consideration.

*F.O. 424/275, p. 72, No.44.*

## No. 124

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

*No.397.*

ANGORA, December 1, 1931  
(Received December 8, 1931)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that, on receipt of your telegrams Nos. 61 and 62 of the 28<sup>th</sup> November regarding the coming Islamic Congress in Jerusalem, I asked for an interview with the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs for the purpose of communicating to him your decision, which he had been awaiting with interest, and saw him late on the 30<sup>th</sup> November.

2. I recalled to him that he had asked to be informed of the attitude which His Majesty's Government would adopt in regard to the congress, and also that the President of the Republic had, but two or three days previously, expressed a similar wish. I added that the telegram containing the decision of His Majesty's Government had been despatched from London before the arrival there of news of the Gazi's enquiry. I then informed him as follows:

As a result of conversations which have taken place between the High Commissioner in Palestine and the Mufti of Jerusalem, His Majesty's Government do not anticipate that political issues will be raised during the proposed congress - which has neither the support nor the encouragement of His Majesty's Government - or that the proceedings of the congress will be such as to cause embarrassment to the Turkish Government. In particular, the mufti has given specific assurances that the Caliphate question will not be raised.

For these reasons, and taking into consideration the important Moslem interests of the Empire, His Majesty's Government, whose guiding principle is not to take any action which might be represented as interference in Moslem religious matters, has decided that it will maintain an attitude of complete detachment towards the congress.

I added that this attitude of detachment was conditional on public security in Palestine not being threatened.

3. Tevfik Rüşti Bey was distinctly disconcerted, and somewhat cross and resentful, on learning the decision. He expressed the fear that the congress would threaten not only security in Palestine, but throughout the British Empire. He was inclined to question the complete "detachment" of His Majesty's Government as he knew that great preparations for the congress were being made throughout Jerusalem, but agreed in the end that these were to be ascribed to the local authorities. He then said that it was now Turkey's duty to let her own people know through the press that the congress had no support from the Turkish Government nor, as he knew, from those of Persia and Afghanistan, and that it was, as it were, a parochial gathering, at the invitation of a person of no great authority, of Moslem from different Dominions and mandated territories. The harmful influence of the congress might thus perhaps be checked. Turkey would watch the proceedings of the congress closely. It seemed to him inevitable that if, for instance, the Şariat (Moslem Canon Law) were discussed, there might arise a situation which would possibly constitute an interference in Turkish internal affairs, for the prescriptions of the Şariat in regard to civil and penal matters were incompatible with those of the Turkish codes, and the decisions of a Moslem congress might unsettle Turkish minds.

4. I gathered from Teflik Rüstü that he had confidently anticipated that His Majesty's Government would prohibit the congress, firstly, in their own interests, the appeal of Moslems to rally to the cause of religion being a retrograde step in these modern days, and forming also a potential menace to Great Britain and Europe; secondly, for international considerations, in view of the possible reactions in foreign countries against His Majesty's Government for permitting the holding of such a congress in a country under British mandate, and, finally, out of friendship to Turkey. It appeared to me that he thought it an easy matter to prohibit what purported to be a pan-Moslem conference summoned by a minor religious dignitary of a town of secondary sacred importance who had no standing for issuing invitations to Governments, and that the anti-British and anti-Jewish character of the mufti's initiative would have afforded sufficient cause for the suppression of the congress. However, the decision in the matter, he said, lay with His Majesty's Government and had now been taken.

5. The Minister for Foreign Affairs mentioned that he would, of course, communicate the decision of His Majesty's Government to the President of the Republic and to Ismet Pasha. If, as hinted by Teflik Rüstü Bey, the order is given that a campaign of belittlement of the congress should be begun in the Turkish press in the pious hope that the Turkish people will be led to attach little importance to its proceedings, it is to be feared that His Majesty's Government will not escape criticism of its attitude, or accusation of responsibility for, or association with, the congress. In any case, the question is likely to cause a check on the friendly feelings of late manifested by Turkey to Great Britain, and it certainly indicates the great importance which Turkey attaches to any movement that may stir up dormant religious feelings in Turkey and thus unsettle Turkish minds and lead to discontent with the present régime.

I have, &c.

(For the Ambassador),

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 424/275, p. 74, No. 48.*

No. 125

*Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon*

No. 416.

ANGORA, December 9, 1931  
(Received December 16, 1931)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 406 of the 2<sup>nd</sup> December, regarding the official visit of the Bulgarian Prime Minister to Turkey, I have the honour to report that, after a four days' stay at Angora, M. Moushanoff left on the 5<sup>th</sup> December for Constantinople and Bulgaria. During his stay here two receptions attended by the

Diplomatic Corps were held in his honour, the usual banquets were given by the leading Turkish personalities, the Gazi received M. Moushanoff in an audience lasting some two hours, and finally the Gazi and his Bulgarian guests attended an excellent concert of chamber music played by the Gazi's band.

2. The visit passed off in an atmosphere of great cordiality. The Turks were really pleased to have an opportunity of showing hospitality to the Bulgars, whom they respect, and in whose presence they feel neither an inferiority nor a superiority complex, and they found no difficulty in following the lead of the Gazi, whose friendly behaviour towards the visitors was based on his recollections of happy times spent in Bulgaria before the war, and of agreeable contact with his Bulgarian allies during its course. On their side the Bulgarians were pleased to be in Turkey, where they are treated as equals and with consideration, and where there is unconcealed sympathy for their present unhappy situation.

3. As far as I can gather the visit had no other object than to maintain and strengthen friendly relations between the two countries. Bulgaria is no doubt pleased to have in Turkey a friend who may be counted on to use her influence to smooth over Bulgaria's difficulties with her Balkan neighbours, and Turkey, in pursuit of her present policy of peace abroad, is glad to have a friendly Bulgaria as neighbour. The Greek Minister hinted to me that Turkey was now trying to persuade Greece to settle all her differences with Bulgaria. The French Ambassador, while inclined to look on the visit with suspicion, could find little to comment on except that it was strange that the members of the Italian Embassy were showing no tendency to take up the rôle of presiding geni over the manifestations of Turco-Bulgarian friendship. It was remarked by all, in the course of one of the receptions, that M. Neshitch, the Yugoslav Minister, engaged the Bulgarian Prime Minister in earnest private conversation for nearly three-quarters of an hour.

4. The speeches exchanged between İsmet Pasha and M. Moushanoff, and the official communiqué, issued after the visit, refer to the natural affinity of the two peoples, the identity of their interests, their mutual, cordial and friendly feelings and their desire to give a wider development to their economic relations. M. Moushanoff was evidently thinking of Bulgarian minorities in other countries when, in reply to İsmet Pasha, he said that thousands of Turks in Bulgaria were an element of order in the country, and lived on terms of fraternity and harmony with their Christian fellow-subjects, and again when he went on to say that the Bulgarians had lived for centuries under a Turkish domination which had respected their nationality and culture.

5. The Turkish press expressed admiration for the heroism and endurance of the Bulgarian nation. The "Yakit" hoped that Turco-Bulgarian and Turco-Greek friendship would be followed by Graeco-Bulgarian friendship. The "Akşam" is

astonished that the visit has caused anger in Yugoslavia and France. Both these countries wished to know whether there was a question of an alliance between Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria against Yugoslavia, i.e., against France, but there was, according to the "Akşam" no need for anxiety, as Turkey's only desire was to live in peace with her nearest neighbours. The "Milliyet" is also astonished at Yugoslavia's anxiety, and affirms that Turco-Bulgarian friendship will contribute generally to peace and tranquillity in South-Eastern Europe.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representative at Sofia.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 424/275, p. 77, No. 50.*

No. 126

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No. 7.

*Confidential*

CONSTANTINOPLE, January 7, 1932

*(Received January 14, 1932)*

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith my annual report on Turkey for 1931.

2. The sections on military and naval affairs have been prepared by Major O'Leary and Captain M. Macdonald, R.N., and that on commercial matters by Colonel Woods, commercial secretary. The article on the British colony in Constantinople is the work of Mr. Consul-General Hough; Mr. Knight has written the section on foreign affairs; and the remainder of the report has been written by Mr. Morgan.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 371/16091/E.222.*

Enclosure in No. 126

*Annual Report on Turkey for 1931*

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## I-GENERAL

Turkey's policy in 1931 was one of peace and friendship abroad, especially with neighbouring States, and of rigid economy and personal sacrifice at home without prejudice to the work of reconstruction of the country. Neither world crisis nor lack of capital was able to interrupt the steady fulfilment of the plan of making Turkey strong and self-sufficing. Consequently railway construction in the interior suffered no check; fresh industries were created and the defence forces were still further strengthened and perfected.

2. In many ways Turkey pursues a policy similar to that of Soviet Russia. In each country the fallen Empire is accused of bequeathing to its Republican successor a country backward in industry, agriculture and education, and rendered incapable of "progress" by a religion which puts spiritual gain before material prosperity. Each country has a new ideal and each is determined to make up in a few years for the leeway of centuries, but, while Soviet Russia aims at overthrowing capitalism and spreading communism throughout the nations, Turkey takes capitalist States as its models and will be happy to reach and pass their levels.

3. To this end Turkey, whose principal source of wealth is agriculture, has in 1931, as in former years, lightened the burden of taxation on the peasants, encouraged them to use modern methods and implements and furthered the co-operative movement among them. She has also intensified the "Buy Turkish" campaign in order to extend local industries or induce foreign firms to establish factories in Turkey. The lot of the local foreigner and native Christian was made harder by the continued co-operation of nationalism and Islam in reserving most branches of commerce, trade, the professions, finance and

industry to Moslem Turkish citizens. Throughout, the direction and control of the General Staff remained absolute. All effort is directed towards ensuring that Turkey will one day be able to supply all its own needs, military or civil, and that its railways will cover the country. In this military State the foreigner except in the capacity of an expert, is as undesirable as the enemy spy within the lines, and, while the local foreigner is squeezed out of employment, the British archeologist or the private yachtsman finds that the greater part of Turkey is for him a forbidden zone.

4. For the realisation of Turkey's aims years of peace and frontier security are necessary. Obviously, she would prefer as neighbours the smaller to the greater Powers, and, for this, she has been glad to see the gradual diminution of the control of one Great Power Great Britain in Iraq, and would be glad to see France leave Syria. The year 1931 has seen no lessening of her irritation against France, expressed in denunciations of French hegemony in Europe, of French intransigence in regard to the Ottoman debt and of smuggling into Turkey from Syria. Her tendency has been to side with the anti-French States, among which Turkey places Great Britain—a fact explaining in part her friendliness towards our country.

5. Mustafa Kemal, re-elected President of the Turkish Republic in 1931, was more actively than ever the head of the Popular party and remains as ever the dictator, but not merely a dictator who clings to power for reasons of show and prestige. He wishes to make the Grand National Assembly the sole Government of the people and the fully representative Parliament of a renovated free nation. To this end he toured the country in the early part of the year explaining his aims, arranged that the new Assembly, elected during the year, should contain a number of farmers, tradesmen and miners, and in order to allow an Opposition to come into being insisted that the Popular party should not contest certain seats. But until his aim is accomplished he will not permit any of the principles of the revolution to be attacked. Until then, he remains dictator, but a dictator who aims at making future autocrats and dictators impossible. His influence in 1931 in foreign relations has been for peace. The delegates at the Balkan Conference learnt from him that the common origin of Balkan peoples and Turks demanded their mutual friendship, and his conviction that all races have a common Turkish ancestor led him to believe in the brotherhood of man and to urge the nations to be friends.

6. Friendliness with other nations was publicly displayed in 1931 on the occasion of the deeply appreciated visit of her Royal Highness Princess Alice and the Earl of Athlone, and of the visits of the Turkish Prime Minister to Greece and Hungary, and the visits to Turkey of a Japanese Prince, of King Faisal and the Prime Ministers of Iraq, Bulgaria and Russia. Turkey would not

lightly forgo visits of this nature. They enhance her prestige and help her to assure herself of her equality with other nations and give her a recognised place in world society. This partly explains Turkey's assiduous attendance at the meetings of the League of Nations, though she is not a member. Nothing could help Tevfik Rüştü from being present during the year at meetings of the Commission of Enquiry into European Union. He goes to Geneva, not to add anything useful to deliberations or to bring effective collaboration, but here he himself may be quoted in order not to be absent from any meeting where Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers foregather.

7. It was noticeable in 1931 that Turkey displayed greater friendliness than in previous years towards the United States. This was very marked on the occasion of the non-stop flight from America to Constantinople of two American airmen. One may attribute the increase of friendliness to a hope of favours to come and to a desire to find financial help elsewhere than in France. Towards the end of the year Saracoğlu Şükrü Bey, an ex-Minister of Finance, went to the United States on a mission, with results not yet known.

8. Pending the materialisation of financial help from the United States or elsewhere, Turkey in 1931 cut down her budget, rationed her imports, maintained exchange restrictions, decreed a system of barter in certain foreign dealings and mortgaged her future for her public works. She weathered the year better than was anticipated by foreign bankers and financial experts. The habit of resignation, inculcated by Islam (by no means a spent force in Turkey, as those who desire conversion to Christianity learn to their cost), helps the people to submit with patience to hardships, privations and sacrifices. It enables Turkey to live where other nations would go under, and to face the future with an indifference which forms a working substitute for confidence.

## II- FOREIGN AFFAIRS

### *Introduction.*

9. It was stated in last year's report that Russia still retained first place in Turkey's friendship, while France, of the Great Powers, was then at the other end of the scale. This remains true, though it is becoming increasingly clear that the constantly advertised Russian friendship is much less an affair of the heart than a neighbourly understanding dictated by common sense, and even necessity. Greece, Hungary, Bulgaria and Italy come next after Russia in order of affection, or at least in the order in which that affection has been kept in the public eye. Relations with Persia have improved in consequence of the collapse of the Kurdish rebellion of 1930, and of the progress which has been made towards

agreement regarding the rectification of frontier desired by Turkey in the Little Ararat region.

10. The outstanding events of the year, in order of time, have been: (1) The visit of His Imperial Highness Prince Takamatsu of Japan; (2) The visit of Her Royal Highness Princess Alice and the Earl of Athlone to Angora in the spring, an attention which greatly flattered the Turks and infused cordiality into our already excellent relations; (3) the very successful visit of the King of Iraq to the capital in July; (4) the triumphal reception of the Turkish Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs in Athens and Budapest; (5) the meeting at Constantinople of the Second Balkan Conference, which gave a marked fillip to Turkey's ambition to act as mediator for the settlement of all Balkan differences; (6) M. Litvinoff's visit to Angora, which, in comparison with the visits enumerated above, was undoubtedly lacking in enthusiasm and (7) the visit to Angora of the Bulgarian Prime Minister and Mme. Mouchanoff in December. Events (4), (5) and (6) all took place in the month of October.

11. Turkey's general attitude in foreign affairs remains the same, namely, peace with all nations and a desire to sign pacts of non-aggression with each, together with the further desire, which has recently become more urgent, to join the League of Nations on the best terms obtainable, provided this can be done without seriously compromising Russo-Turkish friendship.

#### *League of Nations.*

12. Turkey has during the past year become increasingly anxious to join the League, but is still on the horns of the dilemma constituted by her desire, as a "Western" Power, to collaborate with Western Europe, on the one hand, and her fear of offending and alienating Russia, on the other.

13. In February the Turkish Ambassador in London informed the Secretary of State verbally that his Government no longer insisted on a permanent seat on the Council, but would be content with a semi-permanent one, to obtain which they hoped to have the full support of His Majesty's Government. It was subsequently explained to the Turkish Government in writing that, in accordance with the ordinary rules, Turkey should, in the first place, apply for membership of the League, and, if elected, present, if she so wished, her candidature for an ordinary seat on the Council, to which, after three years had elapsed, she could apply for re-election. It was true that exceptions had been made in favour of Poland and Spain, which countries had, for special reasons, been declared re-eligible at the time of their first election to the Council, but, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, no such exceptional treatment could be expected in the future. While, in view of established procedure, it was impossible at the present stage for His Majesty's Government to pledge their vote

in advance for a seat on the Council, they would cordially welcome and warmly support the candidature of Turkey for admission to the League. They would, moreover, support her candidature for election to the Council at the first opportune moment, and at the end of her three years' term (if elected) they would give their sympathetic consideration to her application for re-election. Not content with this, the Turkish Ambassador begged the Secretary of State to promise the support of His Majesty's Government for the re-eligibility of Turkey, but Mr. Henderson could only repeat that, in the circumstances, no such promise could be given in advance.

14. Little more was heard of the question until the end of October, when M. Litvinoff visited Angora and apparently did his best to keep Turkey from joining the League. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs went so far as to state in conversation with His Majesty's Ambassador that he had informed M. Litvinoff of Turkey's desire to become a member of the League, and that the Soviet Commissary had replied that, while his Government considered that Turkey was wrong, she was an independent country and was free to decide as she thought best. It remains to be seen to what extent the Turkish Government will regard this somewhat ambiguous declaration as acquiescence on Russia's part.

#### *European Union.*

15. M. Briand's omission to invite Turkey, as not being a member of the League of nations, to participate in the work of the proposed federation was rectified early in the year by the issue of a formal invitation, which was accepted by the Turkish Government, to be represented on the Commission of Preliminary Enquiry. Turkey's susceptibilities were, however, further ruffled by what was considered an attempt to withhold from her the same treatment as that accorded to other participating States. The burden of the Turkish complaint was that an unrepresentative sub-commission in Paris had drawn up a new agenda, by which Turkey would be excluded from the study of some of the items, and that it would not be possible to indicate exactly when Turkey's participation in the work of the commission would be required. Nevertheless, without awaiting any definite assurance on these points, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs himself represented his country on the Commission of Preliminary Enquiry held at Geneva in May (when he delivered himself of a verbose but practically meaningless speech on the general economic situation), and he was again chief Turkish delegate at the conference itself at the end of August.

#### *Balkan Federation.*

16. Turkish scepticism referred in the past report is now a thing of the past, or at any rate, no expression is given to such misgivings about the practicability

of the idea as may still linger in Turkish minds. This change of attitude is no doubt largely due to the fact that the holding of the Second Balkan Conference in Constantinople, with a leading Turkish Deputy and ex-Minister as its president, provided an opportunity for bringing Turkey into the limelight which the Government, and least of all the Minister for Foreign Affairs, could not fail to seize. Elaborate preparations were made, and neither trouble nor expense were spared by the hosts to make the conference a success, and to please and impress the foreign delegates. The private meetings of the various committees and the public sessions of the conference were spread over a week, and the intervals were filled in with a liberal allowance of entertainments and excursions, including one to Angora for the final session; but the net result must be put down as meagre. Numerous resolutions were passed which, if they are ever put into effect by the Governments concerned, should do much to encourage Balkan co-operation in the social and economic spheres, but, unfortunately, the conference was chiefly distinguished by acrimonious discussions on the minorities question between the Yugoslav delegation, on the one hand, and the Albanian and Bulgarian delegations, on the other. That these discussions were not allowed to wreck the conference altogether was largely due to the efforts of M. Papanastassiou, the principal Greek delegate, in the conference itself, and of Tevfik Rüştü Bey, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, outside it; and the feeling was general that, if Balkan union is ever to be achieved, it is Turkey and Greece that must be mainly instrumental in bringing it about.

#### *Great Britain.*

17. Anglo-Turkish relations during 1931 continued to be marked by that spirit of friendliness in high places which had become evident in the preceding year. This was particularly noticeable in April, on the occasion of the visit to Angora of Her Royal Highness Princess Alice and the Earl of Athlone. This visit, though intended to be quite informal, enormously pleased and flattered the Turks, from the President of the Republic down, and was turned by them into an official occasion of the first importance, while losing nothing thereby in spontaneous cordiality. The Gazi even departed from his inveterate practice of keeping away from foreign diplomatic houses, by not only dining at His Majesty's Embassy, but also being the last to leave the reception which followed. The Poet Laureate, accompanied by Mrs. Masfield, visited Angora a few weeks previously, and lectured on English poetry in the Turkish Ojak Theatre before an appreciative audience mainly composed of prominent Turkish officials and Deputies. The Masfields' charm of manner and the keen interest in the various educational and cultural institutions now gracing the capital of the new Turkey made an excellent impression. Another event which, though in intention quite unconnected with propaganda, had the happiest results from the point of view



of Anglo-Turkish relations, was a series of performances of amateur theatricals given by the Ambassadress in the Constantinople Embassy in aid of Turkish charities.

18. On all the above occasions the Turkish press, either spontaneously or with but little encouragement, played up much better than might have been expected from their anti-British record of recent years, and the year under review has witnessed a marked all-round improvement in this respect. This may partly be accounted for by the fact that no untoward internal event has occurred to afford any pretext for the usual insinuations of anti-Turkish intrigues on the part of Colonel Lawrence or other "British agents"; but, on the other hand, events in India, and later in Cyprus, and the financial crisis in Great Britain, which would at one time have been windfalls for the local anti-British scribes, have been commented on in the press with a considerable amount of objectivity, and even, in the case of the last-named, with occasional expressions of sympathy with, and even admiration for, the British Government and people. Anti-British cartoons are, however, still all too frequent in the widely-circulated humorous papers, which are, of course, like their more serious contemporaries, under strict Government control.

19. The Turkish Ambassador in London informed the Secretary of State early in the year that his Government had come to the conclusion that there was only one country in Europe which was free from any tendency towards the uncomfortable and dangerous group system, and that was Great Britain. The Turkish Government had, therefore, decided that they wished to work with His Majesty's Government in terms of the friendliest collaboration. This assurance, however, though doubtless expressing the feeling of Minister for Foreign Affairs and his colleagues, as well as of the Gazi himself, has not influenced to any appreciable extent the reserved, and even suspicious, attitude of the Turkish General Staff referred to in last year's report.

20. The Turkish attitude towards the Islamic Congress, which opened at Jerusalem early in December, threatened, at one moment, to disturb the even tenor of official friendliness towards Great Britain. The Turkish Government were considerably alarmed at the possibility of the Caliphate question being discussed at the congress, and at the further possibility of the Turkish ex-Caliph, Abdul Mejid, being put up for election as Caliph, or even being present at the congress. It was soon possible to allay their fears on these grounds, but they had set their hearts on the complete prohibition of the congress by His Majesty's Government, and when the Minister for Foreign Affairs was informed that this measure was not practicable he gave way to a peevish outburst of displeasure, which, however, he shortly afterwards cheerily explained away as a manifestation of frankness possible only between friends. The Minister then made a statement

in the Grand National Assembly belittling the congress, but, at the same time, paying a tribute to the friendly and helpful manner in which His Majesty's Government had met the Turkish representations on the subject.

21. An Anglo-Turkish Civil Procedure Convention was signed at Angora on the 28th November, and will enter into force three months after the exchange of ratifications. It will remain valid for a period of three years in the first instance, but may be prolonged indefinitely, failing previous denunciation by one or other of the parties.

#### *Cyprus.*

22. In June the Government of Cyprus asked His Majesty's Embassy to apply to the Turkish Government for a number of Turkish teachers for certain Moslem secondary schools in Cyprus, including a headmistress for the Victoria Girls' Lycée. After much delay on the part of the Turks, a solitary male graduate was forthcoming and left for Cyprus at the end of October, two months after the stipulated time for the teachers to arrive in the Colony. Less than a month later it was learned that the man in question was back in Turkey, and a note received from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at the end of the year stated that he had had a disagreement with the school authorities as to the subjects he was to teach, and had, consequently, been obliged to leave the island. Meanwhile, no further selections have been made for any of the vacant posts.

23. The Turkish press displayed surprisingly little interest in the Cyprus insurrection, contenting itself, for the most part, with reproducing news items without comment. Such comment as appeared was mainly detached, although one journalist, of Moslem Cypriot origin though anti-British bias, indulged in a certain amount of carping criticism of British rule, even insinuating that the Turks of the island had also good reason to complain. On the other hand, the Turkish public was allowed to hear nothing of the well-known pro-British attitude of the Cypriot Turks, apart from a single undated and unsigned letter, said to emanate from Cyprus and reproduced in one newspaper without comment, declaring that the Turks of the island protested violently against any proposal to annex it to Greece, and looked to the Turkish press for support. They looked in vain.

24. In November His Majesty's Government requested the Turkish Government, as well as the Governments of other countries in the Eastern Mediterranean, to take measures to ensure that no arms or ammunition were introduced into Cyprus by means of sailing vessels. The Turkish Government replied in December, stating that the requisite orders had been given, though scouting the possibility of any such traffic from the shores of the republic.

*Iraq.*

25. Turco-Iraqi relations remained friendly throughout the year, although there were some rather serious frontier incidents in the spring, when several Christian villages in Iraq were raided by Turkish brigands and a number of villagers killed. As a personal assurance of Turkish co-operation to put down such raids had been given to Sir Francis Humphrys at Angora only some months previously, and as numerous Iraqi appeals to the Permanent Frontier Commission had led to no result, His Majesty's Ambassador was authorised to support any reasonable representations on the subject which the Iraqi Minister might make to the Turkish Government. Such action as Naji Beg Shaukat took, however, he took independently, without giving His Majesty's Ambassador any opportunity to support his representations. These would appear to have been anodine, and more Turkish raids took place in June.

26. One of the great events of the Angora year was the visit of King Feisal, who, apparently at the suggestion of the Turkish Minister at Bagdad, decided to travel *viâ* Turkey on his way to Europe, and was the official guest of the Government from the 6th to 8th July. The visit, the first paid by the Head of a State to the new capital, was an outstanding success, and gave much pleasure both to the Turks and to the King and the Ministers who accompanied him. The principal subjects discussed were (1) the proposed treaty of commerce, the negotiations for which it was decided to speed up, though they had not yet been concluded; (2) frontier raids, which the Turks again undertook to co-operate in repressing; and (3) oil royalties, the Iraqi Ministers agreeing that Turkey should receive the 10 per cent. of the £400,000 to be paid to Iraq by the Iraq Petroleum Company under the agreement concluded in March 1931. The King subsequently dined with His Majesty's Ambassador in Constantinople, where he had much to say about the Gazi's tribute to the straightforward attitude of Great Britain in all questions between Turkey and Iraq, an attitude which had been largely instrumental in bringing about the existing excellent relations between the two neighbouring countries.

27. The Iraqi Prime Minister, Nuri Pasha-es-Said, was given a cordial reception on his arrival at Angora at the end of the year to discuss the proposed commercial treaty and also residence and extradition conventions; to concert measures for dealing with frontier raids; and to obtain authorisation for Iraqi flocks to graze on certain Turkish pastures adjoining the frontier.

*Palestine.*

28. No progress was made with the question of the Turco-Palestinian commercial agreement, by which His Majesty's Government proposed that the commercial, navigation and consular articles of the Anglo-Turkish treaty of 1930

should be applied to Palestine, and the residence articles omitted so as to allow the question of the judicial status of Turks in Palestine to stand over for future settlement. The Turkish Government informed His Majesty's Embassy in July that they could not agree to sign even a purely commercial treaty with any country where the treatment of Turks in judicial matters was inferior to that accorded to any other foreigners. The general question of the judicial status of foreigners in Palestine being still under discussion by the departments of His Majesty's Government principally concerned, no further communication on the subject has yet been addressed to the Turkish Government.

#### *Afghanistan.*

29. King Nadir Shah informed His Majesty's Minister at Kabul in March that the Turkish Ambassador had been continuing to press on him the fulfilment of a secret agreement, entered into by Amanullah, to employ only Turkish instructors in the Kabul Military School. The King had refused to confirm this agreement, which would have meant subjecting the Afghan army to exclusively Turkish influence. The Turkish Government are believed to have threatened in June to withdraw their Embassy unless they received satisfaction on this point, and later in the summer it was announced that the Ambassador, Hikmet Bey, had been recalled to Angora and that a permanent Chargé d'Affaires would be left in charge of the mission in Kabul. It was learned however, at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at Angora in December that this decision had been revoked at the King's special request.

#### *Albania.*

30. Relations between Turkey and Albania remained in a state of suspended animation until October, when, on the occasion of the Second Balkan Conference, held at Constantinople, the Gazi sent identic telegrams to the heads of all the Balkan States expressing his good wishes for their health and the welfare of their peoples. The telegram to Albania was addressed to "His Majesty Zogu, King of Albania," and the title "Your Majesty" was also used in the body of the message. The deadlock caused by the refusal of the Gazi, in a moment of pique, to recognise the monarchical régime in Albania thus came to an end, and the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires at Tirana at once entered into official relations with the Albanian Minister for Foreign Affairs. The two countries are, however, much more remote from one another than their geographical situation and recent common history would lead one to expect, and the replacing of their diplomatic relations on a normal basis is accordingly of but little practical consequence.

*Belgium.*

31. A Turco-Belgian treaty of conciliation, arbitration and judicial settlement was signed at Angora on the 8th April, 1931, and ratified by Turkey on the 8th August. A treaty of establishment between the two countries was signed on the 30th July.

*Brazil.*

32. The first Brazilian Minister to Turkey presented his credentials in July.

*Bulgaria.*

33. The beginning of the year found Turco-Bulgarian relations more cordial than ever as a result of the visit of the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs to Sofia at the end of 1930, and there were persistent rumours, countenanced by Tefik Rüşü Bey himself, that the King and Queen of Bulgaria would pay a State visit to the Gazi. Nothing came of the idea, however it may have originated; but in October 1931 it became known that the Bulgarian Prime Minister had been invited by Ismet Pasha to pay an official visit to Angora. He appears to have been in some doubt whether to accept or not, but finally decided that the advantages outweighed the disadvantages, and expressed the view that it would be absurd for third parties to attach any political significance to what would merely be an exchange of courtesies between friends, in the course of which some useful business of a minor nature might be transacted. M. Mouchanoff, accompanied by his wife and various Bulgarian notabilities, arrived in Turkey early in December, and was received with great cordiality, the usual round of banquets, balls and receptions taking up the four days of his stay in the capital. His interview with the Gazi is said to have lasted for two hours. Strongly pro-Bulgarian articles appeared in the Turkish press, which recalled the association of the two countries during the war, condemned the barbarously unjust treatment meted out to Bulgaria by the so-called victorious Powers, and pointed out that Turkey had achieved her own salvation by a new war of liberation. Turco-Bulgarian friendship would promote the formation of a Balkan confederation and was a factor in favour of world peace.

34. There can be no doubt that the visit caused the liveliest satisfaction on both sides, and the speeches exchanged by the two Prime Ministers were not only cordial to a degree, but obviously sincere. Turco-Bulgarian friendship has become an established fact, and it now only remains to complete the Græco-Bulgarian side of the triangle, a task to which Ismet Pasha and Tefik Rüşü Bey are applying themselves with every hope of ultimate success.

35. The Turco-Bulgarian Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, signed on the 27th May 1930, entered into force on the 1st January 1931.

*China.*

36. A Treaty of Friendship between China and Turkey was signed during the year, but has not been ratified, the signed copy intended for Angora having been forwarded by a German aeroplane, which was shot down on the borders of Outer Mongolia. On the conclusion of the treaty the Turkish *Chargé d'Affaires* was recalled to Angora and the Chinese Government notified of the decision of the Turkish Government not to replace him, for reasons of economy. Diplomatic relations between Turkey and China thus exist in theory, but neither country has any diplomatic or consular representative in the other, and any questions which may arise between them are understood to be dealt with in one or other of the capitals of Western Europe.

*Czechoslovakia.*

37. A Treaty of Commerce between Turkey and Czechoslovakia was signed at Angora on the 17th January, and approved by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on the 26th March; and a Treaty of Conciliation and Arbitration, signed at Angora on the 17th March, was approved by the Assembly on the 25th July.

*Denmark.*

38. The ratifications of the Turco-Danish Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, signed on the 31st May 1930, were exchanged at Copenhagen on the 2nd June 1931. The treaty came into force a month later.

*Egypt.*

39. There was a *détente* in Turco-Egyptian relations during the year, due perhaps less to diminution of the mutual antipathy between the Gazi and King Fuad than to a strong desire on Turkey's part for a commercial treaty, and on the part of Egypt for a residence convention. Negotiations for both have been proceeding throughout the latter half of the year, and it is understood that the Turkish Government have agreed to drop their once insistent claim for most-favoured-nation treatment in judicial matters.

*Estonia.*

40. The ratifications of the Turco-Estonian Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, signed on the 16th September 1929, were exchanged at Angora on the 18th April 1931, and the treaty entered into force on the 18th May.

*Finland.*

41. Finland and Turkey are now in direct diplomatic relations, a Finnish Minister having arrived at Angora in November.



42. About the same time a journalist named Melmed Sadik Bey, said to be a Turk, brought out at Lammertons a newspaper called "Yeni Turan," with the object of acquainting the Turkish peoples with Finnish political, social, economic and cultural conditions.

#### *France.*

43. Dealing with the foreign relations of Turkey, in a speech delivered at the Popular party congress in May, the Turkish Prime Minister could only say, with reference to France, that the fact that a treaty of friendship, neutrality and arbitration had been signed, though not yet ratified, was "a strong proof that our (i.e., the Turkish) desire for good relations is real and unimpeded." This treaty, though signed as long ago as February 1930, and ratified by Turkey the following May, has not yet been ratified by France, and the Turkish feeling on the subject, already manifest a year ago, has naturally not become any less resentful. Negotiations for a settlement of the long outstanding question of Turkish properties in Syria and Syrian properties in Turkey have dragged on at Angora throughout most of the year, the staff of the French Embassy having been reinforced for the purpose by a number of French experts supplied by the Syrian Administration; but, although it was announced in the Turkish press towards the end of the year that an agreement had been reached, the report, while not officially denied, proved to be without foundation. Turkey's increasingly serious economic situation, and the consequent decision in November to introduce a stringent quota system of imports gave rise to a violent press campaign, backed up by influential Deputies, against the flagrant traffic in contraband alleged to be carried on along the Syrian frontier with the connivance and even active participation of the French authorities, a subject on which it is understood that official representations have been made by the Turkish Government. The remaining serious cause of irritation against France, namely, the question of the Ottoman Public Debt, is dealt with in the special section under that heading.

44. The ratifications of the Franco-Turkish Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, signed on the 29th August 1929, were exchanged only on the 24th August 1931, and the treaty came into force on the 8th September following.

#### *Germany.*

45. No development in the political domain marked the relations between Turkey and Germany during the year under review. Relations remain on a distinctly friendly footing, but are practically confined to the economic sphere.

46. The Turco-German Extradition Agreement, signed at Berlin on the 3rd September 1930, was ratified by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on the



26th March 1931, and the ratifications were exchanged at Berlin on the 17th August of the Consular Treaty of the 28th May 1929, and also of the Legal Proceedings Treaty of the same date. These instruments entered into force on the 18th September and the 18th November 1931, respectively.

#### *Greece.*

47. Relations between Turkey and Greece have remained extremely cordial throughout the year, the friendship born of M. Veniselos's visit to Angora in the autumn of 1930 having shown no signs of cooling. M. Veniselos again passed through Constantinople in August 1931 on his return journey to Greece from Roumania, and advantage was taken of the opportunity to reaffirm the sincerity of the affection now happily uniting the two countries. On this occasion also the Greek Prime Minister visited the Ecumenical Patriarch with the full approval of the Turkish Government, and in spite of the shortness of his stay he had several interviews with Ismet Pasha and Tefik Rüşü Bey, who had come from Yalova and Angora respectively, specially to welcome him. Early in October the two Turkish statesmen visited Athens in order to return M. Veniselos's visit to Angora a year previously, and their reception was, if anything, the more brilliant of the two. Even when allowance is made for certain free travelling facilities and other encouragements offered to the populace by the Greek Government, the numbers and enthusiasm of the welcoming crowds were quite remarkable, the more so as these were largely composed of refugees and "exchangeables" who had fled or been driven from Turkey not many years previously. Ismet Pasha told His Majesty's Minister that he had been greatly touched by the Turcophil attitude of the crowd, which was a proof of the sincerity of the Greek nation; and when the ratifications of the treaties signed at Angora on the 30th October 1930, were formally exchanged at Athens on the 5th October following, both Prime Ministers emphasised the fact that those treaties had already been amply ratified by the approval of the two peoples. A tangible result of the friendly discussions held during the visit was the Turkish Cabinet's decision, promulgated in November, allowing Turkish consuls to grant visas for visits to Turkey, not exceeding two months, to Orthodox Greeks who left Turkey for Greece under the Exchange of Populations Convention of 1923, and this decision began to take effect immediately afterwards.

#### *Hejaz-Nejd.*

48. The friendly if inextensive relations existing between Turkey and the Kingdom of Ibn Saud are governed by a Treaty of Friendship, signed at Mecca on the 3rd August 1929. It came into force on the 10th December 1930, the date of the exchange of ratifications, news of which was received too late for inclusion in last year's report.

*Hungary:*

49. Relations between Turkey and Hungary continue to be very friendly, and as usual much has been heard of the racial and linguistic affinities which are supposed to constitute so close a bond between the two peoples.

50. The only outstanding event in Turco-Hungarian relations during the past year was the visit of the Turkish Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs to Budapest in October. This was ostensibly at least to return the visits of M. Walko and Count Bethlen to Angora in the spring and autumn respectively of the previous year, and it may well have had no other motive than courtesy and friendship, though there were the usual rumours of a projected Turco-Italo-Bulgaro-Hungarian *bloc*, which Greece was also to join when she had settled all her differences with Bulgaria thanks to the mediation of Turkey. The Turkish Ministers received an exceedingly cordial welcome, and the city was decorated in their honour, while the round of engagements included a gala performance at the Opera, lunch with the Regent, and dinner with the Prime Minister. On the last occasion speeches of extreme cordiality, punctuated by expressions of mutual admiration, were delivered by Count Karolyi and İsmet Pasha. A lengthy exchange of views was reported to have taken place during the visit between the statesmen of the two countries, but the communiqué announcing the result of these discussions was more than usually platitudinous. The visit was marked by no revival of the rumours, connected with possible treaty revision, which had arisen out of Count Bethlen's visit to Angora a year previously, when the Count had publicly referred to Hungary's well-known attitude towards the question in no uncertain terms.

*Italy:*

51. Turco-Italian relations remain very friendly, the only outstanding difference between the two Governments being the question of the ownership of certain seemingly insignificant islets of the *Ægean* in the neighbourhood of Castellorizo (Castelrosso) close to the south-west coast of Anatolia. The question is to be submitted to the arbitration of the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague.

52. Towards the end of the year the Turkish Prime Minister received an invitation from Signor Mussolini to visit Rome. İsmet Pasha accepted the invitation with pleasure, but the visit is not expected to take place until late in the spring of 1932. It is understood that the Minister for Foreign Affairs will accompany the Prime Minister.

53. The Turco-Italian Consular Convention of the 9th September 1929, was approved by the Turkish National Assembly on the 26th March 1931. It had

previously been ratified by Italy, but the ratifications have not yet been exchanged.

*Japan.*

54. His Imperial Highness Prince Takamatsu of Japan, accompanied by the Princess, paid an official visit to Angora in January, and at a dinner given by the Gazi in his honour, cordial references were made on both sides to the friendly relations existing between the two countries, and to the progress realised by each in the paths of modern civilisation.

55. The "dumping" of Japanese goods at Constantinople gave rise to loud protests in the press later in the year, and the "explanations" published by the Japanese Ambassador had done nothing to allay the anxiety when the decree law of the 15th November, introducing the quota system for imports, dealt foreign trade with Turkey a blow which Japan will probably feel more seriously than any other country.

56. The Turco-Japanese Commercial Treaty of the 11th October 1930, was approved by the Turkish Grand National Assembly on the 26th March 1931, and, it is understood, by the Japanese Diet on the 19th October, but the exchange of ratifications has not yet taken place. Negotiations for a Residence Convention were initiated in May and are still proceeding.

*Lithuania.*

57. The Turco-Lithuanian Treaty of Friendship, signed at Moscow on the 17th September 1930, was approved by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on the 23rd March 1931.

*Netherlands.*

58. A treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Turkey and the Netherlands was signed at Angora on the 25th August.

*Norway.*

59. A Treaty of Commerce and Navigation and Residence between Turkey and Norway was signed at Angora on the 16th March 1931, and ratified by Norway on the 8th May.

*Persia.*

60. Relations with Persia, which had been strained during the summer of 1930 in consequence of the anti-Turkish rising of the Kurds on both sides of the frontier, gradually improved during the year under review, and may now be

described as at least outwardly friendly. Material though very slow progress has been made by the negotiations regarding the frontier rectifications insisted on by the Turks for strategic reasons. It became known in the early spring that Persia had accepted the principle of an exchange of territory, and later that the parties had agreed that a cession on Turkish territory was to be made in two places (near Kotur and near Bazirgan) in return for the area on the eastern slopes of Little Ararat which was required by Turkey (and, indeed, already occupied by her troops) in order to cut off the Turkish Kurds from their Persian kinsmen. The Turkish military attaché at Tehran informed his British colleague at the end of October that a definite agreement regarding the extent of the territories to be exchanged had been reached, except that one hill was still in dispute, while the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs informed His Majesty's Ambassador late in November that there were only some small differences still outstanding. Tevfik Rüşü Bey added that he might be willing to face the long and uncomfortable journey to Tehran, with a view to the signing of the treaty there, if by so doing he could bring the Persian Government up to the point of a final settlement. He received late in December an invitation from the Persian Government to go to Tehran and sign the treaty, and, considering the moment propitious, decided to set out early in the new year.

#### *Poland.*

61. The post of Turkish Ambassador at Warsaw, which had remained vacant since the respective Legations were raised to the rank of Embassies on the 1st June 1930, was only filled in October 1931, and the new Ambassador, Mehmet Cevat Bey, lately Ambassador at Tokyo, left for his post later in the year.

62. Turco-Polish Treaties of Commerce and Navigation and of Residence were signed at Angora on the 29th August.

#### *Roumania.*

63. The Turco-Roumanian Commercial Treaty, signed on the 11th June 1929, entered into force on the 15th January 1931.

#### *Soviet Union.*

64. Soviet Russia is still, officially at least, the "grande amie" of Republican Turkey and no opportunity is lost on either side to remind the outside world in general, and "Imperialist Europe" in particular, of the feelings of grateful affection uniting the two peoples, and of the identity of the views held by their Governments in regard to their mutual relations and all matters of international concern. At the same time it is made clear at intervals, through the Turkish press, that although communism is no doubt the ideal system for Russia, it is

entirely unsuited to the Turkish people and alien to their mentality, while any attempt at propagating Communist doctrines inside Turkey, either by Turks or Russians, is still rigorously suppressed with a complete disregard for the feelings of the Soviet Government. But this, no doubt, is part of the price which that Government has agreed to pay for the satisfactory behaviour of Turkey in matters of foreign policy. Even in this domain, however, Turkey must be causing her neighbour ever-increasing anxiety, for she has been showing herself more and more inclined for co-operation with the Western Powers; definitely taking the lead in the work of Balkan confederation, thus helping to bring together a group of Near Eastern States, most of which are not even in relations with the Soviets; and above all, manifesting more and more her desire to join the League of Nations, even if only on condition that she is granted specially favourable terms of membership. In short, Turkey has become impatient of Russia's leading strings, and is only awaiting a favourable opportunity to lengthen them until such time as she is in a position to cut herself completely free.

65. It was stated early in the year that the Soviet Commissary for Foreign Affairs would return in the autumn the official visit paid to Moscow by the Turkish Foreign Minister in September 1930, and M. Litvinoff's visit, which took place at the end of October 1931, so as to coincide with the celebration of the Turkish national day, had no other ostensible object than that of strengthening and emphasising the ties of friendship uniting the two countries. M. Litvinoff declared to the Turkish press that friendship with Turkey was the keystone of the Russian foreign policy, and that each of the two nations had such confidence in the other that without any anxiety it left the other free to follow an independent line whenever it wished to do so. His most interesting declaration, however, made at a banquet given in his honour by Tevfik Rustu Bey, was to the effect that as the time approached when the economic development of Turkey and the Soviet Republics reached its zenith, the field of economic collaboration between the two countries would widen. This was taken by the Turkish press to imply a promise of future financial assistance from Russia to Turkey. M. Litvinoff's attitude towards Turkey's desire to join the League of Nations is dealt with in the last paragraph of the sub-section dealing with the League. On the whole, his reception in Angora fell distinctly flat, and references to it and to the cordiality of Turco-Soviet relations in the Gazi's speech at the opening of the Grand National Assembly were received by the Deputies with a complete lack of enthusiasm.

66. A Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Russia and Turkey was signed at Angora on the 16th March 1931, and brought into force by an exchange of notes dated the 9th September, although the ratifications were not exchanged until the 15th September. Its most remarkable feature is a unilateral provision giving the Soviet Government the right to establish official

trade delegations in certain specified Turkish towns. The Turkish press was loud in its protests against Russian "dumping" until the introduction of the drastic restrictions on imports laid down by the decree-law of the 15th November.

67. On the 7th March a protocol was signed at Angora by the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Soviet Ambassador, to the effect that each of the two Governments, convinced that the only solid guarantee of lasting peace was the effective reduction of all kinds of existing armaments, agreed not to increase its present naval forces in the Black Sea or adjacent waters, and not to order or built units intended to increase those forces, without giving six months' notice to the other. By another protocol signed at Angora on the 30th October 1931, during the Litvinoff visit, the validity of this naval protocol was extended for a further period of five years from the date of its expiry, as was also the validity of the Russo-Turkish Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality signed at Paris on the 17th December 1925, and of its protocol of extension dated the 17th december 1929.

#### *Spain.*

68. The ratifications of the Turco-Spanish Treaty of Conciliation, Arbitration and Judicial Procedure, signed on the 28th April 1930, were exchanged on the 18th January 1931, and a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation was signed on the 25th July following.

69. The Turkish Government was among the first to recognise the Spanish Republic, and articles in favour of the new régime appeared in the Turkish press, which, at the same time, poured cold water on the suggestion that the Spanish Jews settled in Turkey since the end of the 15th century should return to their former home. The change of régime in Spain has not so far led to a change in her diplomatic representation in this country.

#### *Sweden.*

70. The ratifications of the Turco-Swedish treaty of Commerce and navigation, signed on the 29th September 1929, were exchanged on the 29th May 1931, and the treaty came into force on the 28th June.

#### *Switzerland.*

71. The Turco-Swiss Treaties of Commerce and of Establishment, signed on the 13th December 1930, were approved by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on the 26th March and the 20th July 1931, respectively.



### *United States of America.*

72. Turkish relations with the United States of America continue to be friendly and the American scholastic institutions in Turkey to flourish exceedingly. Both Robert College and the American College for Women, if not singled out for any special favours, are at least subjected to only a minimum of vexation at the hands of the officials of the Ministry of Public Instruction. This is doubtless because "Anglo-Saxon" education is in high esteem in the Turkey of the Gazi, where the American colleges are its principal exponents owing to the limited means and scope of the two English High schools in Constantinople.

73. Disappointed by the attitude of Europe towards Turkey in financial matters, the Government decided to get in touch with American bankers and financiers in the hope of inducing them to take a more active interest in this country. They accordingly in October despatched Saracoğlu Şükrü Bey, until lately Minister of Finance, on a special though not strictly official mission to the United States, where he is understood to have made a number of important contacts, with what measure of success was not clearly known when he returned to Turkey at the end of the year. It is not to be supposed that Şükrü Bey's task was to pave the way for a State loan, as this would not be in keeping with the present policy of the Turkish Government, but rather to interest American financial circles in Turkish development in return for the offer to American enterprise of public undertakings such as railways, harbours and irrigation works.

74. A Treaty of Establishment and Sojourn between Turkey and the United States was signed at Angora on the 28th October. It accords reciprocal most-favoured-nation treatment, but is without prejudice to the immigration laws of both countries.

### *Yugoslavia.*

75. Turkey's relations with Yugoslavia are no closer than last year, and the former's friendship with Italy, and the increasing cordiality of her relations with Yugoslavia's other "enemies," Hungary and particularly Bulgaria, are likely to make the two countries drift still further apart. The question of the compensation of the Turkish owners of sequestered estates in Macedonia still awaits settlement, and even the diplomatic skill and personal popularity of the Yugoslav Minister, M. Neshitch, whose arrival was referred to in last year's report, have been unable to counteract the obvious lack of sympathy between the two Governments. The unfavourable comments of the Belgrade press on the visit of the Bulgarian Prime Minister to Angora in December created a particularly bad impression in this country.



## III- INTERNAL AFFAIRS

*Introduction:*

76. The beginning of 1931 found the Government suffering from nerves as a result of the affray at Menemen in December 1930 between Government forces and adherents of one of the suppressed Dervish orders, burning to restore religion to its former predominant place in the State. The Government which fears religious revival as the greatest obstacle to its policy of modernising Turkey socially and economically and to its plan of inspiring into each citizen a duty of obedience to the call of Turkish nationality rather than to that of a religion not exclusively national, took vigorous measures to punish all who were suspected of any connexion with the Menemen movement. Hundreds of persons were arrested in various parts of Turkey and tried by court martial. Many were sentenced to imprisonment and twenty-eight were hanged.

77. While religious opposition was being thus suppressed the President of the Republic was making a tour of Turkey (with the exception of the eastern provinces) to ascertain for himself the nature and extent of the anti-governmental feeling which had manifested itself at the municipal elections in 1930 and during the life-time of the Liberal party, which had shortly before dissolved. He arrived at the conclusion that this feeling arose from the fact that the people in general were, insufficiently instructed respecting the principles of the Republican Popular party which alone guarded the revolutionary fervour, which alone could elevate the masses, and of which he himself was the head and from which the Government was formed. His panacea for allaying discontent was that the party organisations, the Turkish Ojaks (which were henceforward to be absorbed in the party organisation), and the school teachers in every district should work to disseminate among those about them knowledge of the aims of the Popular party, and that every citizen of Turkey should become a member of the party the framework of which was large enough to embrace every citizen.

78. In March 1931, after a three months' tour, the Gazi returned to Angora. One of his first acts was to recommend that parliamentary elections should be held. He prophesied that although attempts had been made to create an atmosphere of discontent and lack of confidence in the Government, the sound common sense of the Turkish people would return to power a Popular party Government and would give that party a mandate to vote measures for the national good which experience gathered during his tour would enable him to suggest. The Gazi knew he was on safe ground in prophesying thus, for the party controlled the elections and as anticipated the party candidates won every seat without a dissentient vote, with the exception of thirty seats which the party did not contest, by instruction of the Gazi, in order to allow such Opposition candidates as were approved by the party an opportunity of entering Parliament

and forming an Opposition, to the existence of which within narrow limits the Gazi attached importance. Actually no more than twelve Opposition members were finally elected, the majority of the Opposition candidates not having received the preliminary and necessary approval of the Popular party. The vacant seats were filled by Popular party partisans. The new Assembly met in May and elected the Gazi President of the Republic for the forth time. The Cabinet was again reformed by Ismet Pasha.

79. The new Assembly included some ninety new members, many of whom were working men, in conformity with Gazi's wishes that men of the artisan and agricultural classes should be elected as Deputies. Despite the overwhelming majority of the Popular party in the Assembly experience has shown that the views of the small Opposition are given respectful consideration. Members belonging to the majority may also indulge in free criticism of the Government - a right intelligently exercised, for example, in the course of a debate on the ratification of the Turco-Soviet Commercial Treaty, when several Government members observed that the Assembly was given too little time to deliberate the provisions of the treaty, and that the advantages derived from the treaty were mainly on the Soviet side. Opposition and criticism of the Government outside the Assembly, however, got short shrift. Certain newspapers in Constantinople were alleged to have cast reflections on the Gazi and the band of pure patriots (some of them now rival newspaper owners and Deputies), who had collaborated with him in achieving national independence. A violent campaign was opened against them in the Assembly, mainly by the rival newspaper owners, and this resulted in the passage by the Assembly of a Press Law. The offending newspapers then closed down and the opinions expressed in the surviving Opposition press lacked fire, it being clear that the last duty of an Opposition press was to oppose.

80. The disappearance of the Opposition, combined with the absence of any important trouble in the eastern provinces and the development of friendly relations with all foreign Powers, left Turkey free to deal with the financial crisis in which it was involved during the whole year in common with all other countries. The budget was reduced from £T. 222 million to £T. 186 million, departmental and overseas staffs were reduced, salaries of officials were diminished and then subjected to special taxation. Towards the end of the year, in an endeavour to bring the amount of imports below that of exports, a rationing system for imports was imposed by decree, and in the case of orders placed abroad by public bodies it was made a condition that suppliers should purchase an equivalent amount of Turkish produce. Negotiations were begun with Hungary for mutual exchange of produce to avoid exchange difficulties, and steps were taken to put down smuggling, especially on the Syrian frontier. In her need Turkey was unable to have recourse to foreign money markets, as these

were disinclined to help until Turkey made a satisfactory settlement of the Ottoman debt question, and furthermore, their conditions for assisting Turkey were distasteful to Turkey as savouring too much of servitude. In October a former Minister of Finance, Saracoğlu Şükrü Bey, was sent on a mission to the United States of America in an endeavour to interest American capitalists in the development of public works in Turkey, with results not yet known, and in November a "crisis tax" of 10 per cent. on the salary of every worker was imposed.

81. At the end of December it was announced that, in view of the special importance acquired by customs operations, and the pressing necessity for preventing smuggling, a Ministry of Customs and Monopolies had been established, and at the same time a Ministry of Agriculture was created to ensure the greatest possible development of Turkey's chief source of wealth.

82. Despite the lack of money, Turkey contrives to maintain her defence forces at a high standard and to carry on an efficient Administration while pushing forward railway construction and developing education on a yearly budget of £20-25 million sterling, and, as she is mainly an agricultural country, there is, compared with European countries, little distress among all classes of her citizens, but no real prosperity.

### *Kurds.*

83. The campaign undertaken by the Turkish Government in 1930 against the Kurdish rebels in the eastern provinces was fatal to Kurdish prospects of permanent success, and no concentrated risings of Kurds took place in Turkey in 1931. The Persian and Iraq frontiers were closely watched to prevent incursions of Kurds into Turkish territory. The district of Ağrı Dağı (Ararat) the Kurdish base of operations in 1930 was declared a military zone of the first class, in which only officers and troops on duty were permitted to reside. The news of the submission of Shaikh Mahmud to the Iraq authorities caused general relief in Turkey, and anxiety with regard to the Iraq frontier ceased, the collaboration of the Iraqi Government with the Turkish Government being a subject of congratulation in the Grand National Assembly. On the Persian frontier the Turkish Government felt that, although the Persian Government undertook a campaign against the frontier Kurds, it was unable or unwilling to keep them in control. Throughout the year the Turkish Government tried to induce the Persian Government to agree to a strategic cession of territory near Lesser Ararat, having already taken the precaution of occupying it in order better to check the passage of undesirable Kurds into Turkey. Negotiations between the two Governments about the adjustment of the frontier are still proceeding. Certain Kurds of the Halikanlı tribe inhabiting the Persian side of the frontier,

harassed by Persian operations, obtained permission from Turkey to cross into Turkey with their belongings, and are being settled in the western areas of Turkey.

84. Within Turkey the trial of numerous Kurdish notables for participation in the rebellion of the previous year took place. Selahettin, son of Şeyh Said of Piran, who was hanged for leadership of a Kurdish revolt in 1925, was condemned to fifteen years' imprisonment. As a result of the strict control exercised over eastern provinces security was general, but the situation was nevertheless not normal. During the summer Messrs. Roberts and Ravensdale of His Majesty's Embassy were able to travel safely through most of the eastern provinces, although, prior to their departure, the Minister of the Interior warned them that, as security in the East could not yet be guaranteed, they would travel at their own risk. Later on in the year the Minister of the Interior himself undertook a journey in that region, accompanied by Mahmut Bey, Deputy for Sırt and proprietor of the "Milliyet." In November the latter described the Vilayet of Dersim as in a state of outlawry and complete anarchy, the sixty-two Kurdish tribes in the province being treated like slaves by their chiefs, who menaced and harassed the peaceful Turkish villagers of the region. It is expected however, that sporadic lawlessness will in time be eradicated as the process of Turkification of the Kurds, and of conciliation, as well as of material and social development now being attempted by young and energetic Governors, bears fruit, and this, combined with the gradual opening up of the country by a wise railway construction will, it is hoped, bring the east of Anatolia up to the level of the west in some ten years.

#### *Education.*

85. During the year an important law was passed obliging Turkish children of all religions to go only to Turkish schools for their primary education instead of flocking to foreign schools in Turkey as hitherto. This was done with the object of surrounding the Turkish child from the earliest years with a Turkish atmosphere and bringing it up with a Turkish rather than a semi-European outlook. The Government was aware that the educational standard might be lowered by this measure, but considered that this would be counter-balanced by the purer patriotism inculcated into the pupils affected. The measure necessitated a large increase in the number of primary schools buildings, which the Government, notwithstanding the exiguity of the budget, yet found money to construct.

86. A tendency was observed during the year to favour Anglo-Saxon methods of education in Turkish schools in place of the Latin theories and methods which had previously prevailed.

### *Minorities.*

87. On the establishment of friendly relations with Greece, Turkish treatment of Orthodox Turkish nationals improved. An attempt in the Istanbul Turkish press to belittle the position of the Ecumenical Patriarch was at once suppressed by the Turkish Government. The work of the Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Populations was smooth and harmonious. There was little change in the Turkish treatment of Armenians. The discovery in a Roumanian steamer in the Bosphorus of a noted Armenian revolutionary in September, followed by his suicide to escape arrest on suspicion of plotting to assassinate Ismet Pasha will tend to prolong the semi-persecution of the Armenian minority in Turkey, and Turkish concern at the establishment in Syria close to the Turco-Syrian frontier of Armenian refugees from Turkey will prevent them extending to Armenians in Turkey the treatment now accorded to the Orthodox minority.

### *Public Security, Crime and Prisons.*

88. There was some increase in highway robbery in different parts of the country as compared with previous years, and communism in Smyrna and Istanbul came in for police action from time to time, but, in general, there were no violent disturbances of law and order in Turkey in 1931. Murder by stabbing or revolver shot heads the list of common crimes. The death penalty takes the form of slow hanging in public. For the first time in Turkish history a woman criminal was hanged during 1931 in a public square of Isparta. It is not unusual to read of stabbing affrays between prisoners in Turkish gaols, due to the conditions in these gaols which, particularly in the provinces, are mediæval. Prisoners of all conditions mingle together in the common courtyard and freely exchange their opinions as well as their diseases. As in many of the lower branches of the Turkish Administration bribery in provincial prisons is the rule, and in practice it is usually no difficult matter for a person condemned to prison to buy his way out. While these conditions prevail it is, however, recognised and frequently preached in the newspapers that the aim of imprisonment is to reform the criminal so that after serving his term and regaining his freedom he may become a useful citizen.

### *Administration of Justice.*

89. The last two neutral legal advisers engaged by Turkey in accordance with the terms of Declaration XI attached to the Lausanne Settlement of 1923 were dismissed in 1931. Their duty was to observe the working of the Turkish courts, and, if necessary, to report to the Minister of Justice with a view to the institution of such reforms as might be considered advisable, but their influence was negligible.



## IV. COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

*General.*

90. The outstanding feature of the year, in so far as trade and commerce was concerned, was the introduction in November of a rationing system for imports into Turkey. Articles had previously appeared in the press urging the Government to take measures against certain countries such as Japan, which, it was pointed out, found a ready market in Turkey for their produce and manufacture, but were buying nothing in return.

91. The rationing system was introduced on the 16th November by Ministerial Decree which had been promulgated on the previous day. This decree not only provided for a fixed quota of imports, but also laid down as a general line of policy that countries trading with Turkey would be called upon, when existing treaties with them expired, to purchase in Turkey goods to a value equivalent to that of their exports to Turkey.

92. The Minister of National Economy, speaking in the Grand National Assembly, justified the measures on the grounds that by the limitation of imports, the adverse trade balance of the country would be gradually reduced, currency stabilised by a natural process and local industry developed. Referring to the question of the adjustment of the country's trade balance by an equal exchange of goods between Turkey and foreign countries, the Minister of National Economy pointed out that such a policy could only be adopted with those countries which directly administered monopolies.

93. That Turkey is free to apply measures to safeguard and promote her economic activity there can be no doubt, but the manner in which the restrictions on imports have been imposed was found to be objectionable. My commercial secretary, in the course of a long interview with the Minister of National Economy, and subsequently with the head of the Quota Department, had occasion to discuss the anomalous and harshly operating features of the quota system.

94. It was pointed out to Mustafa Şeref Bey, that importers were, at present, only given twenty days' notice of the quota for the following two months. Goods ordered in the United Kingdom took from six weeks to two months to arrive from the date of the order, provided they were in stock. In most cases goods had to be ordered two or three months in advance, and the Minister of National Economy was therefore urged to establish quotas six months in advance. Other more immediate difficulties, it was pointed out, would be largely solved if the Turkish Government were to allow all goods lying in the Customs or shipped before the 15th November to be cleared irrespective of the restrictions on imports. Colonel Woods was assured both by the Minister of National Economy

and by the Director of the Quota Department that his recommendations would be given consideration.

95. The chaotic situation has now been somewhat alleviated, for quotas have already been published for the months of January, February and March, and at the end of December the quotas for April and May will also be made known to the public.

96. The quotas for the months of January, February and March 1932 have, in general, been drawn up on a more liberal scale than those for November and December 1931. A wide range of articles, including raw materials, packing materials, machinery, chemicals and educational supplies have been freed altogether of quota restrictions, and, although the lists still contain a number of anomalies and undue restrictions, it can be stated that the situation has become easier.

#### *Finance.*

97. Revenue estimates for the financial year 1931-32 showed a decrease of approximately 16 per cent. compared to those of the preceeding year, revenue being estimated at £T. 186,705,599 as against £T. 222,732,000 for the year 1930-31. As announced by the Minister of Finance during the budget debate, revenue estimates were based on the actual revenue realised during the year 1930-31, and not, as hitherto, on an average of a series of years.

98. The drop in revenue in 1930-31, as compared to the approved estimates for that period, was due to a decline in all branches of economic activity and, in a lesser degree, for the fact that in the course of 1930-31 legislation reducing certain sources of taxation was approved by the Turkish Government.

99. In order to balance the budget the Minister of Finance was obliged to recommend to the Cabinet a corresponding cut in expenditure. Savings have been effected by the suppression of certain departmental and overseas posts and by the reduction or cancellation of certain departmental expenditure which did not constitute an urgent necessity. With the exception of the Departments of Aviation, Justice, Marine and National Assembly, all of which obtained increased votes as compared to last year, there was a general cut, particularly in the cases of the Army, Public Works, National Economy, Finance and Public Instruction.

100. The vote for the public debt was reduced by £T. 6,570,145. In this vote was included the allocation for the payment of the coupon to the foreign bondholders, which was reduced from £T. 15,005,447 in 1930-31 to £T. 4,970,000 in 1931-32, a cut of over £T. 10 million, but budgetary provision had to be made in the current estimates for expenditure in connexion with the Central State



Bank and the Match Monopoly. The Ministry of Public Works was able to reduce its expenditure by reason of the fact that the Angora-Sivas line, constructed by the Government itself, had been completed.

101. For purposes of comparison, the following table shows the percentage of the principal departmental votes in relation to total expenditure during the present financial year and the two preceding years:

|                           | 1931-32<br>Percentage | 1930-31<br>Percentage | 1929-30<br>Percentage |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| National Defence          | 32.0                  | 30.0                  | 31.40                 |
| Gendarmerie               | 4.70                  | 4.0                   | 4.0                   |
| Public Security           | 2.24                  | 2.0                   | 2.0                   |
| Public Works              | 14.0                  | 14.83                 | 15.30                 |
| National Economy          | 4.56                  | 6.0                   | 3.80                  |
| Education                 | 3.52                  | 3.70                  | 3.70                  |
| Justice                   | 4.0                   | 3.17                  | 3.30                  |
| Finance                   | 6.53                  | 7.57                  | 7.0                   |
| Public Debt-External debt | 2.66                  | 7.0                   | 6.20                  |
| Pensions                  | 6.30                  | 5.45                  | 5.80                  |
| Interior Loans and        |                       |                       |                       |
| Agricultural and          |                       |                       |                       |
| State Banks               | 1.90                  | 0.70                  | 0.70                  |
| Bank of Zurich and        |                       |                       |                       |
| Match Monopoly            | 3.0                   | 1.80                  | 1.90                  |
| Other Departments         | 14.59                 | 13.78                 | 14.90                 |

102. The forecast of the financial position of the current year, even though based on conservative lines, proved to be too optimistic.

103. In his speech to the Assembly supporting the economic policy of the country, the Minister of Finance stated that the progressive adverse trade balance was brought about partly by a drop in world prices, due to over-production, and partly by the dearth of markets for the produce of the country. This unfortunate combination of circumstances had greatly reduced the paying capacity of the people and, consequently, the yield of taxation. The Minister of Finance pointed out that, for the last five years, although estimates of revenue had been established on a very conservative and even a pessimistic basis, nevertheless not once during this period had revenue attained the estimates. He

stated that whereas in 1927 revenue was estimated at £T. 200,152,000 it only yielded £T. 197,576,000. In 1928 revenue attained £T. 204,603,000 instead of the estimate of £T. 218,968,000, and in 1929, although revenue had been established at £T. 236 million, it actually produced only £T. 206,198,000, notwithstanding the fact that a large quantity of merchandise had been introduced prior to October 1929 in anticipation of the tariff. In 1930 revenue only attained £T. 189 million, whereas it was estimated at £T. 192,300,000. Estimates for the current year were drawn up on a reduced scale, being based on the actual revenue realised during the year 1930-31, and not, as hitherto, on an average of a series of years, and the budget for the forthcoming year would, he feared, although established on the basis adopted for 1930-31, show a further drop in revenue, especially as under the quota system of imports customs revenue would be bound to decline. It was for this reason that a Bill imposing further taxation had been necessary to compensate for the decline in customs revenue.

104. The position would therefore seem to be as follows:

- (a) A reduced budget, both on the side of revenue and expenditure.
- (b) A possible reduction of the country's adverse trade balance, which, it is hoped, will lead to stabilisation by a more normal process than the present restrictions on exchange operations.

105. It should be borne in mind, however, that extra taxation and restrictions on normal trade are bound to affect the paying capacity of a vast section of the population from which the country derives most of its revenue.

106. It is, consequently, somewhat doubtful whether, even on the basis of a considerable reduction in revenue, the Minister of Finance will, in reality, be able to show a balanced budget in the future, unless the Turkish Government decide to refrain from wasting further sums on the capital and on public works, some of which will not be productive for some time to come. That the Turkish Government will continue to squander money on the capital and proceed with public works schemes there can be little doubt, but, in order to do so, Turkey will have to earmark as a guarantee certain sources of State revenue, and there is a possibility of the Turkish Government's transferring the tobacco monopoly for a number of years to an American consortium in return for a substantial advance, and of other American industrial consortiums granting long-term credits for public works undertakings. In the tobacco monopoly, the Americans have fixed on the most stable source of revenue which the country possesses and the one most capable of further development, but the effect on Turkish Government finances, unless the advances obtained are wisely expended, is bound to be serious.

*Crops.*

107. The crops of exportable produce, compared to those of 1930, show no great improvement:

|                      | 1931              | 1930           |
|----------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Tobacco              | 40-45,000 tons    | 45,000 tons    |
| Cotton               | 168,000 bales     | 135,000 bales  |
| Sultanas             | 31,000 tons       | 30-35,000 tons |
| Figs                 | 28,000 tons       | 25,000 tons    |
| Opium                | 3,500-4,000 cases | 7,500 cases    |
| Hazel nuts (shelled) | 160,000 sacks     | 300,000 sacks  |
| Barley               | 2,000,000 tons    | 1,587,000 tons |
| Mohair               | 40-45,000 bales   | 40,000 bales   |

*Comparative Table of Prices of Turkish Produce in September 1931 and 1930.*

|                               | September 1931<br>Per oke | September 1930<br>Per oke. |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| Nuts (shelled)                | 80-88                     | 68                         |
| Nuts (unshelled)              | 35-40                     | 32                         |
| Barley                        | 5-5h                      | 5h                         |
| Cotton                        | 34-35                     | 68-70                      |
| Opium                         | 9-10                      | 15-19                      |
| Wool                          | 46-52                     | 57-60                      |
| Mohair (Angora I)             | 60-75                     | 110                        |
| Raisins (dried) (Extra-Extra) | 50-65                     | 44-54                      |
| Figs                          | 23-36                     | 27-45                      |
| Tobacco (Smyrna region)       | 115-150                   | 150-200                    |

Prices, as will be seen, compared to last year, show a fall, and, therefore, an increase in the purchasing power of the country cannot, I fear, be anticipated.

*Public Works.*

108. *Railways.* In the domain of public works, the work on railways under construction has steadily progressed. The situation is as follows:

Ankara Kayseri-Sivas Line: 580 kilom. This line has now been completed.

Samsun Sivas Line: 380 kilom. This line is practically completed; only a few kilometres remain to be constructed.

Kütahya Balıkesir Line: 220 kilom. This line is practically completed.

Ulukışla Kayseri Line: 180 kilom. 107 kilom. have been completed.

Filyos Irmak Line: 400 kilom. This line was open as far as Çankırı to traffic, on the 23rd April 1931, from Irmak. 70 kilom. from Filyos to Balıkesir have been completed.

Fevzipaşa-Diyarbakır Line: 500 kilom. Trains run as far as Malatya.

109. *Roads.* It is not possible to obtain figures relating to the mileage of new roads contemplated and of old ones to be reconstructed, but the Turkish Government intend to carry out a full programme of road construction during the next twelve years in the following districts:

|  | Total cost,<br>£T. millions. |
|--|------------------------------|
| Kayseri-Malatya.....   | 6                            |
| Maras-Malatya.....   | 7                            |
| Ankara-İstanbul .....  | 8                            |
| İzmir-Salihli-Altındağ, Ankara -Sivas-Erzurum and<br>Karaköse-Bayazit..... | 5                            |

*Industry.*

110. Although it has not been possible to obtain comparative statistics showing the extent to which industry had progressed during the last few years in this country, there is no doubt that an advance, though slow, has been made as the result of the imposition of high customs duties, the law for the encouragement of industry, and the "Buy Turkish" campaign, which has been propagated by İsmet Pasha and other Turkish Ministers for some time past.

111. Lack of capital for investment in industrial development has been a check on rapid progress, but the gradual appearance of small factories and workshops has undoubtedly affected the import of sweet-stuffs and biscuits, preserves and tinned vegetables, vegetable oils, alcohol and liqueurs, woollen knitted goods, such as sweaters and pull-overs, socks, footwear, scents, soaps, certain pharmaceutical preparations, silk, and silk and artificial silk underwear, made-up waterproof garments, nails, gramophone records, and, whilst it has not

been possible to make a comparison between the past and present output of existing cotton spinning and weaving mills, many of them have renewed their plant or added to the number of their spindles and looms, and this also applies to cloth factories.

112. In my opinion, however, the decline in our exports to Turkey cannot, except for coal and coke, be attributed to Turkey's gradual industrial progress, nor is our trade likely to be so affected for some considerable time, for even were a rapid advance to be manifest in the next few years, it would affect us to a much lesser extent than our foreign competitors, especially as regards low-grade cotton and woollen piece-goods, in which we have in any case already lost considerable ground of recent years.

#### *Trade.*

113. As regards trade, there were signs of a revival as the result of the depreciation of the pound sterling, but, unfortunately, the restrictions on trade by the application of a quota system of imports have been a serious blow.

114. During the first six months of 1931 imports from the United Kingdom amounted to £1,839,998 as compared to £1,844,379 in 1930, the United Kingdom taking third place in order of importance, as compared to second place in 1930. The principal countries exporting to Turkey during the first six months of 1931, 1930 and 1929 were as follows:

|                   | First<br>Six Months of | Percentage<br>of Total | First<br>Six Months of | Percentage<br>of Total | First<br>Six Months of | Percentage<br>of Total |
|-------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
|                   | 1931                   |                        | 1930                   |                        | 1929                   |                        |
|                   | £1                     |                        | £1                     |                        | £1                     |                        |
| Germany           | 14,308,079             | 29.7                   | 14,108,130             | 29.5                   | 17,884,257             | 14.8                   |
| Italy             | 10,122,298             | 14.6                   | 6,934,753              | 10.0                   | 14,057,953             | 11.6                   |
| United<br>Kingdom | 8,396,998              | 12.1                   | 8,444,379              | 12.2                   | 14,504,033             | 12.1                   |
| France            | 7,101,998              | 10.3                   | 6,780,754              | 9.8                    | 12,736,407             | 10.5                   |

It will be seen from this table that the respective positions of Germany and the United Kingdom as regards total imports and the percentage of the total trade have been maintained relatively unchanged in 1930 and 1931. The advance in imports from Italy is due principally to the recovery of the cotton goods market in 1931 after the slump in 1930 following upon the application of high duties in October 1929. It is doubtful however, whether Italy will be able to maintain her position as competition from Japan is increasing rapidly.

115. For the first six months of 1931 the total value of imports into Turkey was £T. 69,300,000 as against £T. 69 million for the corresponding period in 1930. Turkey's imports during the first six months of the past five years have been as follows:

|      | £T.         |
|------|-------------|
| 1931 | 69,300,000  |
| 1930 | 69,000,000  |
| 1929 | 121,500,000 |
| 1928 | 112,500,000 |
| 1927 | 109,500,000 |

116. The value of exports during the first six months of the present year was £T. 56,500,000 so that the trade balance shows a deficit of £T. 12,800,000 as against a favourable balance of £T. 2 million during the corresponding period of 1930. Turkey's exports during the first six months of the past five years have been as follows:

|      |            |
|------|------------|
| 1931 | 56,500,000 |
| 1930 | 71,000,000 |
| 1929 | 78,000,000 |
| 1928 | 86,800,000 |
| 1927 | 76,000,000 |

The decline in the value of Turkey's exports during the first half of the present year is due principally to the fall in world prices rather than to a decrease in the quantities exported.

117. Turkey's principal imports during the first six months of 1931 and of 1930 were as follows:

|                                 | First Six Months<br>of 1931<br>£T. | First Six Months<br>of 1930<br>£T. |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Cotton piece-goods              | 15,585,653                         | 8,880,784                          |
| Iron and steel manufacturers    | 8,261,664                          | 9,487,538                          |
| Machinery                       | 5,828,121                          | 6,335,459                          |
| Woollen and worsted piece-goods | 4,073,026                          | 6,315,864                          |
| Sugar                           | 2,872,939                          | 5,899,871                          |
| Cotton yarns                    | 2,469,471                          | 1,322,096                          |
| Hides and skins                 | 2,276,715                          | 1,537,787                          |
| Paper                           | 2,070,116                          | 2,409,376                          |

## V. NAVAL AFFAIRS

*Material.*

118. During the year two destroyers ("Kocatepe" and "Adatepe"), three new patrol vessels ("Doğan," "Denizkusu" and "Marty") and two submarines ("Dumlupınar" and "Sakarya"), all built in Italy to the order of the Turkish Government, were despatched to Turkey. None were completed up to time, and they all failed to give satisfaction to the Turkish authorities, who have not yet officially taken them over, but are still haggling over details. The contractors are employing a number of their own workmen to make the alterations required. There is no doubt that - if only for political reasons - they will all be accepted eventually. On the Italian side there is also some disappointment partly because the contracts for the construction of the vessels were made on a sterling basis before the depreciation of sterling, and partly because the Turkish Government has claimed reductions on the contract prices as the vessels are not up to specifications.

119. Two other destroyers ("Tınaztepe" and "Zafer") are under construction in Italian yards for the Turkish Government, and their delivery is expected early in 1932.

*Exercises.*

120. Considerable activity was shown during the year in carrying out training afloat, but the results of target practice and other gunnery exercises were considered to be disappointing, and the Chief of the General Staff expressed his displeasure at the small improvement shown.

*Budget.*

121. The authorised expenditure voted for the financial year commencing the 1st June 1931, was £T. 7,860,451 an increase on that of the previous year of £T. 1,562,511.

*Naval Agreements with Greece and Russia.*

122. In February the Grand National Assembly approved the Turco-Greek Protocol regarding the limitation of naval armaments, signed in October 1930.

123. In March a similar protocol was signed at Angora on behalf of their respective Governments by the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Soviet Ambassador. By this protocol each of the two parties agreed not to increase its present naval forces in the Black Sea or contiguous seas, nor to order or lay down units intended to increase its forces without giving six months'



notice to the other. In August the Grand National Assembly approved a Bill for the ratification of this Protocol.

#### *Naval Visits.*

124. The Turkish Government had intended to send the "Yavuz" to Malta during 1931 or early in 1932 to pay a visit to the British fleet, but towards the end of the year let it be known that the visit would be postponed for motives of economy.

125. An enquiry addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs as to whether the visits of vessels of the Royal Navy to Turkish ports would be welcomed elicited the reply that no objection would be raised to visits to most of the localities usually visited in former years, but that the General Staff would not allow the landing of parties of officers for the purpose of shooting game. This was not considered satisfactory on our side, and the result was that apart from the customary visits of destroyers taking officers and men of the fleet to see the war graves on the Gallipoli Peninsula, no British men-of-war called at Turkish ports during the year. Visits of foreign men-of-war to Istanbul included the Danish cruiser "Neils Juel" and the French submarines "Argonaute" and "Doris."

#### *Training.*

126. Two Turkish naval officers, Lieutenant Asim Samih and Sub-Lieutenant Rahmi Canip, began a two years' course of instruction in Royal naval establishments in England in September. The Turkish Government also asked that facilities should be given for two other officers to take the Naval Staff course. But His Majesty's Government were unable to sanction this departure from the invariable rule that foreign officers cannot be admitted to war or staff courses.

127. It is regrettable that, while facilities are given to Turkish officers to follow courses of instruction in Royal Navy establishments and to see naval ships, requests of the British naval attaché in Turkey to be allowed to visit ships of the Turkish navy or shore establishments are invariably refused on one pretext or another. Nor are other foreign naval attachés in any better case. They report that it is even dangerous for Turkish naval officers to be seen in their company. Although the usefulness of the British naval attaché is thus restricted the Turkish authorities feel slighted if he is absent from Turkey for any considerable time.

128. Turkish naval officers are also studying in Soviet Russia, France, Italy and Japan.

129. As regards foreign instructors, Turkey is still relying on the services of German ex-officers and warrant officers, not only in technical establishments ashore, but also afloat, and more especially for instruction in the handling of submarines.

## VI- MILITARY AFFAIRS

130. The year 1931 has been devoid of incidents of military importance. Progress has been made in the training of all arms.

131. The troops who took part in the annual review showed an improvement in dress and appearance on last year's standard, but the average Turkish soldier, particularly outside the large garrison towns, is still ragged and unkempt.

132. The repressive measures taken in 1930 against the Kurdish insurgents were so far successful that there has been no serious trouble in the eastern vilayets this year. Pending a readjustment of the Persian frontier, Turkish troops continue to occupy the slopes of Lesser Ararat. It would be premature, however, to assume that perfect calm reigns east of Diyarbakir or that no further revolts will take place.

133. An empty purse has precluded manoeuvres on a large scale. Divisional exercises took place, the most important being in the neighbourhood of Bozanti and involving four regiments of infantry and one of artillery.

134. A recent increase in the limitation of imports has made it imperative to put an end to the smuggling and lack of control on the southern frontier. It is notorious that officers and customs officials in this area thrive on contraband and bribes, entailing a severe loss of revenue to the Government. New formations of customs police will be raised, and an energetic general put in command of this frontier.

135. There have been few changes in the higher command. Salih Pasha, the energetic commander who suppressed the Kurdish revolt in 1930, has recently been transferred from the IX<sup>th</sup> to the 1st Corps. Ali Fuat, from the VII<sup>th</sup> Corps, has assumed the direction of the Staff College, being replaced by Kenan Pasha. Only three new brigadiers figured in the annual promotion list.

136. An officer who has come suddenly into prominence is Mughali Mustafa Pasha. Appointed in 1930 to the 1st Corps, to replace Ahmet Derviş Pasha, he presided over the court-martial which tried the ringleaders of the Menemen revolt. He evidently satisfied the authorities in this capacity, as, when Derviş Pasha was forced by ill-health to abandon the post of Under-Secretary of State, Mustafa was again appointed in his place, although the most junior divisional general.

137. The enormous buildings of the War Office and General Headquarters were inaugurated in the summer, and various organs, such as the Court of Cassation and the inspectorates of infantry, cavalry and artillery, have now moved to Angora. A military school is being built in the same neighbourhood and will probably be followed by a new Staff College.

138. The Staff College at Yıldız now includes naval officers, and two German instructors have been engaged, one of whom is the famous Captain von Armand de la Perière. The decision to put a general in command of the fleet has aroused a perhaps excusable resentment amongst naval officers.

139. One of the most pressing needs of the army is for motor transport, particularly for cross-country vehicles. A small number of lorries were bought in Germany, but proved too heavy. An American firm has secured an order for caterpillar tractors, two of which were features of the annual review. The real need, however, is for a light vehicle of a flexible type, such as the Morris six-wheeler.

140. The delivery of the field, mountain and anti-aircraft guns ordered in 1929 is in progress, and will very greatly increase the efficiency of the Turkish artillery. Financial stringency has forbidden the acquisition of new heavy artillery, which is urgently needed for the defences of Smyrna and Ismir.

141. The new railway from Kutahia to Balıkesir, the constant improvement of roads and bridges in the vicinity of the Sea of Marmora, and the fact that all supernumerary artillery units which have been located are in this neighbourhood, all tend to emphasise the importance which the General Staff gives to this question of the defence of the Straits. In this connexion, and in view of the fact that the limitation of troops in the demilitarised zone does not extend to gendarmes, it is significant that the number of gendarmerie schools on the Dardanelles, has been increased to five.

142. Few aeroplanes have been bought during the year, but it is understood that in 1932 orders will be placed for sixty-six, of different categories.

## VII- MISCELLANEOUS

### *Ottoman Debt.*

143. At the end of 1930 the situation was that Turkey had paid only one-third of the payment due in November 1930 under the Paris agreement of the 13th June 1928, and that the Council of the distributed Public Debt of the former Ottoman Empire had declared the Turkish Government in default. It was considered probable that the council's action would provoke a rupture with the

Turkish Government, but no rupture followed, and the Government replied to the declaration of default by reaffirming its determination to meet its engagements while at the same time declaring its inability to execute the agreement of 1928, which had proved too heavy a charge on Turkey's limited resources. It therefore suggested that the council should enter into negotiations with it in Angora in order to arrive at a fresh settlement, pending the conclusion of which it would pay annually one-third of the amount fixed in 1928.

144. The council hesitated long before coming to a decision. The British member, who represented also the Dutch bondholders, was alone in advocating acceptance of the Turkish offer to negotiate. The other members were opposed to negotiations, which would mean inevitably a modification of the 1928 agreement. They believed that Turkey was convinced that she must settle the debt question if access to the European markets was to be secured, and that access to these markets was vital in view of the fact that Turkey declined to take the alternative course of reducing expenditure on railway construction and national defence, and that therefore the council had only to insist on the full execution of the 1928 agreement to bring Turkey to accept its terms. Again, they thought that Turkey was on the eve of bankruptcy and that concessions were therefore useless. Some of them were also of opinion that though there was a crisis in Turkey it was temporary, and that they should not allow the crisis to be utilised by Turkey to impose on the council a permanent modification of the Paris Agreement. They all believed that, although in acute budget difficulties, Turkey could pay a much higher proportion of the debt annuity if she reorganised her finances and imposed sacrifices on all her creditors.

145. Unofficially His Majesty's Government were in favour of the resumption of negotiations. The French Government, which had in the past vacillated between supporting the council against Turkey and abandoning it in a desire for political reasons to let the Turks off lightly, at first advised the council to be firm with Turkey, but finally advised the council to negotiate. French and German banking interests in the council were opposed to the resumption of negotiations, possibly because they wished to replace negotiations between the council and Turkey by direct negotiations between the Turkish Government and the banks.

146. In its perplexity the council decided to place the matter before the bondholders and to abide by their decision. The bondholders met in March, and heard, among others, M. Rist, who told them that the agreement of 1928 was no longer effective or practicable and advised them to negotiate with the Turkish Government, on whom they should urge the adoption of a general plan of reorganisation of Turkish finances, including settlements with creditors, involving no doubt sacrifices which should be borne, however, by all Turkey's

creditors (a suggestion which did not appeal to the representatives in the council of French banks and German railway interests), and that they should give Turkey to understand that no financial assistance would be probable without financial reorganisation and as part of a general plan. M. Rist envisaged the possibility of negotiations taking place on parallel lines between the Turkish Government and its creditors on the one hand and between it and financial circles on the other, such negotiations being separate but interdependent. This was an important point, for it was not part of the functions of the council to examine and discuss the question of bank credits. These could only be discussed between the Turkish Government and the banks. At the same time it was indispensable that the council, when it recommended the application of a plan of reforms, should let the Turkish Government know if it could count on credits. It would be useless to negotiate without giving Turkey a categorical assurance on this point.

147. As a result of their meeting the bondholders decided that contact should be made with the Turkish Government - preferably in Paris. The Turkish Government was informed accordingly, the council expressing at the same time the hope that a solution would be found that would take into account Turkey's present situation without prejudice to the rights of the bondholders under the agreement of the 13th June 1928. In reply İsmet Pasha agreed to a resumption of negotiations, and suggested that results would be more speedily attained if they were conducted at Angora. The council agreed, and its delegates arrived in Angora in May 1931.

148. In the ensuing discussions the Turkish representative, Saracoğlu Şükrü Bey, proposed that the existing Ottoman debt bonds, in so far as the Turkish share of the Ottoman debt was concerned, should be exchanged against Turkish national debt bonds of a value not far removed from the present market price of the Ottoman debt bonds and should bear interest at 7½ per cent. without any specific security. The Minister suggested a loan as part of this operation. This would effect a permanent settlement involving a reduced and fixed annuity.

149. The delegates of the council strongly objected to this proposal, made at a time when the value of the existing Ottoman bonds was - largely owing to Turkish default - extremely low, and would not accept this plan of transformation, as a result of which the capital value (and consequently the interest return) of Turkey's debt would be stabilised at a low market value. They would not agree to this drastic reduction of the capital and service of the debt, but expressed their willingness to accept during a period of three years a reduction of £1 million sterling of the annuity of £1,500,000 sterling (balance and arrears to be carried forward) which Turkey had bound herself to pay under the 1928 agreement. They insisted that in other respects the agreement should

be strictly observed (e.g., as regards security, supervision of customs revenue by the council's agent, &c.). During the three years period the council would be willing to co-operate with the Turkish Government in establishing a state of affairs which would make consideration of a foreign loan possible, and would even discuss the transformation plan before the expiration of three years with a view to coming to suitable terms, if the Turkish Government obtained a long-term foreign loan. It will be seen that the council contemplated a temporary period of sacrifice by the bondholders and of mutual co-operation, after which - provided a plan of transformation was not agreed on - the agreement of 1928 - involving for a period of years ever-increasing annuities - would be fully applied.

150. Saracoglu Şükrü Bey's counter-proposal was that there should be a short transitory period lasting until Turkey, by the aid of a long-term foreign loan, could proceed to carry out its proposed transformation plan, and that during the transitory period Turkey should pay an annuity of £800,000, half of which would be transferred to the council, the other half taking the form of a bank credit to be repaid out of the contemplated long-term foreign loan. On the conclusion of the temporary period Turkey would make an annual payment not exceeding £800,000.

151. The delegates of the council would not accept the Turkish proposal, which involved a complete abandonment of the 1928 agreement, together with a considerable and permanent reduction of the capital and service of the debt. Negotiations therefore came to an end with a possibility of their future resumption. Subsequently the Turkish Government announced that until agreement about the debt was reached it would pay no more than a third of the annuity previously agreed on. At the same time it complained that, in spite of the payments it had made towards the service of the debt and in spite of the promises which had been made to it and which had led it to sign the agreement of 1928, it had been for years systematically deprived of financial facilities. The council in October protested against the non-execution of the 1928 agreement and expressed a hope for a resumption of negotiations to arrive at a settlement.

152. In October Saracoglu Şükrü Bey left Turkey for the United States via Paris, where he arranged an interview with the President of the Council of the Public Debt and enquired as to the attitude of the bondholders towards resuming negotiations. The president was of opinion that conversations could only be usefully renewed when a formula reconciling the divergence of the views of the two parties had been found, preferably as a result of unofficial conversations. Saracoglu Şükrü Bey expressed willingness to postpone his visit to the United States for two or three weeks for the purpose, but his proposal was not taken up.



153. The President took advantage of Saracoğlu Şükrü Bey's visit to press him to complete the payment of the annuity for 1930-31, or at least to induce the Turkish Government to transfer in foreign currency to Paris £T. 2,404,316 placed in Stambul to the credit of the council. Such a transfer would enable the council to pay at most one-third of the 1930-31 annuity. Saracoğlu Şükrü Bey promised to recommend this course to his Government.

154. In November the Turkish Government informed the council that the 1928 agreement was no longer practicable, and at the same time expressed regret that the state of international exchanges made it absolutely impossible for the Turkish Government to effect the transfer into foreign currency of considerable sums unless the council could assure Turkey of a loan in foreign currency equivalent to the amount of Turkish currency lying to the council's credit in Stambul. In such an eventuality Turkey would accept the latter amount as equivalent to the amount of the loan. Alternatively the Turkish Government suggested that the French Régie, which for many years had not bought any Turkish tobacco, should purchase tobacco equivalent in value to the sum of money lying blocked in Stamboul. Otherwise transfer must be postponed until Turkey's situation improved. The Turkish Government suggested in conclusion that the council should agree to new negotiations to reach a definite solution, otherwise Turkey, whose budget had been compressed to a minimum, and who had shown the greatest goodwill in the effort to reach a settlement, would not be able to tolerate further the rebuffs administered by the council, and the bondholders would find that they had tried her patience too severely. Turkey, therefore, hoped that the bondholders would agree to come to a definite agreement with her as she was the only State which was making an effort to effect payments towards the old debts of the Ottoman Empire.

155. The President of the Council, while insisting on the sanctity of the 1928 agreement, expressed willingness to resume negotiations, and suggested that they should be conducted with Saracoğlu Şükrü Bey on his return to Paris from the United States.

156. Towards the end of the year the French bondholders pressed the French Government to give them support urging that Turkey, while professing to pay one-third of the annuity due to the council, in reality only paid one-twentieth of the annuity as she refused to allow the Turkish paper lying to the council's credit in Stambul to be converted into foreign currency (except up to the inadequate amount of £7,500 per month) and transferred to Paris. The French bondholders accused Turkey of ill-will and requested the French Government to use the privileged position France now held in the financial world to press Turkey to satisfy the bondholders.



### *Drug Traffic.*

157. Early in the year the Turkish Government announced its intention of dealing drastically with illicit drug traffic, and subsequently issued regulations which provided, among other things, for registration and control of sales of narcotics within the country and production of import permits from countries of destination as an essential condition of the issue of export licences. In October Russell Pasha visited Angora where he was cordially received and obtained satisfactory declarations in regard to the control of the traffic. The Minister of Health, who admitted failure to prevent illicit consignments, was wholehearted in support of Russell Pasha's campaign, and expressed his desire to close the three drug factories in Constantinople, to make drug manufacture a Government monopoly and to build a State factory at Afionkarahisar. Events proved that State regulations and the goodwill of the Minister of Health were incapable of preventing illicit traffic, the venality of Government officials being partly to blame, and although in December one Mecheller, a French director of the Kuskuncuk factory, was expelled for illicit trading, yet the subsequent opening of a new drug factory in Constantinople and the reconstitution of the Kuskuncuk Company under the chairmanship of Yunus Nadi Bey, an unscrupulous newspaper proprietor and a prominent Deputy, give no promise of diminution of illicit trading in the future.

### *British Claims against Turkey.*

158. (a) *Pre-war Claims.*—In 1929 the Turkish Government agreed to pay £30,000 in instalments over a period of five years, in settlement of a number of British pre-war claims falling within the scope of article 71 of the Treaty of Lausanne. The second instalment was paid in December 1931.

(b) *Claims pursued before the Anglo-Turkish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal.*—The Lausanne settlement of 1923 made provision for the establishment of this tribunal to settle certain disputes and claims arising between the outbreak of the war and the conclusion of peace. Five hundred and fifty-eight claims were originally lodged with the tribunal. Most of these had been decided by the end of 1931, and it is anticipated that the few remaining cases will be decided in the first few months of 1932. The judgements given in favour of British claimants are still awaiting execution. The Turkish regulations for the execution of these judgements have been published, but seem unnecessarily complicated and obstructive and efforts are being made to induce the Turkish Government to simplify them.

### *British Institutions.*

159. The period of the terms granted at Lausanne in 1923 to British religious, scholastic and medical establishments, as well as to charitable institutions, expired on the 6th August 1931, but its expiration has not been made the occasion of any change in the Turkish treatment of the British

Seamen's Hospital and three Anglican churches at Smyrna, and of the British Seamen's Hospital, the boys' school, the girls' school, and the two Anglican churches in Constantinople. It is unfortunate that, owing to lack of funds, it is not possible to provide a British management and staff for the Constantinople and Smyrna hospitals, which are leased to a group of Greek doctors, and to a local Catholic charitable organisation respectively, but efforts are being made to give at least the Constantinople hospital a more British character, and provision is made in both hospitals for preferential treatment of British seamen.

#### *The British Colony at Constantinople.*

160. The number of British subjects registered at, or known to, the consulate-general exceeds 2,600 apart from naturalised or protected persons, and there may be some addition to make to this figure for persons neither registered nor personally known. But when one comes to examine how many of these may be considered as forming a British colony in the effective and usual connotation of this expression, this number dwindles to an almost startling degree.

161. the total of 2,600 is made up as follows: 1,100 of United Kingdom birth or descent, 1,200 of Maltese origin, 150 Cypriots, 150 miscellaneous. The Maltese, as will be seen later, have lost all contact with their native island. The Cypriots are mostly Turks. The miscellaneous group includes a certain number of Indian Moslems, who for the most part have married Turkish women and are indistinguishable from the natives, and a number of Jews whose title to British nationality is standing mystery. There are forty-seven British subjects named Tarragano on the register, and twenty-six named Ashkenazi. It is doubtful whether a single one of these, or his forebears, has ever had any effective connexion with any part of the British Empire.

162. There remain for consideration the 1,100 of United Kingdom origin, which number includes women and children. The two classes of what may be called the British colony proper which present the greatest interest are the trading community, and a less numerous but very noteworthy category of Englishmen in the employ of the Turkish Government in one capacity or another. The history of the latter, apart from previous isolated instances of adventurous individuals, may be traced back to the reign of Abdul Aziz, who imported a very considerable number of skilled craftsmen of all ranks for his naval dockyard. Most of them disappeared about fifty years ago, but there were some who even attained the rank of pasha and served right up to the time of the war, or even during it. The last representative of this fine breed, Colonel Vinicombe Pasha, died only a few years ago. Mention must also be made of the numerous Englishmen who served the Turks as advisers in gendarmerie, customs, and other departments. The war put an end to most of these activities,

but this class of the colony is still worthily represented by the British staff of the Constantinople Telephone Company, numbering fifteen, or in all forty-nine souls with their families. This category of the colony has had an honourable and distinguished history. Its dealings with the Turks have been throughout successful, and being composed of picked men it has maintained a high reputation with them, and thereby kept English prestige at a high level.

163. The history of British trading community goes back to the "Gentlemen Factors" of the Levant Company. No account of the local colony would be complete without some reference to this picturesque and historic concern. First founded in the days of Elizabeth, it acquired from James I in 1605 a Royal Charter, under which, for over 200 years, it enjoyed monopolistic and semi-sovereign powers. In the beginning it appointed and paid British Ambassadors and consuls in Turkey. The post of Ambassador very soon became a Crown appointment, but consuls in Turkey were officials of the Levant Company until 1821. The charter was finally surrendered in 1825.

164. The early history of British traders in the Levant is seen to be that of a proud and privileged association, protected by a charter from their own Sovereign, and freed by Capitulation and extra-territoriality from any obligation of the usual sort towards the authority of the country in which they amassed their wealth. Even when the Levant Company came to an end, much of this spirit remained. The Capitulations were not to be abolished for another hundred years. Under their aegis, the Turkey merchants continued their sheltered and prosperous life in this land of Cockaigne. There can be no doubt they were spoilt. Inclined to attribute their prosperity more to their own qualities than to a fortunate environment, they regarded themselves as torchbearers of civilisation in a barbarous land. In modern jargon, they developed a superiority complex.

165. There were, at the same time, reasons which prevented them from becoming more of an *Imperium in Imperio* than they might otherwise have become. Although the privileges accorded to foreigners by the Capitulations were far-reaching, they could not acquire real property in Turkey until 1868, by which time the country was so far westernised that this concession did not have the tremendous importance it would have had a couple of centuries earlier. Nor were conditions at Constantinople propitious for the continuance of great trading "dynasties." In the early days, it appears that traders seldom thought of founding a family here. Their policy seems to have been to get what they could out of the country and retire to England as "Nabobs." When they settled here it was mostly to marry a Levantine wife. In consequence, it was rare for a British family to remain here more than two or three generations at the most, except at the price of forgetting its mother-tongue and becoming completely Levantinised. But under the extra-territorial régime they did not lose their nationality.

166. It is difficult in the absence of personal knowledge of all the 1,100 persons mentioned above as being of United Kingdom origin, to say how many of them have "gone native" in this way. The number must, however, be considerable, and another substantial reduction is thereby occasioned in the total of local British subjects who, in any effective sense, may be said to form a British colony. A typical and rather interesting case is that of Raphael Tuck. He is a descendant of a member of the famous firm, who, about 100 years ago, came out at the request of the Sultan to do some decorative work in the Cheragan Palace (now burnt). The original Tuck had four sons, who all married native women (Greek Catholics). Raphael Tuck lives in a native quarter, and speaks nothing but Greek. The fact that the family has dwindled down to this one representative is also noteworthy. The local climate is temperate, but effete and relaxing, and does not seem to be favourable for the production of vigorous stocks.

167. Of the old Levant Company families, I doubt whether a name is left in the colony to-day. The two largest families now (except for Levantinised families who are inclined to be prolific) are the Whittalls and the Lafontaines. The latter, who are the older, are no longer so numerous as they were. The Whittalls, who number thirty-four, have not been here more than sixty years. (It may be mentioned in passing that both families have branches at Smyrna, which, I believe, are older, and more numerous, but they are appreciably more Levantinised.)

168. Even before the war I am informed that the former prosperity of the trading community had entered on a stage of decline. The businesses had reached their limit of development, and it was often found more profitable to give the younger generation a training in the family business and send them elsewhere than to bring them into the local concern.

169. The war and its consequences had catastrophic effects. To begin with, most of the Englishmen had to leave. Turkish requisitions played havoc with their stocks and property, including even, in many cases, their homes and private belongings. These losses have only in part been made good by the Reparations Commission, and the payment even then was extremely belated, a grievance which rankles sorely with the colony of to-day and puts a very severe tax on their loyalty. But even these losses are of less consequence than the effects of the Treaty of Lausanne. That foreigners in Turkey should be taxed on the same footing as natives, and subjected to the same law and regulations, was inevitable. The régime of privilege had reached its natural term, and its abuses were too patent. The result, however, was not the establishment of an equitable equality, but a series of laws which put the hitherto privileged foreigners under crushing disabilities, from which natives were exempt. I do not propose to treat of these here in detail, as they have been fully reported on elsewhere. What is of

interest here is their effect on the British trading colony. Not only was any expansion of British enterprise on old lines made impossible for an indefinite period, but the existing interests contracted to a point where they ceased even to be important. To give one instance, forty-six respectable British insurance companies liquidated their business in Turkey.

170. Before speaking more particularly about the present state of the colony, it may be opportune to round off this historical survey by a brief reference to the Maltese colony. They started coming to Turkey *en masse* about the same time as the British workmen before-mentioned, in the reign of Sultan Abdul Aziz. They were mostly a waterside population, tug owners, pilots, divers, boatmen, &c., with some skilled artisans in other trades. On the whole, a hardworking, estimable lot, not nearly so disorderly as is popularly supposed. For various reasons they had, however, in a very marked degree the tendency to assimilate to the local Levantine population. In one generation, or two at the most, they were as indistinguishable from any other Constantinopolitan as the children of a boat-load of Roumanian Jews just landed at Ellis Island may, in twenty years, be indistinguishable from American citizens of their class. It is almost a pity that extra-territoriality maintained their British nationality, especially now that Turkish regulation has closed most of their trades to foreigners. Eventually, I suppose, they will become Turkish citizens; one is almost tempted to add, the sooner the better. It would be unfair not to add that the Maltese colony is not without a leaven of educated persons who have risen to eminence in commerce and the liberal professions.

171. Some apology is called for by the length of this historical survey. Its justification may be that the history of the local colony, besides being curious and interesting, is peculiar in itself and unlike that of British colonies elsewhere, and that a complete picture of it at present cannot be had without the historical background.

172. It has been explained in the foregoing that in considering the local British colony only in so far as it maintains any effective link with the home country, of language, culture, or otherwise, all but the 1,100 persons of United Kingdom origin must be eliminated, and a good many of them. In the real sense of the word the colony does not exceed in all probability 700-800, or say 150-200 heads of families. They are collected at Moda, Bebek and Pera, with a few exceptions. The Moda population is a fairly homogeneous element, under the hegemony of the Whittall family. They have their own church, which is said to be the only one in the town where attendances are fairly regular, and their own clubs and institutes. They form a very tight clan, and their fault is perhaps that there is too much Moda in their cosmos. They are a very typical example of a self contained British colony abroad, which has been over-long expatriated.



They are surprisingly little Levantinised (I was struck by the difference in this between Moda and Smyrna), and send their children home to be educated whenever their means allow them to do so. They had quite a good record in the war.

173. The Bebek colony has no great family at its head, but is inextricably intermarried (intermarriage between Bebek and Moda is not common). It lives under the shadow of Robert College, which may account for a slightly higher cultural level. Bebek is inclined to run to madrigal societies, while Moda takes to yacht clubs. It gave me the impression of having more windows open on the world than Moda, and being less inexorably "colonial."

174. The Pera population is more difficult to classify. Its members are more concerned with agencies of firms in England than with the important local houses. There are many employees of British and foreign firms, for instance, Ford's, who have enough British employees to make it possible to raise a decent cricket team amongst them. There is little communal life. The only unofficial British institution in Pera is the British Sports Club, which is neither a very worthy or a very flourishing resort, where British clerks who cannot afford it take too many drinks before meals. There is also a masonic lodge, but masonry is rather a specialised institution, and as far as I have been able to judge one British lodge abroad is very like another.

175. The British Chamber of Commerce has thirty-seven local firms on its membership list, but many are United Kingdom firms locally represented, and most are unimportant. The only two really important British firms of the old Levant trader type which remain are G. and A. Baker (Limited), and J. W. Whitall and Co. (Limited). The first of these, in which there is now not a single Baker left, is roughly identifiable with Bebek, and the second with Moda. The other firms are of rather a miscellaneous description. There are smaller importing and exporting houses, engineering and ship-repairing yards, commission agents, shipping agents, insurance agents, &c. Some combine several of these lines.

176. Generally speaking, the present position of the colony is gloomy, and the future holds out but small hopes. It will require all their energy if they are not to be doomed to final complete extinction. When the old generation die off, it is not certain that the young people will carry on here; may be they will prefer to make their living elsewhere. Already the number of sons who enter the family business as a matter of course is insignificant compared with what it used to be.

177. The chances of the British colony surviving or recovering prosperity depend on many factors, some of which are outside the scope of this report.

Whether Turkish legislation will continue its extreme anti-foreign tendency is difficult to predict; some are of opinion that the tide has already turned and that the Turks are prepared to adopt a more tolerant attitude. The extremism they have shown since the war is to some extent understandable. The old type of Levant trader who prided himself on getting on so well with the Turk was completely unconscious of the depth of jealousy which the Turk was dissimulating. He could not see himself as the Turk saw him: a pampered interloper into his country, enjoying privileges denied to the Turk himself, and growing disgustingly rich at Turkey's expense while the Turk remained poor. There are signs that among the more enlightened on both sides at least, a healthier relationship may be brought about. The British are beginning to admit that the Turk must be master in his own country. Some swallow the pill with more grace, others with less. The British Chamber of Commerce has, after long and patient diplomacy, persuaded the Turkish Chamber of Commerce to collaborate.

178. Social relations with the Turks have hitherto been impossible, owing to the seclusion of their women. They are now possible in theory, but have hardly begun yet. But few of the colony speak Turkish really fluently. This may appear somewhat surprising, until it is realised that Constantinople has been a Greek town for the last 2,000 years, and has remained so, one might almost say in defiance of the laws of nature, after the Great War. The linguistic outfit of the average member of the colony, apart from his own language, is generally fluent Greek, less fluent Perote French, and enough Turkish for the ordinary daily business, but not enough for social intercourse with the Turks to be on a really satisfactory footing.

179. The most important consideration for the future of the colony is the future of trade between England and Turkey, but it cannot be adequately dealt with in this report. Whether the United Kingdom exporter is working on the best lines, whether foreign competitors will outstrip him or he them, what reforms should be made in British business methods to enable him to do so, whether Turkey's demands for United Kingdom produce and *vice-versa* are likely to increase or diminish - all these are questions of the utmost importance to the British colony here, but this is not a suitable place to discuss them.

180. To conclude the report, a few observations are offered on the outlook and mentality of the colony. They must be taken as generalisations only and their validity modified somewhat thereby. The colony retains a sound loyalty and remains British in mind to an extent which must be described as creditable, when it is considered how attractive conditions of life in this country have been, and how easy it would have been to forget the mother country altogether and eat the lotus of the country. It has already been explained that not all resisted this



temptation. For the great majority of the local born, however, this is their home, rather than England. Their interests are here, and where the treasure is there will the heart be also. The changed conditions of Turkey will make it difficult for them to retain this attitude. It will be more and more borne in upon them that they are in an alien land. This will have inevitable reactions upon their outlook, the extent of which cannot now even vaguely be foreseen.

#### *News Services and Propaganda.*

181. During 1931 the Directorate-General of the Press at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs was suppressed for reasons of economy.

182. The only news agency in Turkey is the Anatolian News Agency, a private company, of which the director is appointed by the Government, which, in addition to issuing news to the agency, determines whether other news reaching it may be published or not.

183. The semi-official "Hakimiyeti Milliye," published in Angora, is officially supplied to Governors and Sub-Governors throughout Turkey, and it, and most of the newspapers published in Turkish at Constantinople, receive subsidies, either directly, as in the case of the "Milliyet" of Constantinople, or indirectly through the Popular party, İş Bankası, &c.

184. The cultural propaganda carried on within the country by the Turkish oğaks is now, since the merging, in the course of 1931, of these oğaks in the Popular party organism, being carried on by the party. The party has everywhere replaced the oğak by the Halk Evi (the People's House), and each house is a club and a classroom for old and young. The main purpose pursued in each house is to make each frequenter an adherent of the party, fully instructed in, and imbued with, the party spirit. Apart from this, the party organises languages, literature and history classes, theatricals, sports and training in social service.

185. Commercial propaganda is the function of the "Turkish Exports Office," a branch of the Ministry of National Economy, with trade delegations at Trieste, Marseilles, London, New York and Berlin. Its main object is to make known Turkish goods and find markets for them, and its attributions are similar to those of the Department of Overseas Trade.

186. The Turkish Touring and Automobile Club aims at fulfilling the functions of the R.A.C. and A.A. It is supported by the subscriptions of members (subscriptions £T. 5 and £T. 3) and by municipal and private subsidies. It advertises Turkey's beauty spots and arranges facilities for foreign motorists and other visitors to Turkey.

*Treaties Signed, &c., by Turkey during 1931*

| With-           | Date of Signature | Subject  | Date of Exchange of Ratifications | Date of Entry into Force | Remarks   |
|-----------------|-------------------|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Austria         | 22.6.1930         | Judicial Convention                                  |                                   |                          | Ratification by Grand National Assembly published in "Official Gazette" of 4.8.1931, also ratified by Austria |
| Belgium         | 8.4.1931          | Conciliation, Arbitration and Judicial Settlement    |                                   |                          | Ratification by Grand National Assembly published in "Official Gazette" of 4.8.1931                           |
|                 | 30.7.1931         | Establishment  |                                   |                          |   |
| Bulgaria        | 27.5.1930         | Commerce and Navigation                              | 10.12.1930                        | 1.1.1931                 |   |
| Czecho-slovakia | 17.1.1931         | Commerce   |                                   |                          | Ratified by Grand National Assembly<br>26.3.1931  |
| Czecho-slovakia | 17.3.1931         | Conciliation and Arbitration                         |                                   |                          | Ratified by Grand National Assembly<br>25.7.1931  |
| Denmark         | 31.5.1930         | Commerce and Navigation                              | 2.6.1931                          | 2.7.1931                 |   |
| Estonia         | 16.9.1929         | Ditto  | 18.4.1931                         | 18.5.1931                |   |
| France          | 29.8.1929         | Ditto  | 24.8.1931                         | 8.9.1931                 |   |
| Germany         | 3.9.1930          | Extradition  |                                   |                          | Ratified by Grand National Assembly 26.3.1931   |
|                 | 28.5.1929         | Legal Proceedings                                    | 17.8.1931                         | 18.11.1931               |   |
|                 | 28.5.1929         | Consular   | 17.8.1931                         | 18.9.1931                |   |
| Great Britain   | 28.11.1931        | Civil procedure                                      |                                   |                          |   |
| Greece          | 30.10.1930        | Friendship, Neutrality, Conciliation and Arbitration | 5.10.1931                         | 5.10.1931                |   |
| "               | 30.10.1930        | Limitation of Naval Armaments                        | 5.10.1931                         |                          |   |
| "               | 30.10.1930        | Commerce and   | 5.10.1931                         | 5.11.1931                | Navigation and Establishment  |
| "               | 8.1.1930          | Commercial <i>modus-vivendi</i>                      | 11.1.1930                         |                          | Prolonged to 10.10.1931<br>Expired on entry into force of Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of 30.10.1930     |

|               |            |   |            |           |   |
|---------------|------------|---|------------|-----------|---|
| Italy         | 9.9.1929   | Consular  |            |           | Ratified by Grand National Assembly 26.3.1931   |
| Japan         | 11.10.1930 | Commercial  |            |           | Ratified by Japan 19.10.1931<br>Ratified by Grand National Assembly 26.3.1931   |
| Lithuania     | 17.9.1930  | Friendship  |            |           | Ratified by Grand National Assembly 23.3.1931   |
| Netherlands   | 25.8.1931  | Commerce and Navigation                                   |            |           |   |
| Norway        | 16.3.1931  | Commerce and Navigation and Residence                     |            |           | Ratified by Norwegian Government on 8.5.1931  |
| Poland        | 29.8.1931  | Commerce and Navigation                                   | 29.8.1931  |           | Residence Commercial  |
| Roumania      | 11.6.1929  | 16.12.1930  |            | 15.1.1931 |   |
| Soviet Union  | 7.3.1931   | Naval Limitation  | 16.12.1930 | 22.7.1931 | Complementary to article 2 of Protocol of 17.12.1929<br>Put into force by exchange of Notes. Ratified by Turkey 3.8.1931. Extended for five years as from 29.6.1933 |
| "             | 16.3.1931  | Commerce and Navigation                                   | 15.9.1931  | 9.9.1931  | Brought into force before exchange of ratifications by an exchange of notes dated 9.9.1931  |
| "             | 17.12.1929 | Friendship and Neutrality                                 | 15.9.1931  | 9.9.1931  | Extended for five years as Neutrality from 29.6.1933  |
| "             | 17.12.1929 | Protocol <i>re</i> Friendship and Neutrality              | 15.9.1931  | 9.9.1931  | Extended for five years as and Neutrality from 29.6.1933  |
| "             | 30.10.1931 | Protocol to extend three treaties marked with an asterisk | 15.9.1931  | 9.9.1931  | Ratified by Soviet Government   |
| Spain         | 28.4.1930  | Conciliation, Arbitration and Judicial Procedure          | 18.1.1931  | 18.1.1931 |   |
| "             | 25.7.1931  | Commerce and Navigation                                   |            |           |   |
| Sweden        | 29.9.1929  | Ditto   | 29.5.1931  | 28.6.1931 |   |
| Switzerland   | 13.12.1930 | Establishment   |            |           | Ratified by Grand National Assembly 20.7.1931   |
| "             | 13.12.1930 | Commerce  |            |           | Ratified by Grand National Assembly 26.3.1931   |
| United States | 28.10.1931 | Establishment and Sojourn                                 |            |           |   |

*Laws Passed in 1931*

| Law of decree No. | Date of Publication | Subject Matter  |
|-------------------|---------------------|---|
| Law No. 1740      | January 15          | Authorises payment of British pre-war claims.   |
| Law No.1744       | February 5          | Compensation for expropriated property in military zones.   |
| Decree No. 10642  | February 18         | Control of drug traffic in Turkey.  |
| Law No. 1764      | March 17            | Entry into prohibited zones.  |
| Law No.1778       | March 29            | Compulsory primary education of Turkish children in Turkish schools.  |
| Law No. 1815      | May 31              | Purchase by Turkish Government of Mudania-Brusa Railway.  |
| Decree No.11082   | June 9              | Application of Decree No. 10642 <i>re</i> drug traffic.   |
| Law No. 1836      | July 16             | Modification of succession and estate duty law.   |
| Law No. 1860      | August 2            | Modification of transaction tax.  |
| Law No. 1868      | August 1            | Authorising conclusion of provisional agreements with Powers with which Residence Conventions have not been concluded.  |
| Law No.1871       | August 1            | Addition of certain articles to Law No. 1718 relative to consumption tax.   |
| Law No. 1873      | August 1            | Law authorising application of prohibitions and restrictions on produce and manufactures of countries which have not concluded commercial treaties with Turkey. |
| Law No. 1881      | August 8            | Press Law.  |
| Decree No. 11682  | September 21        | Compulsory medical examination prior to marriage.   |
| Decree No. 11940  | November 16         | Introduction of quota system on imports under Law No. 1873.   |
| Law No. 1890      | December 1          | Emergency Law (Crisis Tax).   |
| Law No. 1893      | December 15         | Modification of article 95 of the Constitutional Law.   |
| Decree Law No. 4. | December 19         | Controlling banks' profits on foreign exchange operations.  |

## No. 127

*Mr. Hoare to Sir John Simon*

No. 46.

TEHRAN, January 27, 1932  
(Received February 16, 1932)

Sir,

With reference to Mr. Morgan's despatch No. 136 of the 23rd December last, I have the honour to report that Tefvik Rüstü Bey, Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, accompanied by the Turkish Ambassador and the following staff:-

His Excellency Djelal Bey (Deputy for Smyrna and Director-General of the "Banque d'Affaires"; former Minister),

Hussein Vasfy Bey (Director-General in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs),

Colonel Chükrü Ali Bey (General Staff),

Idris Tchora Bey (Secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs; former consul)

Osman Nuri Bey (secretary in the "Banque d'Affaires").

arrived at Pahlavi on the 17th January and reached the capital on the 18th January by road, the Persian authorities having performed a really remarkable piece of work in clearing of a heavy snow-fall the difficult passes between here and the Caspian. Three days (one of them an eighteen-hour day) of intensive work followed, as Tefvik Rüstü Bey wished to leave for Bagdad on the 25th January, and by the 24th January it was possible to issue a communiqué, of which a copy is enclosed, stating that agreement had been reached on the subject of the frontier in the neighbourhood of Little Ararat, and that it had been decided to conclude a treaty of arbitration and to initiate discussions for the conclusion of establishment, commercial and extradition conventions, as well as for the development of economic relations.

2. From both Tefvik Rüstü Bey (who greeted me as a long-lost twin) and Ferroughi I have formed the definite impression that the visit is regarded as a great success, having cleared away an atmosphere of suspicion which was a stubborn relic of the past more than anything else. Tefvik Rüstü Bey declared that the Persians were genuinely surprised at the goodwill and desire for compromise which he had shown, but which had from the time of the Mosul negotiations been the keynote of Turkey's foreign policy; as I knew well, his general line of conduct, which had received the steady support of the Ghazi, was that even an indifferently satisfactory settlement was infinitely preferable to no settlement at all. He hoped and believed that he had taught the Persians a

lesson in the art of compromise which would be useful in promoting a settlement of the outstanding issues between Persia and His Majesty's Government. His Excellency further told me that nothing could have been more cordial than the Shah's manner to him. His Majesty's clearly had a sound grasp of the main political issues which confronted his country.

3. At one of the parties given in his honour, Tefik Rüstü told me that he had just received a piece of news which delighted him, as he felt sure it would me, namely, that you hoped to pay a visit to Angora in the course of the month of May. Having shared his delight, I said something - jokingly - about this being a counterblast to the Litvinov visit, which led him to affirm that there was no danger of any misunderstanding with Moscow; in fact, so far as Turkish policy was concerned, he was perfectly sure that both in London and in Moscow everybody slept soundly in their beds ("dormaient sur les deux oreilles"). I replied that I was sure that they did in London, but was His Excellency absolutely convinced that they did in Moscow? The answer was "yes," but with the qualification that Moscow was perhaps hyper-sensitive and inclined to be suspicious; all was well, however, provided that care was taken to strangle suspicions even before they saw the light of day.

4. Tefik Rüstü Bey had intended to return by air *via* Bagdad, but weather conditions have been hopeless, and he will now leave for Pahlavi and Moscow on the 29th January. The change of plan has enabled him to meet Teymouratche, who arrived to-day.

5. Since I drafted this despatch I have received from Sir G. Clerk a copy of his despatch No.9, Confidential, of the 6th January. I will therefore add, in view of paragraph 4 of that despatch and as an humble tribute to Tefik Rüstü's political acumen, that, when I talked to Feroughi yesterday about the results of the visit, he said frankly that the Persian Government had been thoroughly suspicious of Turkey's intentions, but that these suspicions had been dissipated by Tefik Rüstü's obvious sincerity.

I have, &c.

R.H. HOARE

*F.O. 424/276, p.53-54, No.19.*

## ENCLOSURE in No. 127

*Extract from the "Messager de Téhéran" of January 24, 1932*

## Communiqué officiel du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères

Au moment où son Excellence le Dr. Tevfik Rustu Bey, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Turquie, s'est rendu à Téhéran pour transmettre à Sa Majesté impériale le Schahinschah, l'expression des sentiments fraternels de son Excellence le Ghazi Mustafa Kemal, Président de la République turque, et de rappeler, de la part du Gouvernement et du peuple turcs, au Gouvernement et au peuple persans les amitiés sincères et traditionnelles qui existent entre les deux pays, le distingué Ministre des Affaires Etrangères turc, après avoir rendu visite aux personnalités officielles persanes et mené des pourparlers ayant pour effet, conformément au désir des deux nations exprimé par les deux chefs suprêmes des deux pays respectifs, de reserrer davantage les liens d'amitié existant entre les deux pays, est tombé d'accord avec le Gouvernement impérial sur les moyens de résoudre les différends concernant la fixation de la ligne frontière entre la Perse et la Turquie, ainsi que sur le mode de régler les différends pouvant surgir dans l'avenir entre les deux Etats.

En conséquence, il est conclu entre les Gouvernements persan et turc un accord relatif à la fixation de leurs frontières respectives. Conformément à cet accord, la ligne frontière entre les deux pays est la même que celle convenue il y a trois ans à Ankara entre son Altesse Foroughi et son Excellence Tevfik Rustu Bey. Il est entendu que dans la région montagneuse d'Agri-Dagh le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté laisse à la Turquie une bande de terrain. En échange, le Gouvernement turc abandonne à la Perse dans la région de Bajergueh une partie de ses territoires. Dans la région de Kotour, où, depuis de longues années, il y avait entre les deux Gouvernements des divergences relatives à la ligne frontière, laquelle était laissée confuse, le Gouvernement turc a accepté d'abandonner à la Perse une partie des territoires contestés et ainsi la ligne frontière, ici également, fut fixée. De cette façon, tous différends concernant la frontière sont entièrement réglés entre les deux parties.

Sur la base de ce qui précède, le texte d'un accord fut arrêté et signé par les Ministères des Affaires Etrangères des deux Gouvernements. Il a été aussi entendu qu'au printemps prochain une commission mixte, composée des représentants des deux Gouvernements, sera chargée de se rendre sur les lieux et de placer les bornes frontières conformément aux termes de l'accord susmentionné.

Au sujet des différends possibles pouvant surgir dans l'avenir entre les deux pays, son Excellence Tevfik Rustu Bey et son Altesse Foroughi ont signé un traité



relatif à l'arbitrage et à la conciliation d'après les modèles actuellement en cours dans le domaine international.

L'accord et le traité susmentionnés conclus en français seront remis aux Parlements respectifs des deux pays après avoir été traduits en persan et en turc.

En dehors de ces deux documents déjà signés, son Excellence le Dr. Tevfik Rustu Bey et sa suite ont engagé avec des personnalités persanes des pourparlers relatifs aux questions économiques, voies et communications ainsi qu'aux Conventions d'Établissement, de Commerce et d'Extradition. Les deux parties ont fait preuve d'ardents désirs pour arriver à des résultats certains et il fut entendu que les pourparlers et les études nécessaires à ces différents sujets seront terminés le plus rapidement possible.

*F.O. 424/276, p.54-55, No.19/1.*

## No. 128

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No.53.

ANGORA, February 5, 1932  
(Received February 11, 1932)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that during the religious month of Ramazan now drawing to a close, passages from the Koran have, for the first time in history, been read in Turkish in several mosques, both in Constantinople and in Angora, and have apparently been listened to with much interest by large numbers of faithful.

2. This innovation, which cannot be conceived as of other than official inspiration, and seems to mark the beginning of a new official attitude towards the Moslem religion in this country, has been commented on with marked approval in the press, and has moved Yunus Nadi Bey of the "Cumhuriyet" and "République" to write a leading article deploring the former obscurantism of the Turkish Moslem clergy, who frowned on any translation of the Koran into the vernacular, with the result that all Turks who had not wasted the best years of their life in acquiring a knowledge of Arabic were unable to understand and benefit by the sacred volume which they were taught blindly and ignorantly to revere.

3. Signs had not been wanting of something like a revival of religion in Turkey for some time previous to the occurrence of the phenomenon just recorded, and it is noteworthy that the proposal to make Sunday the weekly day of rest instead of Friday was mooted again some months ago, only to relapse

hurriedly into apparent oblivion, although the measure is known to commend itself in the highest quarters. It would seem that the Government, realising the hold religious traditions still retain over the mass of the people, has decided, instead of alienating it still further, to attract it towards the new régime by the policy of apparent benevolence in spiritual matters, and, by cutting it adrift from all extraneous religious associations, to inculcate side by side the spirit of Turkish nationalism and a modernistic outlook on religion which may be calculated to produce the desired result more effectively than any measures of open repression.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/276, p.55, No.20.*

No. 129

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

*No.60.*

ANGORA, February 12, 1932

*(Received February 26, 1932)*

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.53 of the 5th instant, relative to the present position of the Moslem religion in this country, I have the honour to transmit to you the accompanying copy of an interesting note by Mr. Bramwell, second secretary of His Majesty's Embassy, descriptive of the scene which he witnessed in the Mosque of St. Sophia at Constantinople during the recent celebration of the Night of Power.

2. Though Constantinople is in no way representative of Turkey as a whole, the scenes of irreverence and disorder described by Mr. Bramwell tend to confirm the feeling, expressed in paragraph 3 of my despatch under reference, that such official innovations as recitations of the Koran in Turkish are designed rather to break up the old religious traditions than to inculcate piety in any form.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O.424/276, p.57, No.22.*

Enclosure in No. 129

*Note by Mr. Brannell*

It may be worth while to record, as a new comer to Turkey, my impressions on witnessing for the first time on the 3rd February the Kadir Gecesi ("Night of Power") ceremony in St. Sophia.

Let me say at once that it reminded me irresistibly of the Albert Hall in London seen from the gallery at a big boxing match when a foul has been committed or the referee's decision questioned. That is to say, that as a meeting for purposes of worship I found it disillusioning, even though as a spectacle it could hardly fail to exhilarate. Most Turks and foreigners, moreover, who had seen the ceremony in previous years, and whose views I sought, were unanimous in opinion that, even compared with last year, this year's ceremony marks a decided move away from the old tradition.

The mosque was packed with people, numbering, according to the Turkish press, anything from 20,000 to 30,000 but in my estimation, hardly more than half as many. Suffice it, at all events, that the whole ground floor was covered with people, and the first gallery, hence I had a view of the proceedings below, held spectators three deep all round its balustrade. All the approaches to the building, including the square between it and the mosque of Sultan Ahmet, were thronged throughout the service inside, and the actual entrances remained practically impassable owing to the seething mob which besieged them to get in or out. The service inside, as I have indicated, was both disappointing and disorderly. I went expecting a manifestation of unparalleled mass-devotion and respect and looking forward to witnessing the famous spectacle of thousands of heads and bodies rising and falling in perfect unison like the wind on a field of corn. Instead, what did I find? The worshippers seemed to act just as they pleased - I refer, of course, to those on the ground floor of the mosque - and during the prayers and reading of the Koran and Mevlud would stand, walk about, sit or kneel facing, apparently with complete indifference, either towards or away from Mecca. I was not alone of those with me to notice that many had not troubled to take off their shoes in order to participate in the service. Flashlight photographs were continually being taken. There was even at one moment a free fight between two soldiers, which gave rise to an incredible hubbub and most unseemly whistles and cat-calls, above which the chanting of the *hafiz* could not be distinguished.

I have heard two theories advanced to explain the state of affairs I have just tried to describe. The first, which has appeared in the press, is that this is the first "grande prière" in the history of St. Sophia at which the Koran and Mevlud have been read in the Turkish language, and that the unprecedented crowd in

the mosque had assembled out of curiosity. The second, which is not entirely unconnected with the first, is that they had come to see the Gazi, who was rumoured to be coming to the service. (Incidentally, I might mention that he did not come.) Whatever the true explanation may be, there is every reason, as His Majesty's Ambassador's despatch by to-day's bag to the Foreign Office implies, to attach special significance to what may be termed Mustafa Kemal's latest "feeler" towards some form of Moslem revival in Turkey. But despite the claim, which I have read in at least one Turkish newspaper, that the introduction of the Koran in Turkish into the mosques will infallibly lead to such a revival, it will take more than my recent experience in St. Sophia to convince me that this is imminent on any appreciable scale, at all events in Constantinople, and that those in authority will not find it immeasurably more difficult than they imagine to build up in a new-Turkish and independent guise the ancient religion that they have so far successfully contributed to undermine.

February 6, 1932

C.B.

F.O. 424/276, p.57-58, No.22/1.

No. 129 bis

Mr. Stephen Gaselee, Foreign Office, to Lieutenant-Colonel N. C. Scorgio

FOREIGN OFFICE, 7th March, 1932

Dear Scorgio,

We desire, for political reasons, to put a copy of General Aspinall-Oglander's "Official History of the Gallipoli Campaign" into a special binding and make a formal presentation of it through our Ambassador in Turkey to the Gazi, Mustapha Kemal Pasha. *Entre nous*, a few lines have been included in it which make it peculiarly suitable for the purpose!

I understand that it is now approaching completion: and this letter is to ask you to supply me with a complete copy of it, in sheets if possible, and to authorise your bindery here to put it into leather covers (morocco probably, or niger or seal, not pig-skin!) in a style to be chosen by us.

If you wish to be paid, we can defray the cost from a fund at our disposal here - but we should of course hope to get it *minus* discount, as it is wanted for a strictly official purpose.

For this reason I do not send a demand. If the book is ready, I should like to have the sheets soon, as Sir George Clerk is shortly coming home on leave, and we will discuss the style of binding with him.

STEPHEN GASELEE

*F.O. 371/16093/E. 1153.*

### No. 130

*Lieutenant-Colonel N.C. Scorgio to Stephen Gaselee, Foreign Office*

*G. 734/132A*

*11th March, 1932*

Dear Gaselee,

With reference to your letter E 1153/1153/44 of March 7th 1932, I am arranging for sheets of Volume One of the Gallipoli History to be sent to you at once, and of Volume Two as soon as they are available. The Press will be told to bind to your instructions.

I am afraid we must charge you (of course giving you the benefit of the trade discount), because we are absolutely debarred from presentations without Treasury authority, excepting obsolete religious books to parsons. Even with the Disarmament Conference approaching I cannot construe a War History as an obsolete religious book, and I doubt whether the Foreign Office could put forward Mustapha Kemal Pasha as a needy Minister of Religion.

Sincerely yours,

SCORGIO

*F.O. 371/16093/E. 1153.*

### No. 131

*Stephen Gaselee, Foreign Office, to Sir George Clerk*

*FOREIGN OFFICE, 30th March 1932*

My dear Clerk,

The inscription in the book to be presented to the Gazi has been approved with the following exception, and I write to ask for your concurrence in the omission.

It is of the word "Paşa", the reason being that it appears to be hardly strictly correct in Turkish to add the word "Paşa" after a name already preceded by a higher title "Gazi", just as in the comparatively frequent cases where a peer is

also a baronet, we omit all mention of the latter in his style. This will have the further advantage of doing away with a word written in a non-English script, for, the inscription being in English, if we used the title at all, we ought really perhaps to use the English form "Pasha" rather than the Turkish form "Paşa".

This leaves the inscription as follows, and you will be glad to see that we are to be allowed to use the simpler style for our Government, and not to have to employ one of those circumlocutory affairs which are now considered necessary in certain formal documents:

Presented to  
His Excellency  
Gazi Mustafa Kemal,  
President of the Turkish Republic,  
by  
His Britannic Majesty's Government  
in honour of  
a great general,  
a noble enemy,  
and a generous friend.

Will you send me a line before you start, saying, (as I hope), that you approve of this?\*

Yours ever,

STEPHEN GASELEE

*F.O. 371/16093/E.1153.*

\* *Bir vaziyet adını da not diplomasiye:*

" Approved by two Ambassadors, Grew and Clerk

G. T. C.

Eastern Dept.  
S. G. 30 III 32"

*F.O. 371/16093/E.1153.*

No. 132

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No. 127,

CONSTANTINOPLE, April 11, 1932

(Received April 21, 1932)

Sir,

Ever since my tenure of this post I have held the view and expressed it in my despatches, that the Turkish Government would never contract a foreign loan on conditions which imply any sort of control of its financial independence, and that, once it had arranged with foreign contractors and providers the terms

on which payments would be made, those terms would be strictly adhered to, for the Government realised that only so could it build up the solid credit which would eventually enable it to obtain foreign capital on conditions acceptable to itself.

2. This was my opinion at the end of last February when I went on leave, for, though the general feeling in this country was one of uncertainty as to the future of the world and a realisation that things had probably got to be worse before they were better, there was also a general hope, not to say a conviction, that things would eventually better. It was known that the Turkish Government was finding it very difficult to make revenue and expenditure meet, but it was also believed that the Government was determined to do so, and could and would succeed. When, for instance, it insisted that imports and exports must balance, and consequently there was a drastic cutting down of imports, which cost the Government at least 25 million liras in customs revenue, it was felt that, taking the long view, the Government was right. This country can, if put to it, live on its own resources without any great suffering, for the great majority of its inhabitants still desire no more than a sufficiency of bread, onions, goats' cheese, garlic, fish coffee and cigarettes, and an occasional glass of dousico, all of which, save coffee, the country produces in abundance. Cinemas, motor cycles, "palais de dance" and such like essentials of life in Western countries are still pleasures which here are rather fearfully enjoyed, and to lack them entails no hardship. In short, it was held that few countries were better fitted to weather the economic crisis than Turkey, and that the two principles of punctual payments for foreign orders and no foreign loan except on Turkish terms would be maintained.

3. But on my return a few days ago I found the moral temperature fallen very low. The Turkish Government was said to be in the most desperate financial straits, and not only had it called its foreign creditors together and asked them to agree to a postponement of immediate payments, but it was also alleged to be seeking a foreign loan on almost any terms, and a foreign loan to-day could only mean a loan raised in Paris. Moreover, the belief was widespread that the strain between the Gazi and Ismet Pasha had reached breaking-point. The Gazi was said to have realised that the ultra-nationalistic policy of Ismet Pasha, right though it might be in principle, meant in present circumstances the bankruptcy of Turkey, whose only salvation lay in the provision of foreign capital. The Gazi therefore made up his mind that the patriotic cry of Turkish financial independence at all cost must be toned down with as good a face as possible and an appeal made to foreign capital. He also realised that, so long as Ismet Pasha was Prime Minister, this *volte-face* was impossible, and further, that the only man who could induce the country to swallow the pill was himself.



4. Making all allowance for the tendency of Stambul to exaggerate, I was impressed by the postponement of Government payments to foreign contractors and providers. If the Government had had to abandon the bed-rock principle on which it was painfully building up a solid credit abroad, it must, indeed, be near collapse, and it might even be that it would justify those who, contrary to my own view, always maintained that it must eventually seek a loan in Paris, with all the conditions of foreign financial control that that would entail.

5. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs was due here on his way to Geneva just after my return, and I should have missed him if I had gone at once to Angora. I have not been able as yet to check my Constantinople impressions by the feeling in the capital, but I was fortunate enough to get Dr. Tevfik Rustü to lunch with me on the one day he spent here, when he gave me a frank *exposé* of the financial situation. His Excellency made no attempt to minimise the financial difficulties of the Government, but said that by severe economies, which included cutting down the estimates of the Ministry of National Defence by a third, the budget would be balanced. The Government had arrived at a mutually satisfactory agreement for postponement of payments with its foreign creditors - an agreement which in one case had been of considerable advantage to one of these creditors, the Swedish Bofors Company, which had been able forthwith to sell to China, at a considerably increased price, the material for which Turkey could not at the moment pay. As for a foreign loan, the Government was quite decided to wait until the markets of London and New York - that is to say, of the whole world - were open to it on reasonable terms. This attitude as regards the loan is confirmed by a leading article in the semi-official "Milliyet," published the day after my conversation with the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The writer asserts that the policy of Ismet Pasha has been that no loan should be contracted to balance the budget, but that he was always ready to contract one for the reconstruction and development of the country, on condition that such a loan was not incompatible with Turkey's political and financial independence, and that the rate of interest and general conditions were reasonable. If the Government of the Republic has not made a loan up to now, the reason has been that it has not been able to obtain proper conditions. Turkey is ready to contract a loan, but not at the price of its independence.

6. One must discount the Foreign Minister's optimism as much as Pera pessimism, but I think that the financial situation to-day, which I have explained more fully in my despatch No.136 of the 13th April, may be summarised as follows:-

The Government will probably be able to arrange with its foreign creditors for a postponement of some of the payments due in the current year without grave injury to its credits. There is also a hopeful feeling that a definite and

practical settlement of the Ottoman debt will be reached with the bondholders. On the other hand, this financial year, 1931-1932, will close on the 31st May with a deficit of somewhere about 40 million Turkish liras. About 20 million of this can be met out of economies from past years, and the balance will be extinguished by the simple process of not paying the full estimates of the various Government Departments. It must be borne in mind that the practice here has always been to make every Department work on the basis of the cash doled out to it, and not on its estimates. For instance, suppose that the Ministry of Education estimated for an increase of 5 per cent. on the salaries of certain classes of teachers, and thereby increased its demands on the public purse by some 200,000 Turkish liras, those estimates might be passed by the Grand National Assembly, but the teachers would not receive the 5 per cent. increase unless and until the money was there to pay for it, and if at the end of the year the money was still lacking, they would not receive it at all. Therefore, in a year where revenue is less than the estimated expenditure, the difference is simply cut off instead of having to be met out of the next year's income.

7. It may then, be hoped that for this year Turkey is safe, but the limit of taxation must be very near at hand, and the new taxes which are being proposed for next year seem more likely to increase the general discontent and to paralyse trade and commerce still further than to produce a bigger revenue.

I have &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.o. 424/276, P.73-74, No.34.*

No. 133

*Stephen Gazelee, Foreign Office, to Sir George Clerk*

FOREIGN OFFICE, 21st April, 1932

Dear Clerk,

I am glad to send you herewith the book for presentation to the Gazi. I think you will be pleased with its binding and general get-up, about which we have taken a good deal of trouble, and with the printed dedication or presentation label which you settled on your visit to me here on March 21st.

The actual day of publication of the second volume in England is April 25th, so that you will be able to get it into the Gazi's hands almost at the first possible moment, and at any rate before any copies could have reached Turkey in the ordinary course of business. Let us know if he is flattered at the gift.

I think the last written communication to you on this subject was Oliphant's letter No. E 4836/4836/44 of October 5th of last year.

Yours ever,

S.G.

F.O. 371/16093/E.2019.

No. 134

Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon

No.154.

CONSTANTINOPLE, April 28, 1932

(Received May 6, 1932)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.152 of the 24th instant relative to the visit of Ismet Pasha to Russia, I have been informed that when he and his suite, including Mmes. Ismet and Tevfik Rüştü, left Angora for Constantinople on the 23rd instant, he was accompanied to the station by the President of the Republic, and it was noticeable that the applause of the waiting crowd for Ismet Pasha was heartier and more spontaneous than that given to the Gazi.

2. The party is expected to return to Turkey about the 10th May, by which time the large Turkish delegation will no doubt have been suitably impressed by the warmth of the welcome awaiting them and of the sincerity of Russia's feelings towards Turkey.

3. The Anatolian agency and the Turkish press lay emphasis on the friendship and help which Russia has consistently given to Turkey since the early dark days of Turkey's fight for independence, and on the harmony of aims and interests uniting the two countries. They point out that, although it is the first time in history that a Turkish Prime Minister pays a visit to Russia, the visit should not cause anxiety to Eastern or Western Governments, and insist that Turkey is able to maintain cordial relations with Russia while maintaining equally cordial relations with Western nations.

4. The visit, as stated in my despatch No.358 of the 1st November 1931, was arranged during M. Litvinoff's stay in Angora at the end of October 1931, and it is already announced that it is expected that M. Molotov will return the visit at some future date. The exchange of visits between the two countries, which seems to be becoming a fixed and periodic institution, bears witness to the friendly

relationship prevailing between the two countries without having on any one occasion any particular significance.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representative at Moscow.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/276, p. 90, No. 40.*

No. 135

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No. 157.

ANGORA, May 8, 1932  
(Received May 20, 1932)

Sir,

Since the dissolution of the Liberal party, reported in my despatch No. 439 of the 19th November 1930, its leader Fethi Bey and his few followers have been wandering in the wilderness, the followers at least, looking back with longing to the fleshpots of the Popular party from which they went forth at the Gazi's wish.

2. Rumour has lately been busy with the name of Fethi Bey, at one time appointing him to the Embassy in Paris with the object of securing a favourable issue of the debt negotiations, at another as suggested in Mr. Morgan's despatch No. 108 of the 21st March choosing him as successor to Ismet Pasha. The Popular party, however, would have none of him. It, no doubt, shares the general opinion that Fethi is too weak to rule the country at this time of world crisis, and that the country's destinies are best entrusted to the tenacity and driving force of Ismet. Fethi Bey, therefore, remains quietly at Constantinople, but still enjoys the favour of the Gazi, who does not hesitate, when occasion offers, to do him public honour.

3. The Gazi's favour has not been withheld from Fethi Bey's followers in their exile - a contrast to the attitude of the Popular party, which has allowed time to elapse before deciding to pardon fully their defection. Apart from Agaoglu Ahmet Bey, who, secure in his professorial chair at Stambul, is no longer concerned with politics, the former Liberal Deputies made early application for readmission to the ranks of the Popular party, but were passed over in the choice of Deputies for the Grand National Assembly in April of last year. Later in the year it was announced that Nuri Bey, ex-Deputy for Kutahya, and secretary of the Liberal party, Mehmet Emin Bey - the poet - ex-Deputy of Sebiri Karahisar,

Talat Bey, ex-Deputy for Angora and Tahsin Bey, ex-Deputy for Erzerum, had applied to be enrolled as adherents of the Popular party and had been accepted. Early this year Nuri Bey and Mehmed Emin Bey were designated as Popular party candidates for the vacant Deputyships of Gazi Antap and Urfa, and have now been elected and taken their seats.

4. So ends the experiment of an organised and united Opposition. While it lived it gave rise to animated scenes in the country and lively debates in the Assembly, due to a certain personal feeling which the creation and existence of the Liberal party excited in Ismet Pasha. The present group of "Independents," whom the Popular party allowed to become Deputies, at the wish of the Gazi, in order that views other than those held by the Popular party might be aired, has no cohesion, and excites little interest. It already show signs of decay, for it has been recently announced that Enver Bey, elected Independent Deputy for Balikesir in 1931, has been admitted to the Popular party, which evidently thinks that although one-man rule was bad and brought the Ottoman Empire to ruin, one-party government cannot but be beneficial, and will restore Turkey to its former greatness.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/276, p. 97, No.44.*

No. 136

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

*No.177. Confidential.*

ANGORA, May 21, 1932  
(Received June 3, 1932)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the President of the Republic gave me an audience to-day for the purpose of handing to him the specially bound volumes of the official history of the Dardanelles campaign, which had been presented to him by His Majesty's Government.

2. When I originally applied through the Protocol Department for an audience for this purpose, the matter was treated with a good deal of official fussiness, and I was all the more agreeably surprised to find myself received by the Gazi alone, without any paraphernalia of Ministers, "chef de protocol," or official interpreters. On previous occasions when I have had the honour of speaking with the Gazi, he has sometimes grown bored with, or suspicious of,

his interpreters and, as he warmed up, carried on the conversation himself in French or even in German, but this is the first time, so far as I know, that he has received a foreign representative alone or held the conversation in French from the beginning of the interview.

3. After explaining to his Excellency that the purpose of the history was to provide the military student and posterity with a clear, true and impartial account of the inception, execution and final failure of the attempt to force the passage of the Dardanelles, I said that my Government hoped that a work of such interest, both from the military point of view and for the witness it bore to the magnificent efforts and the immortal courage of the troops on both sides, would be welcome to his Excellency, whose intervention at the decisive moment had counted for so much in the result of the battle, the issue of the campaign, and the future of his nation, and I asked the President to accept the book as an expression of the sentiments which my Government felt towards one whom they held, in the words with which they conveyed the gift to him, a great general, a noble adversary and a generous friend. The President was manifestly touched by the happy and chivalrous idea of His Majesty's Government, and he replied by asking me to convey his most cordial thanks and appreciation.

4. I then brought in Major O'Leary, my military attaché, and handed the volumes over to the Gazi, who at once pulled up a table, opened out a map of the Anafarta region and described to us his own actions during the critical days of April and August 1915. I enclose a note which Major O'Leary has made of the Gazi's interesting reminiscences of those critical days. His Excellency then went on to talk on general topics, and seemed to be ready to continue for a long time, but after an hour I felt that I could not put any further strain on his Excellency's French and asked leave to withdraw.

5. The Gazi was suffering some pain from his teeth, but otherwise appeared to be in excellent health, and nothing could have been pleasanter or more charming than his attitude throughout the interview. He was obviously touched by the grateful thought of His Majesty's Government, and he showed a simple and genial side of his character, very different from the pose of piercing-eyed utterer of divine truths which he usually adopts before the Turkish people.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK



Enclosure in No. 136

*The Gazet's Observations on the Gallipoli Campaign*

CANKAYA, May 21, 1932

I was originally commanding all the troops in the Gallipoli Peninsula, but some time before the landing of the British the southern sector was taken over by Colonel Sami Bey, who was senior to me, but who was quite incompetent. I was then commanding the 19th Division, and my headquarters were north of Maidos. The Corps Commander was at Gallipoli.

I kept my division occupied with training parades. One day, when I had a regiment out on a tactical exercise in the direction of Jong Bair (Chunuk Bair), I climbed that hill, alone with one of my staff. Suddenly I saw a line of Turkish soldiers coming towards me from the direction of Ari Burnu (Anzac). "The enemy is approaching," they said. "What enemy?" "The English - they have landed." They added that they were retiring, as they had no more ammunition for their rifles. I ordered them to fix bayonets and to lie down. The leading English troops, not understanding what was happening, did the same. Meanwhile I had called up the regiment, who fortunately had ball ammunition with them. This was the beginning of the struggle for the Jong Bair ridge, which is the key to the whole peninsula.

Before the August landings I persistently pointed out to the Higher Command that the English, being checked on both fronts, would certainly try a flanking movement, and that the only place for such an attack was the Suvla area. They refused to accept this view and the Corps Commander, Feyzi Bey, came himself to my command post, to point out to me on the ground that a landing at Suvla was impossible. Later on they became uneasy and repeatedly asked me what I thought should be done. "Take the necessary measures," I replied; "give me the command of the whole front." "Surely that would be too much." "No," I said. "it would be too little!" Liman von Sanders was ready to do this, but Enver Pasha would not allow it.

When the attack came they rang me up to know if I had heard of any British troops at Suvla. "How can there be," I answered; "you yourselves said it was impossible."

The situation was critical, as the enemy at Ari Burnu had succeeded in gaining the heights of Jong Bair, and my junior commanders there told me they could not hold out any longer. "You must hold out for one day more," I said, "till I have stopped the enemy in front of Anafarta." I hurried across personally and saw the British troops in columns near Suvla Bay. I had few troops here, and we could not have held if they had attacked, but they waited. I am told that



General Hamilton himself came to Suvla to order an attack. Meanwhile I had ordered a counter-attack, and then directed our troops to hold on, while I hastened back to the other front, where we were successful in turning the British off the heights again.

All through the campaign I had two battles to fight - one with the enemy, the other with the Higher Command.

*F.O. 424/276, p. 103, No. 49/1.*

### No. 137

*James Morgan to Sir John Simon*

No. 183.

ANGORA, May 28, 1932

(Received June 3, 1932)

Sir,

With reference to my confidential despatch No. 177 of the 21st May regarding the presentation of the History of the Dardanelles Campaign to the President of the Turkish Republic, I have the honour to enclose herewith a translation of a leading article which appeared in the "Hakimiyeti Milliye" of May 27. It will be seen that the article arose out of an article in the "Temps," which is quoted in the enclosed copy of an extract from the "Pepublique" of the same date.

2. Numan Bey, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, drew the attention of the Counsellor of the Embassy to the leader in the "Hakimiyeti Milliye" and expressed his satisfaction that both it and the Constantinople papers had taken the "Temps" to task for its attitude towards the action of His Majesty's Government. There is little doubt that the presentation of the History to the Gazi has been greatly appreciated by Turks, and they are indignant at the "Temps" article. This, of course, does not exclude a Turkish tendency at present to be indignant with French newspapers, given the slightest pretext, and possibly a little spice of malice at being able to draw attention to anything that might appear to be capable of indicating, creating or widening a rift between Great Britain and France.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 371/16093/E. 2717.*

No. 138

Sir G. Clerk to John Simon

No. 184

ANGORA, May 31, 1932

(Received June 16, 1932)

Sir,

Thanks to the article in the "Temps" reported in my despatch No.183 of the 28th instant the courteous and friendly action of his Majesty's Government in sending the Gazi a copy of the official history of the Dardanelles Campaign has become the occasion for an almost embarrassing display of appreciation on the part of the Turkish Government and press.

2. I have the honour to enclose a copy of a letter which has been addressed to me by the acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, which is not only remarkable for the warmth of the expressions therein employed, but because the Gazi and the Turkish Government evidently wished that the sentiments contained therein should be made known to the Turkish people. The text of the letter has been published *in extenso* in the semi-official "Hakimiyeti Milliye" of the 31st May, together with a photograph of the words of dedication, and the "Temps" article has been made the theme of a leader in the same number by Falih Rifki, of which a translation is also enclosed herein.

3. I have written a suitable interim reply to Sükrü Kaya Bey, but I have no doubt that much gratification would be caused if I might receive your instructions to convey to the Turkish Government the pleasure felt by His Majesty's Government at the great appreciation of their action which has been shown in Turkey. You will also observe that the Gazi asks that his thanks may be conveyed to His Majesty the King, and I should be grateful if this fact might be submitted to the attention of His Majesty.

I have, &amp;c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/276, p. 105, No.52.

Enclosure in No. 138

Turkish Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs to Sir G. Clerk

ANKARA, le 28 mai 1932

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Après vous avoir reçu la semaine dernière, M. le Président de la République a lu attentivement la dédicace inscrite par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté britannique sur le livre dont vous aviez bien voulu vous charger de lui faire présent au nom de votre Gouvernement.

L'hommage rendu à un grand commandant, un noble adversaire et un ami généreux par les dirigeants d'un peuple de *gentlemen* est non seulement un acte de courtoisie de la plus noble inspiration, mais aussi et surtout une preuve de loyauté et d'amitié à laquelle autant le Gazi que le Gouvernement de la République ont été extrêmement sensibles.

Reconnaître justement et loyalement les qualités déployées par un adversaire dans les moments de lutte, c'est effacer les amertumes de celle-ci pour ne laisser persister que la belle leçon qui s'en dégage quant aux qualités respectives des deux nations qui ont été aux prises et qui sont décidées sur la base même de cette reconnaissance mutuelle puisée à la meilleure source.

M. le Président de la République pense que les peuples qui savent échafauder sur la compréhension et l'estime réciproques la structure de leur amitié peuvent vraiment réussir à la rendre solide, sincère et effective.

Notre grand chef me charge spécialement de prier votre Excellence de bien vouloir transmettre à Sa Majesté le Roi ses plus vifs remerciements pour la belle et délicate attention montrée par le Gouvernement royal à l'égard de sa personne et à celui du peuple turc.

En m'acquittant de cette agréable mission, je vous prie, M. l'Ambassadeur, de faire part au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté que le Gouvernement de la République voit dans son geste une nouvelle preuve de l'amitié si heureusement établie entre les deux pays.

Veuillez, &c.

S. KAYA

*F.O. 424/276, p. 106, No. 52/1.*

## No. 139

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

*No. 193.*

ANGORA, June 3, 1932

(Received June 16, 1932)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that on the occasion of the birthday of His Majesty the King, I held the customary reception at this Embassy.

2. The Turkish Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs had not yet returned to Angora from their official visit to Italy, with the result that a number of the leading Turkish personalities who formed part of the delegation were

unavoidably prevented from being present, but the reception was attended by the President of the Grand National Assembly, the Acting Prime Minister, the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs and most of the other Ministers, together with a large number of Turkish officials, Deputies and notables, the Diplomatic Corps and members of the British and foreign colonies. The Director of the Protocol paid a separate call to convey the congratulations of the Turkish Government, and those of the President of the Republic were sent through his secretary-general and aide-de-camp.

3. There was abundant evidence of the friendly relations now prevailing between Great Britain and Turkey, and more than one reference testified to the good impression which has been made on Turks generally by the recent presentation to Gazi Mustafa Kemal on behalf of His Majesty's Government of the "Official History of the Dardanelles Campaign."

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/276, p. 106, No.53.*

No. 140

*Sir G.Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No. 200.

CONSTANTINOPLE, June 9, 1932  
(Received June 16, 1932)

Sir,

In my despatch No.183 of the 28th May last I had the honour to report on the bad impression made on the Turkish Government, the press and public opinion in the "Temps" criticising the action of His Majesty's Government in presenting a copy of the history of the Dardanelles campaign to the Gazi.

2. The "Temps" in its issue of the 4th June, has now published a further article, suggesting that Italy should seek in Asia Minor the place in the sun for which she clamours, and implying that she could count on the benevolent moral support of France. This fresh article has aroused an indignation in Angora which finds its freest expression in a leading article of to-day's "République" by Yunus Nadi, proprietor and editor-in-chief of that journal. I enclose a copy of this article. The semi-official "Hakimiyeti Milliye" writes in a more sober strain. It pretends to believe that the opinions of the "Temps" are not those of the French nation, and argues that the suggestion that Italy should seek expansion in Southern Anatolia is obviously intended to sow distrust between Italy and Turkey and springs from resentment at Italo-Turkish

friendship, which, however, has no secret aims. The newspaper invites France to realise that both Italy and Turkey hold strongly that all Near Eastern nations should be completely independent. The friendship now existing between Great Britain and Turkey originates in the Mosul Treaty, but may be said to have its rise in England's recognition of Iraq's independence, which is the basis of the treaty. As it is strong to hope that Syria, too, may one day be independent? Let France ask herself why she is now suspected by the whole world when, up to the outbreak of the Great War, everyone loved her, and why her own newspapers attack those sincere French patriots who are striving to bring France and Turkey together. She will find that it is because her newspapers are in the pay of manipulation-makers whose only aim is to set nation against nation.

3. My French colleague is in Angora at the moment of writing, and I am therefore unable to say what action he proposes to take to meet the situation. But I have no doubt that he will be able to convince the Turkish Government that such articles in the "Temps" in no way reflect the real opinion of the French Government or of serious opinion in France. None the less, it is unfortunate that ill-feeling should be unnecessarily stirred up in this way, for there are numerous outstanding questions which Comte de Chambrun still has to settle with the Turks, and his task will not be rendered any lighter by these effusions. Incidentally, harm may be caused to British interests in such Franco-British questions as the Ottoman Debt and the Constantinople Quays Company, which are among the difficult questions which France is pressing Turkey to settle.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/276, p.109, No.56.*

## No. 141

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

*No.207*

CONSTANTINOPLE, June 21, 1932

*(Received July 1, 1932)*

Sir,

I have the honour to report that on the 8th June His Highness the Emir Feisal, son of the King of Hejaz-Nejd, arrived in Constantinople, by Soviet steamer from Odessa. He was accompanied to Turkey by M. Florinski, Soviet Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps, and both on his arrival and during his stay in Turkey has been the object of assiduous attentions on the part of members of the Soviet Embassy.

2. After a short stay in Constantinople, the Emir, with his suite, among whom were Fuad Hamza Bey, deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Halid Fıvhi Bey, aide-de-camp, left for Angora in a special saloon coach placed at their disposal by the Turkish Government, and was the guest of the Government from the 12th to the 15th June, afterwards returning to Constantinople, where he is to spend a few days before leaving for Tehran via the Caucasus, and thence for Bagdad.

3. While at Angora the Emir was received by the President of the Republic, who gave a dinner in his honour at his new residence at Cankaya, and was the guest at banquets or receptions given by İsmet Pasha, Teyfik Rüşü Bey, Kazım Pasha, President of the Grand National Assembly, and Hikmet Bey, secretary-general of the Gazi. In deference to the opinions of the Emir, no alcoholic refreshments were served at these gatherings. In his turn, the Emir gave a dinner to the President of the Republic and leading Turks. Before leaving Angora the Emir had an amicable conversation at the Iraq Legation with His Highness the Emir Zeid, Minister of Iraq and brother to the King of that country.

4. In the course of the dinner given at Cankaya by the President of the Republic, speeches were exchanged which, while on conventional lines, were marked with slightly more restraint on the Wahabi than on the Turkish side. The Gazi expressed his pleasure at the efforts which were being made to set the Hejaz and Nejd on the way of progress, and his best wishes for the future of those countries under the strong administration of King Abdulaziz, while the Emir confined himself to acknowledging with thanks the Gazi's wishes and reciprocating them. The official communiqué issued on the conclusion of the visit referred to cordial and sincere conversations, harmony of views, feelings of mutual confidence, and the influence of that visit on the consolidation of peace in the Near East.

5. The time between banquets was devoted to inspections of banking and military establishments. In this latter connexion it is noticeable that the visit of the Emir to Turkey is distinguished from that of other important personages by the exhibition to him of part of Turkey's military resources, and by the rather unusual participation, in his reception and in his send-off, of high military authorities. The Emir was shown over military factories and barracks, under the guidance of Ali Sait Pasha, Army Inspector; he assisted at tactical exercises, was present at a display of military horsemanship, and witnessed an aerial review in which some twenty-five military aeroplanes from Eskişehir took part. One of these flew into an obstacle when starting and the pilot was killed. The others indulged in formation flying, which to a lay observer seemed rather ragged, but the diving and other acrobatic feats seemed temerarious but successful.

6. Press comment on the visit is curiously unanimous in insisting that Turkey's interest in Hejaz and Nejd arises out of pleasure at their having won complete independence and in declaring that it is, and always has been, Turkey's desire that Moslem States detached from the Ottoman Empire should have complete independence. For this reason she has always disliked the term "mandate" which signifies subjection. She had only consented to cede the Vilayet of Mosul because the cession was to be made to an independent Iraq. The line to be followed in regard to Syria by France, which is at present enjoying a 'bad press' in Turkey, is thus clearly indicated. Yunus Nadi, writing as usual with his tongue in his cheek, after proclaiming Turkey's yearning for the independence of her former possessions, praises the austere organiser of the Hejaz and Nejd who has obtained independence for his subjects, has endowed them with a strong Government, dealing out severe justice and ruling with iron discipline, and he concludes with an outburst of joy at the progress made by the Arab peoples, Turkey's co-religionists.

7. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Jedda.

I have, &c

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/277, p. 1-2, No. 1.*

No. 142

*Sir G. Clerk to John Simon*

No. 249.

CONSTANTINOPLE, July 21, 1932

(Received July 28, 1932)

Sir,

Two years ago the Gazi, seeking to fill the time which lies heavy on his hands at Cankaya, absorbed into his system a stimulating but inadequate draught of the Pierian waters, and became conscious of the existence of a light which, but for his initiative, would in all probability have still remained concealed beneath the Turkish bushel, namely, the prominent rôle played by Turks in bygone ages in the creation and development of our modern civilisation. An ungrateful world had, he perceived, quite failed to appreciate or even to acknowledge the considerable achievements of its Turkish ancestors, and the time had come to make it clear to all and sundry exactly to whom the nations were really indebted for the benefits of civilisation. The immediate outcome of this initiative was the



formation of a Turkish Historical Research Commission, which was charged with the task of sifting and collecting evidence which would substantiate and establish the remarkable theory above indicated.

2. As the work of the Historical Research Commission proceeded, the results of its labours have been published at intervals in the form of an official Turkish history, the use of which has been made compulsory in all schools in the country. With the intention of concentrating a still wider range of attention on the results of its activities, the commission has recently, at the Gazi's instigation, convoked a Historical Congress which sat in Angora from the 2nd to the 11th July, and which was composed of some 200 professors and teachers of history, archaeologists, anthropologists and the members of the commission, many of whom delivered addresses which were followed with close attention by the Gazi, members of the Cabinet, Deputies and representatives of the press.

3. With a single exception, the speakers scrupulously and loyally confined themselves to elaborating and establishing the theory conceived by the Gazi that modern civilisation rests upon a Turkish foundation, whether it be European or Asiatic, the main theme, which they never seemed to tire of reiterating, being that the Turks originally moved westwards from Central Asia, and were responsible for the establishment of the first civilised communities in Western Asia and in Europe. It was maintained that the Aryans were Turks, and that any distinction drawn between them was false; all the credit which had been given to the Aryans for their achievements was therefore due to the Turks. Similarly, the great Mesopotamian civilisation was Turkish, for not only was Abu Muslim, the founder of the Abbaside dynasty in Bagdad, a Turk, but so also were the succeeding chiefs of that line and the greater part of the leading Islamic philosophers. The Ionian civilisation too, which was the forerunner of the Aegean civilisation, came from Asia Minor, and, in fact, the Aegean, Scythian, Attic, Sumerian and even the ancient Egyptian civilisations were all links in one chain and were all forged on the anvil of Altay. It was beyond doubt that the Turks were a brachycephalic race, and therefore the whole Alpine stock had a Turkish origin.

4. One participant in the congress, Zeki Velidi Bey, had the courage to assert that the Gazi's theory of the universality of the Turkish race was scientifically untenable. He thereby raised a storm of protest, and was so severely attacked and ridiculed by a leading Turkish archaeologist that he found that he had no option but to resign his position as professor at the Faculty of Letters in the University of Constantinople.

5. At this point it is perhaps worth recalling that, about a year ago, Fuad Köprülüzade Bey, a philologist, and especially a "Turcologist" of European reputation, and a direct descendant of the famous family of Köprülü, which

provided several Grand Viziers, was, for maintaining views similarly inconsistent with the Gazi's theory, removed on a transparently manufactured pretext from his position as dean of the Constantinople Faculty of Letters and professor of the first class, and degraded to that of professor of the third class.

6. Another rather surprising outcome of the congress is the offer made by my American colleague, in a letter to the president of the congress, to have the record of the proceedings of the congress translated into English and published in the United States for distribution amongst American universities and libraries, at his own expense, subject to the approval of the congress, which was, of course, gladly given.

7. There is one comment on the motives and results of the deliberations of the congress which I venture to submit as having in it some indication of the train of thought which prompted the Gazi to delve into the nebulous past in this manner. The comment is that of a Turk, who remarked that the conception of the Gazi's theory was evidently intended to produce a cult to replace Islam by giving the Turkish nation a tradition and a heritage which would be the object of their pride and the source of their *amour-propre* in much the same way as the cult of communism had been developed among the people of Soviet Russia. The president of the congress, Yusuf Akcura Bey, stated in his closing speech that the object of the researches undertaken by the commission was to give the Turkish people their proper place in history, and while numerous foreign experts will doubtless agree that that place is being secured largely by usurpation, it is reasonable to assume that the new Turkish history, as dispensed in Turkish schools, will tend to concentrate the attention of the new generation on the racial aspect of its past to the exclusion of all extraneous aspects such as its religious antecedents. I doubt not that every opportunity will be eagerly seized to secure as wide a publicity as possible for the new notions both at home and abroad, and the presence of two members of the Historical Research Commission at the forthcoming Prehistoric and Protohistoric Congress in London has, I feel sure been decided upon with this end in view.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/277, p. 89, No. 10.*

## No. 143

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No 230

CONSTANTINOPLE, July 21, 1932

*(Received July 28, 1932)*

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of a despatch from my military attaché, giving an interesting account of conversations he has had recently with Abbas Hilmi Pasha, the ex-Khedive.

2. Abbas Hilmi is in many ways better qualified than most foreigners to know something of the real situation in inner Turkish circles, but much of what he said to Major O'Leary is more or less common knowledge, or, rather, general supposition, and on other points I should not be prepared to agree altogether with the views of his Highness.

3. For instance, Abbas Hilmi is not alone in finding the Gazi's relations with Ismet Pasha very obscure. We all of us do. My own opinion is that the two men are temperamentally different, which leads to occasional friction, but that they are united in their work for Turkey, and it will take a great deal to break that bond. As for the Gazi having lost much of his power, this is more or less guesswork. For some time there has been no occasion for the Gazi to assert his personality but, should such an occasion arise, I should be surprised if his name were not found still to possess nearly all its old magic.

4. As regards the allusion to Afet Hanım, eldest of the Gazi's adopted daughters and a serious and responsible character, it is, I think, not so much his enemies as his boon companions who intrigue against her. She undoubtedly possesses a restraining influence over the Gazi, and is able to curtail his indulgence in all-night sittings of poker and douzico.

5. Except that I think that the ex-Khedive rather underrates Ismet Pasha, the rest of his Highness's observations in the fourth paragraph of major O'Leary's despatch are more or less commonplaces; but I cannot agree with Abbas Hilmi's views, as expressed in the following paragraph, that Ismet pasha was unfavourably impressed by much that he saw in Russia. My own impression is that Ismet Pasha, while alive to the obvious difficulties and weaknesses of the Soviet régime, yet considers that the two most satisfactory forms of modern Government are those of Bolshevik Russia and Fascist Italy, and seeks to apply the best points of both to the administration of Turkey.

6. Lastly, I should much doubt the Gazi being angry with Teflik Rüşü Bey for bringing Turkey into the League of Nations. If it were true, it would go far to

hear out Abbas Hilmi's view that the Gazi has lost much of his power, for certainly, until recently, there would have been no question whatever of Turkey entering the League of Nations if the Gazi had been opposed to the idea. Moreover, Turkey's entrance into the League of Nations is all in accordance with the Gazi's "westernising" efforts. From all I can learn, there is no doubt that Tefik Rüşti suffered considerably under the strain of his recent journeys to Tehran, Moscow and Rome, and that the state of his health made it inadvisable for him to go to Geneva. Abbas Hilmi might reply that, in that case, the Government would normally have sent another Minister, such as Sükrü Kaya, who always acts as Minister for Foreign Affairs in the absence of Tefik Rüşti. It could be replied to this by anyone who was familiar with Tefik Rüşti Bey that, if his Excellency could not gather for himself the sweets of the official reception of Turkey into the League, he was not going to let any of his colleagues do so. But my own belief is that the explanation is much simpler, though purely conjectural. I gather that in certain quarters connected in various ways with the League of Nations the entry of Turkey has been by no means favourably regarded, especially in the case of the Armenians, and I think it quite likely that the Turkish Government, aware of this and fearing an awkward incident, and possibly an actual attempt at assassination, decided that it was better to avoid formal *début* at Geneva.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/277, p. 10, No. 11.*

Enclosure in No. 143

*Major O'Leary to Sir G. Clerk*

*No.2, Confidential*

CONSTANTINOPLE, July 18, 1932

Sir,

I have the honour to submit to your Excellency's notice some observations by His Highness Abbas Hilmi Pasha, ex-Khedive of Egypt, with whom I have recently had several opportunities of speaking.

The ex-Khedive, who describes himself as a Turk of Kavalla, professes sympathy for the Gazi as a fellow-Rumeliot. Their friendship dates from the War in Tripoli in 1912, when Enver Pasha, already jealous of Mustafa Kemal, tried to poison him. Two years later, when Enver informed all military attachés abroad that he was about to bring Turkey into the war as Germany's ally, Kemal was the only one who found the courage to protest.

Abbas Hilmi's disapproval of the present régime in this country is based on his conviction that the Anatolian is inferior to the European Turk. He attributes the complacency with which in the last forty years they have lost all their European possessions, from Crete to Western Thrace, to a fatuous self-sufficiency, and thinks that if they were to lose Constantinople to-morrow they would pretend that it was a happy release.

He considers that the Gazi has lost much of his power, but finds his relations with Ismet Pasha very obscure. The Gazi is surrounded by a small band of devoted Turks, all of European origin, including the commander of the Angora garrison. Afet hanım watches him very closely, and Abbas recently warned her that the Gazi's enemies were intriguing to separate her from the President. He describes Ismet as a staff officer, who knows nothing of Europe, and thinks that there are few honest men in the Government, other than Apdulhalik, who is not clever. The dangerous clique is composed of such men as Mahmud Esat, Saracoglu and Şükrü Kaya, "des anarchistes qui ont fait leurs études à Lausanne et à Genève." Fethi Bey is also quite honest, but not very intelligent. The Gazi likes him personally, but was obliged to suppress the Liberal party hurriedly, owing to its surprising popularity.

Abbas Hilmi thinks that Ismet Pasha was unfavourably impressed by much that he saw in Russia during his recent visit, and was not deceived by the demonstrations of military and industrial prowess. Profoundly convinced that Turkey has nothing to learn from the Bolshevik régime, the Prime Minister then went to Rome to study the opposing theory of government. The members of the Turkish delegation, talking amongst themselves, were heard by a friend of the ex-Khedive to suggest that, although the army to-day is loyal, a militia on the Italian model would be a very useful safeguard.

The Gazi is supposed to have expressed his anger with the Foreign Minister for bringing Turkey into the League of Nations after his engagements with Russia to the contrary, and to have said that it was shameful, and that someone else should go to Geneva, either then Şükrü Kaya or Recep Bey. Perhaps this is the explanation of Tefik Rüstü's recent indisposition.

The ex-Khedive professes to bear no ill-will to England for any friction during his twenty-three years in Egypt. He hopes that the mandate in Palestine will continue for many years, as the Jews cannot govern, and the Arabs, like Albanians in the Ottoman Empire, are only fit to be guardians and doorkeepers.

His Highness leaves in a few days to join his brother-in-law at Bad Gastein, and will be back in Turkey at the end of November.

I have, &c.

B. J. O'LEARY  
Major, R.A.

## No. 144

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No 258.

CONSTANTINOPLE, July 24, 1932

*(Received July 28, 1932)*

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.228 of the 5th instant, I have the honour to report that an Italian naval squadron consisting of the cruiser "Quarto" flying the flag of Admiral Moreno, and four destroyers, "Cairolì" "La Farina" "Bassini" and "Cosenz" after passing up the Bosphorus on the 8th instant *en route* for Varna, returned to Constantinople to make an official visit on the morning of the 16th, and left on the 23rd for Brindisi after a successful stay of one week.

2. The programme of this visit presented the usual features, the only novelty being a visit by the admiral on the 18th to Yalova in the Gulf of Ismid, where he paid his respects to the Gazi, who recently left Angora for this summer resort.

3. On the arrival of the squadron off the Palace of Dolmabahçe on the 16th, the usual salutes were exchanged. The Captain of the Port, the Italian consul-general and vice-consul and the Italian naval attaché went aboard to call on the admiral in the morning. In the afternoon the admiral was taken by the naval attaché to call on the Italian Ambassador at Therapia, and in the evening he visited the Apostolic Delegate, who celebrated Mass on board the flagship on the following morning, a Sunday. The morning of the 17th was occupied by official calls and in the afternoon a garden party was given by the Italian Ambassador at the Palazzo Venezia (the Italian Embassy in Pera) in honour of the admiral and the officers of the squadron.

4. The 18th, prior to the admiral departure for Yalova, was devoted to an official reception in the flagship of the leading Turkish officials and of other prominent personalities including the chief members of the local athletic clubs.

5. On the morning of the 19th the admiral led a detachment from the ships under his command through the streets of Pera to the Taksim Square, where he laid a wreath on the monument to the republic. In the afternoon he received the foreign naval attachés on board. In the evening he attended, with his officers, a ball given in their honour by the Italian Ambassador at the Therapia Embassy.

6. The 20th was a day of comparative inactivity, a detachment of officers merely returning the visit of the athletic clubs.

7. On the 21st the admiral was entertained by the local Fascio at the Casa d'Italia. Appropriate speeches were exchanged, followed by what the press



described as a "vermouth d'honneur." Further vermouths awaited the admiral on the morning of the 22nd, at a reception which he attended of the "Società Operaia," the local guild of working-class Italians.

8. That afternoon, in the circumstances reported in my despatch No.253 of the 21st July, the destroyer "Cosenz," with the Italian Ambassador on board, left the squadron for Italy, the "Quarto" firing a salute on his departure. The remainder of the squadron sailed at dawn on the 23rd for Brindisi.

9. Since writing the above, Captain McDonald, Straits Commission, has drawn my attention to the striking fact that there appears, during the whole visit of the Italian squadron, to have been no exchange whatever of the usual civilities and hospitality with the Turkish naval authorities, that no Turkish naval officers were present at any of the receptions I have recorded, and that the customary visit to the Turkish naval school at Halki was omitted from the programme altogether.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/277, p. 14, No.13.*

## No. 145

*Sir G.Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No.209.

CONSTANTINOPLE, August 29, 1932  
(Received September 9, 1932)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that, according to an announcement in the press, confirmed to me by one of the more literary of the Gazi's associates, a Turkish Linguistic Congress is shortly to be opened at Constantinople. I gather that the origin of this congress is as follows:

2. My despatch No.249 of the 21st July last described a movement, inspired by the Gazi and enthusiastically followed by practically the whole of the Turkish *intelligentsia*, for the identification of the Turkish race with all the illustrious peoples of history, and the consequent attribution to primæval Turkish culture of all credit for the great civilisations of the past and present. It only remained to confirm these conclusions, if any confirmation were necessary, by a corresponding discovery in the linguistic sphere, and it may be said that, thanks to the universality of the presidential genius, this discovery has already virtually been made, and the congress is to set its seal upon the theory.



3. It may be remembered that as long ago as the spring of last year (see paragraph 5 of my despatch No 147 of the 29th April, 1931), the Gazi's ethnological researches had led him to the significant conclusion that Kent, Tashkent and Samarkand had a common origin in the Turkish tongue, and that the Uz tribe of the Black Sea coasts had given their name to the various English Ouses. (Incidentally, "uz" has the meaning of "kind" or "gentle" in Turkish, and even apart from the Black Sea tribe, these epithets are strikingly characteristic of the principal English river of that name.) The Gazi's leisure hours increased since then, for he tends to all appearance to leave current affairs more and more in the hands of his Ministers, and there is neither scope nor money for any more sensational reforms. His Excellency's philological studies have benefited from the lack of more spectacular occupation, and now for the first time the world at large, through the medium of the Turkish press, has been vouchsafed a glimpse of the accumulating treasure which is to be revealed in due course. Yunus Nadi Bey, the Gazi's faithful journalistic henchman, has just published in the "République" a series of articles, written after a private interview with the Great Guide, which gave clear promise of what is to come, and it will be no mere hypothesis, but an established fact, that will confront the literary world.

4. As the ancient Turkish culture is the mother of European civilisation, even so the ancient Turkish language is the mother of all European tongues. Such is the Gazi's coming discovery, which Yunus Nadi has been forestalling with pæns of reverential joy. No positive proof is available for the present, but so attractive a theory (as it is still allowed to be) has little need of proof, and the Gazi's historical and ethnological conclusions needed none to acquire an authority which no Turk would dare to question in public, and very few in private. Short of absolute proof, however, Yunus Nadi Bey cites for his readers a number of verbal derivations which have forced themselves upon the Gazi during his study of a dictionary of the Chagatai dialect of Turkish, published at Constantinople by one Sheikh Suleiman Efendi Buhari in 1298 A.H. (1882 A.D.). The first example quoted is nothing short of sensational. The real origin of the European word "culture" which English dictionaries have been content to derive from the Latin verb "colere" is now plain. The Chagatai dictionary contains a word "kiltourmak" meaning "to bring, prepare, make to succeed, cause, conduct, replace, fix." Take away the infinitival termination "mak," says the Gazi, and what do you find? "Kiltour" - "Culture." What is culture but a compendium of the meanings given above? Yunus Nadi, inspired by this example of the simple science of philology, has made similar discoveries for himself, as, for instance, the word "taosmak," with its significations "to be joyous and enthusiastic, to drink in honour of someone." Remove the "mak" as before and what is left? "Taos" - "Toast." Thus another word of general European usage and

unexceptionable modernity proves to be of Turkish origin. Another brilliant discovery is the origin of "pyjama." Hitherto supposed to be Persian, this word, with its even more markedly European and modern implications, should no longer be considered Persian except in so far as the Persians borrowed it from the ancient Turks. Does not *py* = *bi* = *bey*, and as incontestably, *jama* = *eljame* = *givme*? *Bey-givme*, the dress of the Bey. (Anyhow, a more dignified explanation than the obvious one of "foot of the garment," which is a literal translation of the perfectly straightforward Persian.)

5. But all this has its serious side, quite apart from the solemn convictions of the Gazi and his mouthpiece. In paragraph 6 of my despatch No.249 I reported that my American colleague had offered to have the proceedings of the recent Turkish Historical Congress translated into English and published in the United States, at his own expense, for distribution amongst American universities and libraries. The counsellor of the United States Embassy has informed a member of my staff that this report, which was broadcast by the Turkish press, was not altogether correct. What Mr. Sherill really offered to have translated and published at his expense is a still non-existent summary of the four volumes of the Turkish Historical Research Commission's official history, which has been imposed on all teaching bodies in this country. At all events, the dangers to be apprehended from the broadcasting in the English language of such theories, whether historical or linguistic, are perhaps more real than would appear at first sight. It is not to be supposed that they will be received with anything less than amused contempt by even the less illustrious academic institutions of the New World; while in Europe, and particularly in England, it is not difficult to imagine learned societies exploding with laughter over the Gazi's extravaganzas, and learned professors writing to the "Times" to poke fun at some statement or deduction that appears to them irresistibly comic. Such otherwise harmless incidents might be counted on to kindle a blaze of official Turkish indignation which Yunus Nadi and scribes of his kidney would eagerly fan into a nation-wide conflagration. Xenophobia is happily fairly quiescent at present, but there are from time to time indications that it is ready to flare up on the smallest pretext, and none would be so effective as a foreign reflexion on the Gazi or slight on the national pride.

6. I share the view which has been expressed by one of the very few genuine Turkish intellectuals to a member of my staff, that it is both surprising and regrettable that the President of the Republic should have allowed himself to become obsessed by his present mania to the total neglect of the pressing financial and economic problems with which the country is confronted.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

No. 146

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No. 510

CONSTANTINOPLE, September 18, 1932

*(Received September 22, 1932)*

Sir,

With reference to your despatch No. 352 of the 5th instant, I have the honour to report that His Majesty's ships "Curaçoa" (flying the flag of Rear-Admiral Tottenham, C.B.E.), "Colombo," "Curlew," "Ceres" and "Rover," arrived off Constantinople at 7 A.M. on the 16th September and saluted the Turkish flag.

2. Accompanied by His Majesty's consul-general, the rear-admiral called on the Vali of Constantinople and afterwards paid a visit with my military attaché to Major-General Rüstü Pasha, who received his call on behalf of Lieutenant-General Şükrü Naili Pasha, General Officer Commanding the IIIrd Army Corps, who was absent on manœuvres. Later the rear-admiral proceeded to Dolmabahçe Palace to write his name in the visitor's book of the President of the Republic. On returning to the flag ship the rear-admiral received the calls of the Vali and of Major-General Rüstü Pasha, and later in the day was visited by the aide-de-camp of the Gazi. In view of the shortness of the squadron's stay, and of the time taken by the official visits to and from the Turkish authorities, I arranged with the rear-admiral that formal visits between us should be dispensed with, and that I should visit him unofficially after a luncheon party which I gave in his honour, and to which were invited members of his staff, the commanding officers of the ships under his command, and leading Turkish civil, military and naval authorities.

3. As I reported in my despatch No. 228 of the 5th July, the suggestion that His Majesty's ships should pay a call at Constantinople on their way to the Black Sea was warmly welcomed by the Turkish authorities, and the visit has given them satisfaction. Officers and men who have landed to visit the town or accepted local hospitality were everywhere received in friendly fashion though without demonstrativeness. Their visit to the war-graves on the Gallipoli peninsula on the 15th instant was accomplished without incident in the conditions laid down by the Turkish authorities, namely, that officers should land in multi and men in uniform, and that the visit should terminate before nightfall.

4. A matter which necessitated calling for some explanation from the Turkish authorities arose in connexion with the salute fired by His Majesty's ship "Curaçoa" on arrival off the city. Although His Majesty's ship "Curaçoa" saluted the Turkish flag with twenty-one guns, the Turkish gunners firing from the

Selimiye barracks only replied with eleven. I was satisfied, after hearing the statements of the Vali of Constantinople and of Major General Rüşti Pasha on the subject, that the Turkish gunners who had been instructed to return gun for gun had only heard eleven guns fired from the British flag ship, the other ten which were fired on the lee side being inaudible owing to the distance and the direction of a rather strong wind. I represented, however, to the Turkish authorities that their omission should, if possible, be rectified, and we agreed that on the departure of the squadron for the Black Sea, about 5 P.M., the flag-ship should fire a salute of twenty-one guns in honour of the President of the Republic, who was in residence at Dolmabahçe Palace on the Bosphorus, and that the salute should be returned from Selimiye barracks. This was accordingly done, being on this occasion made by the Turks, and, in view of this, I am of opinion that the matter may be considered satisfactorily closed.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/277, p. 17, No.16.*

No. 147

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

*No.311.*

CONSTANTINOPLE, September 18, 1932  
(Received September 22, 1932)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that about two weeks ago it began to be rumoured that the Minister of National Economy, Mustafa Şeref Bey, was about to resign for reasons of health, and that his successor would be Celal Bey, the Director-General of the "İş Bankası." This rumour was soon confirmed by an announcement in the press of the 8th September, which added that the new Minister had left Constantinople for Angora with İsmet Pasha on the previous evening.

2. Celal Bey is one of the numerous Deputies for Smyrna, and was chief cashier in the Brusa branch of the Deutsche Orient Bank before the War of Independence, in the course of which he joined the Nationalist forces and is believed to have served with distinction. In 1923 he was appointed Minister of National Economy - a much less important post then than now - in the Angora Government, and during his tenure of office acted for the Minister for Foreign Affairs in the latter's absence. He soon afterwards became Minister of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement (*i.e.* of the Moslem refugees from outside

Turkey), a post which he retained until July 1924, when he was appointed Director-General of the newly-established "İs Bankası" on the recommendation of the Gazi himself.

3. The member of my staff at present resident in Angora has learned from a reliable source that the causes underlying Mustafa Seref's resignation (which he was undoubtedly called upon to tender), and Celal Bey's appointment to a post which has become of critical importance, are as follows: Finding the business of the "İs Bankası" greatly hampered by the Government's exaggerated policy of State control of trade and industry, Celal Bey summoned his friends who were in like position and agreed to be their mouthpiece in pleading with the Gazi the cause of private enterprise *versus* State control. The President listened sympathetically, the Prime Minister less so, but İsmet Pasha eventually agreed to let Celal Bey put his ideas to the test by himself taking over the portfolio of National Economy. It is not expected, Mr. Montgomery was informed, that the new Minister will attempt to reverse the Government's economic policy completely, and it is thought that he will be content to modify some of the more unreasonable of the recent quota decrees regarding which the commercial secretary to His Majesty's Embassy has reported fully in the Overseas Trade (B) series.

4. However that may be, there is no doubt that the eclipse of that obstinate and doctrinaire economist Mustafa Seref and the advent to power of a practical and experienced business man in the person of Celal Bey, has caused an outburst of satisfaction in the local industrial and commercial world, now eagerly awaiting the result of a full Cabinet Council which was originally announced for the 11th of this month, but which, though all the Ministers had flocked to Angora to attend it, was postponed until to-day, presumably in order to enable the new Minister to become familiar with all the aspects of the economic situation, and to hear and consider the views of the various deputations which have been hastening to the capital.

5. The fact that İsmet Pasha travelled by air from Angora to Constantinople on the 16th September, to confer for a few hours with the President of the Republic before returning by air to Angora, is generally connected with to-day's meeting of the Cabinet, and enhances its importance. There is little doubt that radical measures are needed to improve the economic situation, and I hear that the financial situation is such that Government employees in the Eastern Anatolian districts have been unable to receive pay for two months, and are beginning to react vigorously in consequence.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK



## No. 148

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No. 326.

CONSTANTINOPLE, October 1, 1932

*(Received October 7, 1932)*

Sir,

In my despatch No. 311 of the 18th September and No. 317 of the 29th September last I briefly recorded the changes of occupancy of the portfolios of National Economy and Public Instruction. It may be of interest to supplement those despatches by a short comment on the possible reasons for the changes.

2. Mustafa Şeref Bey, the late Minister of National Economy, was, as I found when negotiating our commercial treaty, though honest enough, a narrow-minded and pedantic doctrinaire who thought it necessary on every occasion to show his profound knowledge of his subject by disagreeing with every proposal put before him, regardless of his merits. This attitude may have its uses in reducing foreign negotiators to a state of imbecile and pliable exasperation, but when applied to the practical work of Turkish domestic economy is likely to lead to hopeless confusion. It was, therefore, clearly only a question of time before the situation created by Mustafa Şeref would become so impossible that some drastic change of policy would have to be made, but a more serious question was how much, and how irreparable, would be the injury done to Turkey's economic life before he gave way to a more practically-minded successor. İsmet Pasha has a natural loyalty to his colleagues, especially to those chosen by himself, and there exists in him a streak of obstinacy which leads him to keep them in office, even when their unfitness is generally recognised. In the case of Mustafa Şeref, the growing irritation of the Turkish business world at the flood of restrictive, contradictory, unintelligible, and unworkable legislation reached such a pitch that the head of the İş Bankası, finding all other means useless, went direct to the Gazi. The latter realised that Celal Bey's complaints were well-founded and seems to have pressed İsmet Pasha, who was present at the interview, so firmly that the Prime Minister, with much reluctance, gave way, and agreed that Mustafa Şeref should go and his place be taken by Celal Bey, who could thus apply the remedies he had so forcibly urged.

3. I have been told that, before he yielded, İsmet Pasha took very vehemently the line that Mustafa Şeref's actions were not individual, but measures on which the Government had agreed as a whole, and for which it was responsible as a whole, and that it would stand or fall by the Minister of National Economy. If this is true, what, in my belief, turned the scale and averted an open conflict between the Gazi and the Prime Minister were two more or less chance events, which had already brought forcibly home to İsmet Pasha the disastrous trend of Mustafa Şeref's policy. The first factor was that the Prime Minister happened recently to have paid an official visit to Smyrna for some ceremony or other, and the change from the rarefied optimism of Angora to the

justified depression of Turkey's Liverpool came as a great but salutary shock. There is no doubt that the deplorable condition of the Turkish business community in Smyrna made a very deep impression.

4. The other event was brought about fortuitously by me. I happened to be sailing my small yacht one afternoon in the Marmora when Ismet Pasha was crossing in his launch from the mainland to spend a few days on one of the Prince's Islands. On seeing my yacht he came alongside to pay me a visit. There was on board a friend of mine, the leading British resident in Turkey, and the man best qualified to express views on Turkey's economic situation. I set my two guests to talk and Ismet learned a great deal that I am sure he had never heard before - amongst other things, that one of Mustafa Beref's most ingenious devices for balancing imports and exports had merely added another 25 or 30 per cent. to the cost of Turkey's imports. The exporter was obliged to obtain a "permis d'exportation" before he could ship his goods, the idea being that in this way the amount of imports that could be allowed would be effectively controlled. But the practical result was very different. Importers simply went to friendly exporters and bought "permis d'exportation" at a premium of 25 or 30 per cent. with which certificate they proceeded to import their goods. It is interesting that the first act of the new Minister of National Economy was to abolish the "permis d'exportation".

5. The result has been that Ismet Pasha abandoned Mustafa Şeref and that Celal Bey is at this moment one of the most overworked men in the world. It is worth noting that this is the first time Turkish public opinion has forced its will upon the Turkish Government.

6. The change in the Ministry of Public Instruction is a less serious and more personal matter. In my despatch No.301 of the 4th September, I have referred to the Gazi's latest craze for reform of the Turkish language, which, like his reform of the alphabet, has been met, if not with active obstruction, at any rate with little enthusiasm by the educated classes. This is not surprising, for it is somewhat as though His Majesty's Government decided that pure English was only spoken by the Norfolk labourer and that in future that particular dialect should alone be employed in all official work. Even those who feared the great man's frown, and were therefore prepared to assist in the reform, probably urged that it could only be developed gradually. Such advice is no good to the Gazi, who, once he has decided that a change or a reform must be made, holds that it cannot be made too quickly, and I have no doubt that it is for this reason that the young, ambitious, energetic and capable Reşit Galip has been made Minister of Public Instruction.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK



No. 149

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No. 354

CONSTANTINOPLE, October 13, 1932

*(Received October 21, 1932)*

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 301 of the 4th September last, I have the honour to report that the first Turkish Linguistic Congress was opened at Dolmabahçe Palace on the 26th September, a date which is, in consequence, to be observed annually as a public holiday. The congress has been generally referred to as the "Kurultay," an old Central Asiatic word for "assembly," which was originally revived to designate the annual general meetings of the recently suppressed Turk Ojak organisation, and which has now received a new lease of life under the highest auspices.

2. The President of the Republic was present not only at the inauguration, but also at each succeeding session of the Kurultay, a fact which doubtless indicated both his keen interest in the language reform movement which he had initiated, and his determination that it should develop along the lines which he himself had laid down in advance.

3. The opening session in the great hall of the palace was attended by a large number of people, including members of the Government, Deputies, officials of all categories, university professors, schoolteachers and members of the general public. The Diplomatic Corps was not invited, but a few of its members were present, prominent among them being the Soviet Ambassador, and were accorded places of honour. Parties of peasants brought from districts of Turkey, and thereby considered to be repositories of primitive Turkish, pure and undefiled, were exhibited and "lionised," and wide publicity was given to their contributions to knowledge, composed in the main of praise of the Gazi, an Arabic title for which they had no Turkish equivalent.

4. After a perverted harangue by Samih Rifat Bey, Deputy for Çanakkale, in which adulation of the Gazi was mingled with denunciation of the contemptuous attitude of the Ottoman Sultans and their parasites towards everything Turkish and the Turkish language in particular, Kâzım Pasha, President of the Grand National Assembly, was elected by acclamation president of the congress and Samih Rifat and Reşit Galip Beys vice-presidents. The last mentioned, the new Minister of Public Instruction (see paragraph 6 of my despatch No. 326 of the 1st October), thereupon assured the congress that the Government were prepared to take all necessary measures for the enforcement of its recommendations, after which Samih Rifat held forth for three whole hours on the subject of the

alleged resemblances between Turkish roots and foreign words "of the same family."

5. On the second day, which revealed a marked decline in public interest, the congress settled down to serious business, and was treated by successive orators to a series of discourses in which each vied with the other in fulsome adulation of the ever-present Gazi before treating, with much less enthusiasm and knowledge, of the relationship of Turkish to the Indo-European tongues on the one hand and the language of the Sumerians on the other. One eloquent speaker had discovered remarkable analogies between certain Turkish words and their Etruscan equivalents, while another easily demonstrated that the Sumerians could not possibly have been the sole creators of their grandiose civilisation, which must therefore have been the fruit of a still older culture, *i.e.*, the Turkish civilisation of 6,000 or 7,000 years ago.

6. The "star turn" of the congress made his first appearance on this occasion in the person of a mysterious Armenian professor from Sofia named Agop Martayan. He arrived some days before the opening, and was received with marked respect by various eminent personages connected with the congress, and even by the Gazi himself. His contributions to the meetings began with an admission that the investigations into the origin of Turkish undertaken hitherto had not yielded the desired results. This was due to the fact that the historico-linguistic method had been followed, whereas, since it was a question of proto-historical relationships, the ontologico - or rather palæontologico - linguistic method was indispensable. This method would reveal the fact that Turkish was a member of the Alpine family of languages. Moreover, all the peculiarities of Turkish were to be found in the language of the Sumerians, and the name of the god Turgu, which meant "strength," was but "Turk" in a slightly different form. In view of all this it is scarcely surprising that Professor Martayan, who, as a "fugitive" Armenian, could normally never have returned to this country, should have had his passport visé in virtue of special instructions to the Turkish Legation in Sofia.

7. According to the speakers who addressed the Kurultay on the 28th September, archaeology teaches that "Turkism" was the origin of world civilisation, and that Turkish is the mother-tongue of all the Aryan languages. The languages of the Hittites, Sumerians, Medes, Hindus, Hellenes and Egyptians were derived from a single idiom, that originally spoken in Central Asia, *i.e.*, primitive Turkish. Thousands of years before the Christian era the Turk dominated all civilised countries. The honour of having invented all systems of writing, particularly the Phœnician, Hittite, Sumerian Cyprian and Cretan, belongs to the glorious Turkish race. The so-called Indo-European languages should be known as Turco-European, and the Eastern Mediterranean

should henceforth be called the Turkish Sea, a suggestion which evoked thunderous applause.

8. The congress would have pursued the even tenor of its way to the very end, on the above lines, but for Hüseyin Cahit (Jahid) Bey, formerly editor of the long-since suppressed "Tanin," and one of the very few literary Turks with more than a national reputation, who some seven years ago was condemned to perpetual exile in the interior (but subsequently released) for giving vent in his paper to a mild protest against the forcible closing down of the Opposition party organisations. During the sixth session of the Kurultay, Hüseyin Cahit threw a bombshell into the assembly by calmly stating that it would be a grave error to base conclusions on linguistic analogies which were merely apparent. The study of Turkish ethymology should be entrusted, he declared, to a commission composed exclusively of savants. It was quite legitimate to banish from the Turkish language Arabic and Persian constructions and grammatical rules, and much progress in this domain had already been effected naturally and without recourse to artificial intervention. But the case was different as regards foreign words which had become incorporated into Turkish. Foreign words were introduced into a language for reasons of historical necessity, and in no way altered its personal character. In linguistic matters it was not a question of human will, but of gradual evolution. Moreover, in no civilised country were the written and spoken languages identical.

9. The newspapers carefully suppressed all mention of the fact that these heresies were greeted with loud applause by a considerable section of the audience, but no one ventured publicly to take Hüseyin Cahit's part. His plea for gradual evolution and simplification of the language was met at once with the retort: "We are revolutionists!" and was immediately identified with "reaction." Speaker after speaker then rose to confute him, summoning Cicero, Luther, Leibnitz, Frederic the Great, Peter the Great and Catherine II to their assistance. The Gazi is understood to have been seriously annoyed and perturbed by the offending speech and still more by the applause which greeted it. His Excellency undoubtedly saw in the incident the re-emergence of one of the many heads of the Opposition hydra. The inevitable consequence of this will be that his latest reform, which is nothing less than the complete purification of Turkish from all foreign, or at least Arabic and Persian influence, will be imposed with even greater speed and ruthlessness than would otherwise have been the case.

10. At the ninth and last meeting of the congress, held on the 6th October the "Association for the Study of the Turkish Language," founded under the presidency of the Gazi a short time previously, was endowed with statutes consisting of nineteen articles, the last of which lays down that the "Kurultay of

the "Turkish Language" is to meet every two years on the date and at the place approved by the Central Council. The members of this body were then chosen, Samih Rifat Bey, Deputy for Çanakkale, and Rüsen Eşref Bey, Deputy for Akyon-Karahisar, being unanimously elected president and secretary-general respectively.

11. Since the closing of the congress, the Minister of Education has been paying a round of visits to the Stambul University, to the local headquarters of the "Halk Evi" (the Popular party's substitute for the too independent "Türk Ojak" organisation), and to other educational institutions of the former capital, impressing upon them all the importance of the linguistic reform, and incidentally assuring the university professors that the rumours regarding their impending wholesale dismissal were unfounded. They must, however, be prepared to play a prominent part in the work of reform, and take their proper share in the labour of creating a Turkish language and culture worthy of the glories of the race. From 12,000 to 15,000 schoolmasters, says the press, are being commissioned by the Minister to search out, from the popular speech of their respective districts, from 70,000 to 90,000 "new" words, so that the Turkish language may be effectively, as it already is potentially, the richest in the world. A period of six months has been mentioned as all that is required for the fulfilment of this task, although a Turkish Deputy, closely connected with the movement, has been assuring interested foreigners that neither he or nor his children, but only his children's children, will witness the complete achievement. Of this I am not so sure, for the Gazi is not content with working for posterity, and is accustomed to see his reforms in full operation within a shorter time than even his most sanguine followers could anticipate.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*FO. 424/277, p. 21-23, No. 21.*

No. 150

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No. 354.

ANGORA, November 2, 1932  
(Received November 18, 1932)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the yearly ceremony of the opening of the Grand National Assembly was carried out on the 1st November. I enclose a copy of a French translation of a speech delivered on this occasion by the President of the Republic.

2. The speech is colourless, and differs from previous speeches of the same kind in that, in its slight reference to foreign relations, it omits any mention of any Power by name. Even Persia, whose Foreign Minister, Ferroughi Khan, was present at the ceremony as the guest of the Turkish Government, fails to obtain notice. It is curious too, that no reference is made to Turkey's entry into the League of Nations.

3. The speech was delivered clearly and in resolute tones, and was received in silence by the Deputies with the exception of the passages relating to the intention of the Government to continue its programme of railway construction and to the necessity of international collaboration to secure peace and overcome the economic crisis. There was also applause towards the close of the speech, when the Gazi enjoined on all the State organisations the duty of working to restore the Turkish language to its primitive purity and beauty. I am told that this injunction is already being obeyed in the written language, and foresee that the purification of Turkish will rank, among the Gazi's reforms, with the abolition of the fez and the veil, the use of the vernacular in the mosques and the substitution of Latin for Arabic characters.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/277, p.25-26, No.26.*

## No. 151

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No.355.

ANGORA, November 2, 1932  
(Received November 18, 1932)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the annual celebrations of the anniversary of the proclamation of the Turkish Republic was held throughout Turkey on the 29th October.

2. The proceedings at Angora were to be on the usual lines. The President of the Republic would receive the members of the Diplomatic Corps, the troops and boy scouts would march past, the Government would entertain the heads of missions to dinner, and a ball would close the day. All these things duly came to pass, but with more incident than usual.

3. The opening event went off satisfactorily. The President of the Republic looked more alert and less statuesque than at previous receptions. He smiled a

welcome to myself, and expressed a touching solicitude for Mr. Montgomery's broken finger, which prevented a presidential handshake, but not a friendly pat of sympathy. The reception over, all proceeded to the stands in front of the Grand National Assembly buildings to witness the review of the troops. The Gazi and Feroughi Khan, Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs and guest of the Turkish Government, took position. The Deputies endeavoured to take position also, but found their stand occupied by bodies of their constituents, who refused to budge on the ground that where the people was present in persons its representatives were not wanted. The review began, and the sturdy Anatolian soldiers passed with grim unimaginative faces, confirming one in the conviction that Turkey's military strength must never be ignored. Some sixty aeroplanes, in good formation, grazed the tops of the stands to the vociferous delight of all those spectators not in the stands. A small naval detachment received a welcome, warmer and more spontaneous than that already given to the senior service. Boy scouts, whom I have seen growing up for six years, whose moustaches now betray them as more than boys, and whose pale knees reveal them as less than scouts, goose-stepped by in seemingly never-ending rows. At length these, too, passed, and the Diplomatic Body was preparing to return home, when the crowd, which had caused constant trouble to the marching ranks of soldiery by encroaching on the narrow lane cleared for the review, broke through all cordons, and for half an hour chaos reigned of the presidential and diplomatic stands, while police, gendarmes and soldiers vainly endeavoured to resume control and open a way for traffic. Confusion, punctuated by screams, prevailed. Concern in the stands gave way to irritation at the public display of police inefficiency, and the anger of the Gazi rose to great heights.

4. Finally, the crowd was brought into subjection, and the official and diplomatic world was able to retire to prepare for the Government dinner to the heads of missions, on which I am reporting in my immediately following despatch.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/277, p. 26, No. 27.*



## No. 152

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No. 356.

ANGORA, November 2, 1932

(Received November 18, 1932)

Sir,

In continuation of my immediately preceding despatch I have the honour to report that the usual dinner to the heads of missions and the annual ball given by the Popular party duly took place at the Ankara Palace Hotel on the 29th October.

2. The Gazi arrived almost to time, but dinner was delayed while he discussed the events of the day with the two senior Turkish generals and M. de Chambrun and myself over several rounds of indifferent cocktails. In fact, the President was already fully primed before we sat down to dinner, and, as the accident of placing put me next but one to his Excellency, I observed with dismay that the process was being continued. As a rule on these occasions the President observes long periods of silence broken by intervals of more or less formal conversation with those in his immediate neighbourhood. This time he began to talk from the moment he sat down, eating nothing, smoking endless cigarettes, and drinking raki steadily. He began by saying to me, pointing to the Soviet Ambassador, who was on the opposite side of the table, that Comrade Suritz was a real and sincere friend of his and his oldest friend amongst the foreigners here, but that he had one other friend whom he put in the same class, namely, myself. He liked the others well enough, but we two were in a special category. As there was the usual hush that occurs whenever the Gazi speaks, everyone heard his words, which no doubt made their impression on my colleagues, though those of them who understand his Excellency will have realised, as I do that this was his forcible way of saying that the policy of His Majesty's Government towards Turkey since the Mosul Treaty had convinced him of our sincerity.

3. The Gazi then turned to his right, where the rest of the Ambassadors were seated, and addressed each of them in turn. He was very cordial in his references to France and to M. de Chambrun's work which had culminated in the agreements that had just been concluded. He congratulated the Polish Ambassador on the regeneration of Poland, which was now once again a great country ready to play a worthy part in the progress of the world. He thanked the American Ambassador for his numerous public references in glorification of Turkey, added, with a touch of irony, that Mr. Sherill, who has just been delivering a series of lectures on the Gazi in America, was, even more than American Ambassador in Turkey, the Turkish Ambassador in the United States,



and asked him to make a speech in reply. Greatly to the surprise of his colleagues, Mr. Sherrill refrained.

4. It then came to the turn of the new Italian Ambassador, who was making his first acquaintance with a Turkish public occasion. The Gazi asked him point-blank what were his impressions of Turkey. M. Lojacono seized the opportunity to emphasise the particular intimacy of Turkey and Italy by saying that the great pleasure which he felt on coming here was enhanced by the natural and mutual attraction between two young nations, and he was considerably taken aback when the Gazi, fresh from proving the antiquity of the Turkish race and the Turkish nationality of Adam, pulled him up short and observed that no one coming from Rome dare to speak of Italy's as young, while as for Turkey, it was as old as humanity. The Gazi then alluded to the recent speech of M. Mussolini at Turin, and said that no doubt the representatives of England, France, Germany and Italy had been pleased at the Duce's assertion that if these four Powers collaborated they could ensure the peace and prosperity of Europe and the world. But he, the Gazi, was not pleased.

"I tell you that he is wrong. The future of my country of 14 millions cannot be influenced or settled at the ruling or by the co-operation of any four Great Powers, nor will it be. Only the co-operation of *all* the Powers can restore peace to the world, and I, who want peace, and not war, wish this method to be followed. Let all combine to assure peace and fraternity."

His Excellency then stood up and raised a rather unsteady glass to the unity of mankind.

5. After a most embarrassing time for all, and not least for the Turks present - Kâzım Pasha, President of the Grand National Assembly, had throughout the dinner tried to restrain his chief - the Gazi led his guests to the ball-room and on passing the Egyptian Minister, who was wearing his fez, tapped it and said:

"Tell your King that I, Mustafa Kemal, have instructed you not to wear fez for this night."

He then called a waiter, to whom the Minister, gentle and universally liked, handed his tarboosh to avoid further scenes, and the noxious headgear was borne aloft before the President into a lane of mystified guests awaiting the emergence of the Gazi from the dining-hall, and consigned to outer darkness. The Egyptian Minister withdrew at once in deep distress. Numan Bey, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, going at midnight to apologise, waited vainly on the doorstep. Teyfik Rüşü, following next day, was admitted to present apologies to the Minister. Until the reaction of King Fuad is known, the incident can hardly be considered closed.

6. Issuing forth from dinner the Gazi slowly progressed, pouncing here and there on all and sundry. The Japanese military attaché was hailed forth from the back rows, admitted, shaken and kissed. The giant form of a Dutch attaché attracted the notice it deserved, but earned for its occupant a rebuke for its not being in uniform. Holland again, in the person of the first secretary's good-looking wife, was prominent, when the Gazi showed himself uncertain as to whether to salute her by kissing her hand, which was gloved, or her cheek. Baroness Breugel-Douglas was saved by the timely intervention of the French Ambassador, to whose staff attention was then transferred. The French naval attaché, short and stout, was tapped on his plump cheeks, and scolded for his lack of symmetry, and though kissed by the President was publicly informed that his corpulence incurred presidential displeasure and was unbecoming to a fighting man. While the naval attaché withdrew in high dudgeon the Gazi looked about for fresh material, and found the wife of the United States Ambassador, from whom extravagant compliments called forth equally extravagant rejoinders, in the course of which Mrs. Sherrill, in a clear, penetrating voice, announced to Mustafa Kemal that her husband was convinced, and lost no opportunity of saying, that Turkey's ruler was a super-Mussolini. The Italian Ambassador, posing as the Duce, whom he faintly resembles in face, behind Mrs. Sherrill, was shaken out of his calm and blinket twice before he could resume his pose. He can console himself by the knowledge that the two countries concerned have the same standard for measuring greatness.

7. Supported by Marshal Fevzi Pasha and the Soviet Ambassador, the Gazi at length reached his private alcove, where gentle disintegration set in. Vitality flickered again about 4 A.M., when all the middle-aged Turkish ladies who, arriving early, had settled down round the walls for a night's enjoyment, were rudely torn by the Gazi from their pleased and placid contemplation of foreign antics to perform these same antics themselves with strange and unknown foreigners.

8. It may seem unnecessary, and indeed unfitting, to report at such length in an official despatch the words and acts of one who was obviously at the time not completely master of himself, nor altogether mindful of his great and responsible position. My reason for troubling you is that every word that the Gazi utters on such occasions and in such a condition is not, as might be thought, an unguarded expression of what he feels. On the contrary, he wants his sentiments to be clearly known, and this annual dinner and ball is his one opportunity in the year to do so before all the foreign representatives, though hitherto he has always waited until after dinner before letting himself go. As a colleague of mine, whose knowledge of the Gazi is, next to that of the Soviet Ambassador, the longest and most intimate of all the foreigners in Turkey, has pointed out to me, the Gazi is fundamentally shy and his drinking is often,

absurd though it may seem in a character of such proved strength, merely a means of getting over this inhibition. Unfortunately, the Gazi is sometimes too successful and does not keep entire control of his speech and actions, but he never loses control of his thoughts, and what he says when under the influence of drink, though it may be said with difficulty and incoherently, is the direct expression of what he thinks. This is my reason for reporting to you what would otherwise be a trivial record of the vapourings of a great man at a moment when he had succumbed to his besetting weakness.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/277, p.27-29, No. 28.*

## No. 153

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir Lancelot Oliphant, Foreign Office*

*Private & Personal.*

ANGORA, November 4, 1932  
(Received November 17, 1932)

My dear Lancelot,

I hesitated for some time before deciding to send my despatches Nos. 355 and 356 in their actual form, not so much from fear of being rebuked by you for flippancy as from fear of giving a wrong impression. One must realise that no one in this country, except the diplomatic body, and not all of them, looks upon the Gazi as having made an exhibition of himself. With rare exceptions, such as Ismet Pasha, Kâzım Pasha, and Abdul Halik, most of the prominent personalities in the capital are frequently 'lit up' on festive occasions, whether public or private is a matter of indifference, and the Turkish world at large is not in the least scandalized by seeing the Gazi the worse for liquid wear. My despatches are therefore not to be read as an attempt to provide the Foreign Office with some light and amusing reading, or as just a record of the low standard of public manners in this country. The veneer of refinement may be very thin here and easily wears off, but that fact in no way affects the political importance of Turkey.

It must be borne in mind that, apart from rather haphazard occasions such as parties given in honour of visiting potentates and statesmen, practically the only day in the year when the whole foreign official world in Turkey comes into direct contact with the Gazi is the dinner and ball given on the day of National

Fête, and all the diplomatic missions attach great importance to the sayings and actions of the 'Great Man' on this occasion. They form a barometer recording whether the stock of the different missions has risen or fallen or remained stationary during the last twelve months. It is too the Gazi's one opportunity of letting the foreign representatives know how he is looking at things. So these despatches are serious, for what they record is what the Gazi, and therefore what the country, feels. For instance, I am confident that the Gazi's emphatic expressions of friendliness towards me personally were genuine. But don't let us exaggerate. The Gazi's personal liking for me is a happy accident, which is all to the good, though neither one way or the other in the political relations between our two countries. What I might call his political liking for me is another matter. As he put it at the famous dinner, "I consider you my friend because you have understood my policy and have made it clear to your Government. It is very fortunate for the relations between the two countries that you came here as Ambassador. Had it been someone whom I did not like and who did not understand my policy, the situation would have been very different."

Now that is all very nice and very satisfactory so far it goes, but you will see that the Gazi's appreciation is 'au fond' based on what he believes to be our understanding of, and sympathy with, his general policy, rather than on his understanding of our policy. We must therefore be under no illusion that I have any direct influence over the Gazi and his policy. Where he and his Government are hesitating, I may perhaps sometimes move them to take one direction rather than another. For instance, I am pretty sure that, for better or for worse, they consider me as one of the chief factors in their joining the League of Nations. But what I cannot do is to impose my policy upon them and if ever we have to take a line which comes into conflict with Turkish policy, the Gazi's friendship would vanish overnight.

The enclosed photograph may interest you. It was taken at the moment of the Gazi's greatest incoherence, but there is no sign of it in the picture. On the contrary, you won't often see a face which shews more strength and determination.

Yours ever,

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/16089/E. 6033.

## No. 154

*Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon*

No. 19.

*Telegraphic.*

ANGORA, December 9, 1932

*(Received December 9, 1932)*

Note has been sent to Turkey by Egyptian Government in regard to the incident of the fez described in Sir G. Clerk's despatch No. 356. Government and press here flatly deny that any incident took place, and claim that President of the Republic kindly permitted the Minister to remove fez on account of the heat. There is a tendency to brazen the matter out and be truculent to Egypt, and also to blame *Daily Herald* and Reuter for bringing alleged untrue version of the matter to the notice of Egyptian people, with design to create bad feeling against Turkey.

Denial is deliberate, and is, I assume, intended to offer means of settling question without necessity of a public apology.

*F.O. 371/16095/E.6523.**F.O. 424/277, p.37, No. 36.*

## No. 155

*Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon*

No. 399.

ANGORA, December 10, 1932

*(Received December 15, 1932)*

Sir,

In the course of his despatch No. 356 of the 2nd November, regarding the celebration of the anniversary of the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, Sir George Clerk described the incident of the removal of the Egyptian Minister's tarboosh at the close of the official banquet to heads of missions, on the direct and peremptory insistence of the President of the Republic.

2. Silence closed down on the event immediately after its occurrence, broken occasionally, at some social function, by a stray remark from one Government official or another, showing in the first few hours sympathy with the Egyptian Minister, and then, by a sudden change of opinion - perhaps in parasitic and terrified deference to the Gazi who must, on realising his indiscretion, have determined to brazen it out - suggesting that the blame for the incident lay with the Egyptian Minister, who had courted a snub by wearing a fez in a country where it was regarded as anathema. The silence has in the past few

days, given place to the clamour of the whole Turkish press, arising out of the communication to the Turkish Government of an Egyptian note calling for apologies and for guarantees against future repetition. The press flatly denies that any incident took place, and accuses the *Daily Herald* and Reuter's Agency of lying or, at least, of distorting an innocent episode, with the object of creating bad blood between Turkey and Egypt. It rebukes the Egyptian press and gutter politicians for continuing to try to make capital out of an incident now shown to have never occurred, and hints that if Egypt does not accept Turkey's explanations harmful results may follow for a country notorious as a drug smuggler, for harboring Turkish reactionaries, and for striking at Turkish trade by its tariffs.

3. The version which the Turkish press now wishes to see adopted is that it is customary for the Gazi to intimate to the heads of missions, at the end of the official banquet on the 29th October, that they may, for their greater comfort, change from uniform to evening dress before appearing at the ball, which closes the national holiday. It happened this year that, on leaving the table, the Gazi saw the Egyptian Minister for whom he has a great regard, and realising that the heat of the room made the wearing of his fez a burden to him kindly gave him permission to remove it. None of those present were aware that an "incident" had taken place until the 12th November, when the *Daily Telegraph* an Opposition newspaper printed the totally false information that the Gazi had ordered Hamza Bey to remove his fez, that the offended Minister had at once withdrawn, and that the Gazi had subsequently conveyed to him his apologies. Reuter's Agency therefore disseminated this report to Egypt, and some Egyptians, who ought to have known better than to give credence to a belated press report from London, were led to believe that Egypt's honour was at stake and began a campaign against Turkey. The object of the whole fabrication was to create a coolness between Turkey and Egypt, and had an exact counterpart in the Ems telegram which caused the Franco-German War in 1870. A leading article of Yunus Nadi in the *République* of the 8th December, of which I enclose a copy, is typical of all the other press articles.

4. A semi-official statement in the same number of the *République* mentions the violence of the Egyptian press, due to certain lying reports of an incident which never occurred, and refers to an Egyptian note to the Turkish Government demanding apologies and guarantees for future non-recurrence. It adds that a reply has been drafted, and is to the effect that the fact that the Egyptian Minister was told that he could remove his fez cannot possibly be interpreted as a slight on Egypt's honour, and therefore no question of apologies or guarantees can arise. The semi-official statement concludes by suggesting that unless Egypt persists in trying to create an incident out of something which never took place, the matter will be considered as closed, and



as having served the useful purpose of giving Turkey an opportunity of demonstrating its friendship for Egypt.

5. It is obvious that the Turkish Government does not wish the matter to develop further, and that it has been driven to publish a false version because a true account would be humiliating for its President and itself. It is probable too, that he hopes that its version will convince and content Egyptian opinion, and thus allow the Egyptian Government to withdraw or soften its demands. I gather from the Egyptian Minister that his Government had hoped that the matter would fade into oblivion without the necessity for action on its part. It may perhaps find it expedient to accept the Turkish explanation. It would be a pity if a trivial indiscretion of one who was at the time not completely master of himself should embitter relations between two countries.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representative in Cairo.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 424/277, p. 38-39, No. 37.*

No. 156

*Mr. James Morgan to Mr. Helm, Foreign Office*

*Confidential.*

ANGORA, December 10, 1932

My dear Helm,

With reference to my letter of November 10 about 'Grey Wolf', I hear that the Gazi is furious about it. So far nothing has appeared in the Press, but there is a rumour that Necmettin Sadik has been instructed to let himself go about the book in the "Akşam". It may be that wiser counsels will prevail and the attack will not materialize. Meanwhile the affair of the Egyptian Minister's fez, about which we are writing officially, is tending more and more to be attributed to lying and tendencious reports in the London Press and Reuter's communiqués. To cover up the unfortunate incident the Turks must find some scapegoat and what easier than the London Press, anxious to create bad feeling between Egypt and Turkey? While it is untrue that the "Daily Herald", "Evening Standard" and I know not how many other papers that run columns of 'spicy paragraphs' and rubbishy tittle-tattle-collectors of ill-natured or sensational gossip - have lied in regard to the fez incident, it is a pity that our newspapers and writers like Armstrong get England a bad name and the gratuitous resentment of foreign



peoples, and do a disservice to the English race, because they cannot refrain from gratifying their own petty vanity or petty spite. What is it drives them to be ever poking in other people's concerns or to be running down foreign public men in a way that only betrays consciousness of their own impotence and helplessness to change what they dislike and what humiliates their pride, and the effect of which is merely to alienate foreign sympathy from England.

I have been dipping into "Grey Wolf" and am surprised to find passages that appear to have been lifted textually from our despatches. This seems a very serious matter. I wonder how it has come about.

Yours &c.

(Signed) JAMES MORGAN

F.O. 371/16095/E.5577.

## No. 157

*Extract from the "Times" of December 15, 1932*

### THE FEZ INCIDENT IN ANGORA

#### TURKISH EXPLANATION

(From our own correspondent)

CONSTANTINOPLE, *December 13, 1932*

With reference to the recent fez incident in Angora, the official Turkish account of what happened is now published as follows:

A dinner was given by the Popular party on October 29, the anniversary of the Republic, to Cabinet Ministers and Heads of Missions and their wives. As the Heads of Missions attended in uniform, Hamsa Bey, the Egyptian Minister, correctly wore his fez. In the course of the evening the Ghazi, seeing that the Egyptian Minister was feeling the heat, suggested, from entirely friendly motives, that he should remove his fez. The Minister gladly complied with the suggestion. No offense was intended and none was taken.

The account further states that the reason for the Minister's sudden departure from the party was the fear that other members of the Diplomatic Corps might misinterpret the motive which had prompted the removal of his fez.

It is understood that the foregoing is the gist of the Turkish reply to the Egyptian note protesting against the insult alleged to have been offered to the Egyptian Minister.

*F.O. 371/16095.*

## No. 158

*Sir P. Loraine to Sir John Simon*

No. 224. Confidential  
Telegraphic

CAIRO, December 16, 1932  
(Received December 16, 1932)

SIR G. CLERK'S despatch No. 356.

I fear developments of tarboosh incident are serious, and that danger of a rupture between Turkey and Egypt is disagreeably close.

I recently received visit from Turkish Chargé d'Affaires, who spoke quite personally and unofficially. What came out is that Egyptian request for assurance for the future has aroused indignation in Turkey, that Turkish Government are making it a national issue to back up the Ghazi and cover up his blunder, and will, therefore, not take much trouble to avoid a rupture. He had not yet received text of Turkish note to be handed to Egyptian Government, but understood that besides probably unpalatable portions it would contain passages of which Egyptian Government could take act in such manner as to score a satisfaction. What Turks really want is to find a formula which, without giving Ghazi away, can be regarded by Egyptians as a satisfaction, but cannot be construed as a Turkish surrender. This to be coupled with a withdrawal of notes. He insisted that unless a solution were found soon it would be too late to get one.

Chargé d'Affaires also said impression existed at Angora that England, and especially London press, had written up the incident in order to drive a wedge between Turkey and Egypt.

As regards this point, I said if such childish nonsense was believed by Turkish Government I had nothing whatever to say. He said there was no such responsibility suggested against His Majesty's Government or against myself.

I then said that in my opinion as a private individual the Ghazi had been in the wrong, and that some satisfaction was due to Egypt. I saw no reason why Turkish Government should not at least assure Egyptian Government that their national costume enjoyed every respect. As we were always desirous that Egypt

should be on harmonious terms with her neighbours, I would discuss the matter with Sidky but on a purely personal basis.

Later in the same evening I saw Sidky and told him gist of what Turkish Chargé d'Affaires had said. Sidky said he certainly desired no quarrel with Turkey. Idea of withdrawing Egyptian note was, however, repugnant to him; and he could not help resenting apparent attempt of Turkey to browbeat Egypt, who was the offended party and entitled to satisfaction. He did not believe Egyptian interests would suffer by a withdrawal of Egyptian diplomatic and consular missions, and knew he could rely on British help to watch over them as in the past.

He had not received Turkish note, but he promised to look at it carefully in search for a method of honourable solution, and said he would consult me personally again before doing anything.

I trust you will approve my language. On each occasion I spoke only in a personal capacity. As both parties had come to me about this storm in a hat, I judged it advisable to exert personal influence in a calming sense.

(Repeated to Angora.)

*F.O. 424/277, p. 39, No. 38.*

### No. 159

*Sir John Simon to Sir P. Loraine (Cairo)*

*No.247.*

FOREIGN OFFICE, December 19, 1932  
(Telegraphic)

Your telegram No.224 of the 16th December: Tarboosh incident.

I entirely approve your language and trust that you will have further opportunity to continue to exercise your influence in favour of early and amicable settlement.

(Repeated to Angora, No.33.)

*F.O. 424/277, p.40, No.39.*

## No. 160

*Sir P. Loraine to Sir John Simon*

No. 229.

*(Telegraphic)*

CAIRO, December 23, 1932

*(Received December 23, 1932)*

Your telegram No.247.

Prime Minister privately communicated to me text of Turkish reply to Egyptian note.

Turkish note expresses surprise at Egyptian account of a fact which had been amicably discussed by Minister for Foreign Affairs and Egyptian Minister, who had agreed regarding signification to be attached to the Ghazi's words, *i.e.*, that it was merely a normal invitation to him to remove his tarboosh for comfort's sake. There could therefore be no question of expression of regret by Minister for Foreign Affairs in that conversation about an incident which had not occurred. Note then refers to tendentious and invented news, which were able to cloud friendly Turco-Egyptian relations by deforming the meaning of a friendly gesture. With regard to Egyptian national head-dress, every State was free to adopt the uniform it wished, as it was natural that every State should regulate its protocol by taking into consideration the exigencies of natural and international life.

Note concludes with a very cordial expression of desire of Turkish Government to maintain and strengthen the friendly relations between the two peoples.

In communicating this note Prime Minister send me an informal (? group omitted) to the effect that draft Egyptian reply would be discussed by Cabinet on 22nd December. I at once sent his Excellency a private letter informing him that you had asked me to continue to exercise my personal influence in the direction of an amicable settlement. I therefore expressed hope that he would be able to find in Turkish note the possibility of an amicable settlement.

Yesterday afternoon Prime Minister replied by sending me draft Egyptian reply, and adding that he had delayed its submission to the Cabinet in order to profit by my views.

Egyptian reply in courteous terms regrets Turkish version and maintains Egyptian version of incident. Recognising friendly protestations of Turkish note, Egyptian Government does not wish to refer again to questions dealt with in notes of the two Governments, but maintains its previous request for assurances regarding right of Egyptian diplomatic representatives to wear their national head-dress.

In response to private representations by me, Prime Minister said that subject to consultation with his Ministers he was disposed to modify note so as to avoid demand of assurances and to take act of relevant passage in Turkish note as admitting Egyptian claim regarding national head-dress (see last sentence of paragraph 2 above). Advantage of this modification is that Egyptian note need not be answered unless Turkish Government wish to be unreasonable, while Turkish silence can be regarded by Egyptian Government as admission of its claim.

I was careful to explain that I had no wish to dictate line of action, but was merely acquainting him with ideas which had occurred to me for a friendly settlement which was in the interest of both countries.

Should Turkish Government show signs of intransigence you will doubtless consider advisability of authorising His Majesty's Ambassador at Angora to exercise such similar moderating influence as may be possible.

(Repeated to Angora).

F.O. 424/277, p. 40-41, No. 40.

## No. 161

*Sir P. Loraine to Sir John Simon*

No.232. *Telegraphic*  
*Confidential*

CAIRO, December 26, 1932  
(Received December 26, 1932)

My telegram No.229.

Sidky has communicated to me privately final text of his note to Turkish Government, which is wholly commendable. His deference to my counsels of moderation has been even greater than I thought possible. All controversial discussion of incident has been omitted, my suggestions as pointed out in my telegram under reference have been adopted, note requires no answer, and as it courteously takes act of assurances implied in Turkish note, it seems inconceivable that the Turks could find anything objectionable in it.

Sidky has made it plain to me, however, that, if nevertheless Turks make trouble, he intends to withdraw Egyptian diplomatic and consular missions.

If Turks reject this olive branch, I for my part shall be satisfied that they wish to pick a quarrel.

Please repeat to Angora.

(Repeated by Foreign Office to Angora, No. 34.)

F.O. 371/16095/E. 6837

F.O.424/277, p.41, No.41.

## No. 162

*Sir John Simon to Mr. Morgan (Angora)*

No. 35.

FOREIGN OFFICE, December 28, 1932  
(Telegraphic)

Sir P. Loraine's telegram No. 229 of 23rd December: Turco-Egyptian relations - Fez incident, last paragraph.

I leave to your discretion any informal moderating influence.

(Repeated to Cairo, No. 251.)

F.O. 371/16095/E. 6837

F.O. 424/277, p. 41, No. 42.

## No. 163

*Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon*

No. 21.

Telegraphic

ANGORA, December 29, 1932  
(Received December 29, 1932)

Your telegram No. 35.

I yesterday urged on the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs desirability of accepting the moderate and conciliatory Egyptian reply as final and satisfactory closing of incident. He paid tribute to moderating influence exercised in Cairo and London by the representatives of His Majesty's Government, and said that telegraphed summary of reply which had just reached Angora seemed to be very satisfactory, and finally to dispose of question, unless text of note when received caused Turkish Government to think otherwise, which was unlikely.

To-day a semi-official communiqué in Turkish press states summary of Egyptian reply has made a good impression here, and that gratification will be felt in both countries at amicable end of questions which had arisen between the two sister nations.

(Repeated to Cairo).

F.O. 371/16095/E. 6902

F.O. 424/277, p. 41, No. 43.

## No. 164

*Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon*No. 428.  
(Confidential)ANGORA, December 29, 1932  
(Received January 13, 1933)

Sir,

With reference to telegram No. 232 from His Majesty's High Commissioner in Cairo, repeated in your telegram No. 34 of the 26th December, regarding the "fez" incident which had arisen between Turkey and Egypt, I have the honour to report that I yesterday took the occasion of a visit to Numan Bey, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to mention the matter in an unofficial manner. I disclaimed any wish to interfere in a matter concerning Turkey and Egypt, but said that, as the Turkish press had accused Great Britain of trying to embitter relations between Turkey and Egypt, I thought that he should know that His Majesty's Government sincerely desired that these two countries should live in harmony and that the present difference should be speedily settled.

2. Numan Bey hastened to exculpate His Majesty's Government, adding that his Government had never for a moment entertained the idea that His Majesty's Government had tried, or even thought of trying, to embroil his country with Egypt. I then said that it was the earnest hope of His Majesty's Government that the moderate and conciliatory reply which the Egyptian Government had just returned to the Turkish note would be considered as closing the "incident" and that Turkey would not indulge in any further correspondence or controversy. The newspaper storm having subsided, it would be easy to let the matter die a natural death. I went on to say that His Majesty's High Commissioner at Cairo had exercised a moderating influence on the Egyptian Government, and that the Turkish Government would now do well to accept the Egyptian reply as satisfactorily disposing of the whole question. Numan Bey said that he had heard both from the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires at Cairo and from the Ambassador in London of the admirable attitude taken up by the representatives of His Majesty's Government and of the way in which they had used their influence to settle the incident which had sprung from such small causes. The Turkish Government had not yet received the Egyptian reply, but it had that day received a telegram from its Chargé d'Affaires in Cairo, stating that he had received the Egyptian note and that its contents were satisfactory and could be considered as closing the incident. The Government would await the note in order to decide whether it endorsed Şevki Pasha's opinion of it, but Numan Bey thought it a foregone conclusion that the view of his Government would coincide with that of its representative in Cairo.



3. This morning the following communiqué appeared in the semi-official *Hakimiyeti Milliye*:-

*The Egyptian reply: Gratifying and Amicable End of 'Fez' Question.*

"We understand that the Egyptian Ministry for Foreign Affairs yesterday handed to the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires in Cairo its written reply. We learn that a summary of the reply has been telegraphed to Angora and that it has been well received in Angora circles, who are particularly pleased that a question which gave rise to an exchange of notes between the two Governments has been closed in the friendly fashion which the relations of the two countries demand. It is felt that public opinion on both sides will be very glad that the clouds which suddenly darkened the relations of the two sisters nations have been entirely dissipated."

4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's High Commissioner at Cairo.

I have &c.

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 371/16981/E. 259.*

*F.O. 424/278, p.1, No.1.*

No. 165

*Sir P. Loraine to Sir John Simon*

*No. 1136.*

CAIRO, December 31st, 1932

*Confidential*

Sir,

With reference to correspondence ending with my telegram No.232 of the 26th instant, regarding the "Tarbooch incident", I have the honour to transmit herewith copies of the original draft Note of the Egyptian Government and of the final Note, modified after my recommendations to Sidky Pasha and presented to the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires on the 27th instant.

2. A comparison of these two texts will show the extent to which the Egyptian Government have, in deference to my suggestions, gone on the path of conciliation. It is to be hoped that the Turks will not be unreasonable and that this incident will now be closed.

A copy of this despatch and enclosures has been sent to His Majesty's Ambassador in Angora.

I have, &c.

PERCY LORAINÉ

E.O.371/16981/E.193.

Enclosure 1 in No. 165

*Copy of the original Egyptian draft Note*

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères du Royaume d'Egypte a pris connaissance de la Note que Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires de Turquie lui a remis le .... exprimant l'étonnement du Gouvernement Turc de trouver dans la Note Egyptienne du .... la relation nouvelle d'un fait qui avait déjà fait l'objet d'une conversation franche et amicale entre Abdel Malek Hamza Bey et Son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, conversation au cours de laquelle Son Excellence Tewfik Ruchdy Bey avait expliqué au Ministre d'Egypte le caractère hautement bienveillant et franchement sympathique des paroles qui lui avaient été adressées au début de la soirée du Parti du Peuple.

Dans cette note il est déclaré en outre, que Hamza Bey était entièrement d'accord avec Son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de la République sur la signification bienveillante et amicale à donner aux paroles qui lui avaient été adressées.

En réponse, le Gouvernement Egyptien désire attirer l'attention du Gouvernement de la République Turque sur le fait que l'incident auquel se réfère la Note remise par Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires de la Turquie a été de telle nature qu'il a nécessité, dès le lendemain, l'intervention de Son Excellence Tewfik Ruchdy Bey auprès du Ministre d'Egypte, et que les explications du Ministre Turc des Affaires Etrangères, quoique très amicales, n'ont pu effacer ni l'impression pénible produite par l'incident sur Hamza Bey lui-même ni la répercussion que cet incident a produit en Egypte, répercussion qui aurait été des plus sérieuses si le Gouvernement Egyptien n'avait tenu à éviter que les détails n'en soient connus par le public égyptien.

Il serait donc malaisé d'admettre que Hamza Bey aurait été, ainsi que le déclare la note, entièrement d'accord avec Son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de la République Turque sur la signification à donner au dit incident.

Le Gouvernement Egyptien voudrait relever d'autre part, relativement aux nouvelles tendancieuses dont il a été question dans la Note turque, que la

propagation de pareilles nouvelles n'a pu, en tout cas, être le fait ni de la presse ni de l'opinion égyptiennes, ces dernières ayant adopté, dès le début, une attitude aussi discrète qu'amicale, attitude qui reflète, du reste, les tendances tant du Gouvernement Egyptien que de la population égyptienne.

Le Gouvernement Egyptien sensible cependant aux protestations d'amitié et d'estime contenues dans la Note turque, ainsi qu'à l'expression du désir d'affermir et de consolider les relations qui unissent les deux pays ne veut pas revenir sur la question qui a fait l'objet des notes des deux gouvernements, mais il estime que le souci du maintien de ces relations lui fait un devoir de s'assurer qu'aucun fait du genre de celui qui a donné lieu à la communication de Hamza Bey ne vienne dorénavant entraver le développement des rapports jusqu'ici amicaux et cordiaux des deux pays. C'est ce fait qui a fait précisément l'objet et le but de la première Note égyptienne.

D'autre part, le Gouvernement Egyptien tout en se réjouissant et en prenant acte de la déclaration du Gouvernement de la République reconnaissant le droit à chaque Etat d'adopter l'uniforme qui lui plaît, ne doute pas que le Gouvernement Turc voudra bien convenir que le droit de chaque Etat de régler son Protocole en tenant compte des exigences de Sa vie nationale et internationale ne peut entrer en conflit avec les droits incontestables dévolus aux Représentants Diplomatiques.

Le Gouvernement Egyptien ne croit pas devoir enfin insister sur l'importance qu'il attache à maintenir les relations les plus cordiales avec le Gouvernement de la République et à resserrer les liens d'amitié qui unissent les deux Pays jusqu'à les rendre en parfaite harmonie avec les sentiments que ressentent les deux Peuples l'un pour l'autre.

*F.O.371/16981/E.193.*

Enclosure 2 in No. 165

*Copy of Egyptian final Note presented to the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires on  
27th December 1932*

Le Ministère des Affaires Etrangères du Royaume d'Egypt a l'honneur d'accuser réception de la Note remise le .... par Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires de Turquie de la part du Gouvernement de la République. Il prend acte des explications que Son Excellence Tewfik Rushdi Bey a données au Ministre d'Egypt tendant à rapprocher le fait qui s'est produit à la fin du diner officiel et au début de la soirée du Parti du Peuple, des usages qu'avaient les Turcs à l'époque où leur coiffure était celle qui se porte aujourd'hui en Egypt.

En présence de ces explications, des protestations d'amitié d'estime et du desir de consolider et de raffermir les relations qui unissent les deux pays, telles que le Gouvernement Turc a bien voulu les exprimer dans sa note et réitérer par l'organe de son représentant au Caire, le Gouvernement Egyptien est tout disposé à considérer l'incident comme clos.

D'autre part le Gouvernement Royal relève avec satisfaction la déclaration du Gouvernement de la République ayant trait au port de la coiffure nationale et reconnaissant le droit de chaque Etat d'adopter l'uniforme qui lui plaît. Il ne doute pas qu'à ses yeux, le droit de chaque Etat de régler son protocole en tenant compte des exigences de sa vie nationale et internationale ne saurait entrer en conflit avec les droits des représentants diplomatique dans le présent ordre d'idées.

Le Gouvernement Egyptien ne croit pas devoir enfin insister sur l'importance qu'il attache à maintenir les relations les plus cordiales avec le Gouvernement de la République et à resserrer les liens d'amitié qui unissent les deux pays jusqu'à les rendre en parfaite harmonie avec les sentiments que ressentent les deux Peuples l'un pour l'autre.

*F.O.371/16981/E.193.*

## No. 166

*Mr. J. Morgan to Mr. Helm, Foreign Office*

*No. 29/33/32*

*ANGORA, December 31st, 1932*

*(Received January 12, 1933)*

My dear Helm,

1. A few days ago I was talking to Numan at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and seized an opportunity to say how sorry I was that one of our nation had written a book like "Grey Wolf" about the Gazi. Numan said that his people were very distressed about the book as they all liked their Gazi, and were very annoyed at such an ignoble attack on him. He said however that he knew it was not a representative English view of the President, and preferred to recall the dedication of the History of the Dardanelles Campaign, which was a sincere tribute to their chief.

2. He did not suggest that we should do anything about it, but if it were possible, I should like to see something done in England to soothe the ruffled feelings of Angora. The book is still a subject of criticism here. The "République" is publishing the "true" history of Captain Armstrong, who won't have many virtues left when the newspaper has finished with him. An English

lady teacher in the "Gazi Institute" has been asked to write an article pointing out that the Gazi is vilified in the "Grey Wolf" and giving a better picture of him with a view to getting it published in England.

3. This gives us a line I think. What we want to do is to put a stop to local "Grey Wolf" articles which may become attacks on us, and a little soft soap will do no harm. It would be better that we, rather than the Turks, should be responsible for a laudatory article on the Gazi. Why not get some prominent person to give an interview and praise up the work of the Gazi and Turkey, or some well known person, to publish an article or write a letter expressing disagreement with "Grey Wolf's ignoble attack" and calling on his own experiences to praise the work the Gazi is now inspiring, or his genius as a soldier and leader. Perhaps some old military opponent would sponsor such a letter. Anyhow a corrective in the form of some appreciative words in a known publication would be noticed and do good here.

4. I am writing officially about a Belgian incident. The "Indépendance Belge" wrote some disagreeable remarks about the Turks, and the resentful Turks were prepared to retort in kind, not sparing even the Belgian Royal family, when the Belgian Minister here stopped everything by getting his predecessor Leclercq - now at the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to say nice things about the Turks in an interview. This was given great prominence here, and the matter was closed.

5. Let us do something similar and sincerely flatter the Belgians.

Yours ever,

JAMES MORGAN

P.S.

Possibly George Young could be stirred up to write a book on Turkey that would be authoritative and flattering (or palatable) to the Turks.\*

*F.O. 395/485/P. 130.*

\* Bu yazıya ekli notlardan anlaşıldığına göre, İsgüder Morgan'ın önerisi Foreign Office'de epeyce düşünülmüş; fakat "Berkurî" kitabının Türkiye'de yarattığı olumsuz etkiyi hafifletmek amacıyla İngiliz basınında Türkleri hoşnut edecek yazı yazdırılması uygun görülmemiştir. - B.N.Ş.

No. 167

Sir J. Morgan to Sir John Simon

No. 432.

ANGORA, December 31st, 1932

(Received January 13, 1932)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that, on or about the 20th November 1932, the "Indépendance Belge" published, under the title "Nuages à l'horizon" an article criticising the Gazi and Ismet Pasha, and suggesting that Turkey's finances were in a parlous state, and that Turkey saw no way out of her present difficulties but war. The article annoyed influential Turks, who are unduly sensitive to European opinion - good or bad - about their country. The Turkish Press was indignant and it was hinted to the Belgian Minister that it might be "difficult to prevent" Turkish newspapers from publishing disagreeable articles about the Belgian Royal family and Belgium.

2. The Belgian Minister took steps, with the result that Turkish newspapers of the 26th December drew attention, with satisfaction, to an interview given to the "Indépendance Belge" by M. Leclercq, who was until recently Belgian Minister in Angora, and is now at the Belgian Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The "Indépendance Belge" devoted a leading article to the interview which was headed "The Gazi - one of the outstanding statesmen of our time - and Turkey of to-day." M. Leclercq stated that Turkey's commercial policy was not anti-foreign but pro-Turkish and that Turkey's adoption of western ways indicated her friendly attitude towards Europe. He paid tribute to Turkey's efforts for peace, which were not incompatible with the formation of a strong army, and concluded by expressing his confidence in the future of Turkey under the guidance of one of the greatest statesmen of our times.

3. M. Leclercq's statements, as might have been anticipated, have been much appreciated here, and have wiped out the unfortunate impression created by the previous article in the "Indépendance Belge."

4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Brussels.

I have &amp;c.

JAMES MORGAN

P.S. January 3, 1933.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs has informed me that he is addressing a letter of thanks to Monsieur Leclercq.

F.O. 371/16981/E.262.

No. 168

*Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon*

No. 1.

ANGORA, January 2, 1933  
(Received January 13, 1933)

Sir,

In continuation of my despatch No. 428 of the 29th December last, relative to the expected satisfactory settlement of the "fex" incident, I have the honour to report that at the Red Crescent Ball held at Angora on New Year's Eve the Egyptian Minister was summoned to the Gazi's presence and was kept for some time while the Gazi rallied him in friendly fashion on the "fex" question and assured him of his regard for his King and himself. It is now certain that the Turks are satisfied with the Egyptian reply to their note, and that the incident is regarded as definitely closed.

2. Yesterday's *Milliyet* contains a leading article by Mahmut Bey, Deputy for Siirt, in which the writer expresses satisfaction at the settlement of the "alleged" incident, and attributes it to the moderation and goodwill of the statesmen of both countries. He was in Europe, when the question was first mentioned in the press, and happened to discuss it with two foreigners, one of them a great journalist and the other a well-known politician. They both maintained that this question had been raised, not by the Egyptian Government, but by the British Government, who had instigated the first Egyptian note. He did not agree with this view, and tried to explain to the two foreigners that relations between London and Angora were inspired, not merely by friendship of an official and political nature, but by mutual confidence and respect. Enquiries made after the writer's return to Turkey confirmed him in his view that His Majesty's Government, far from inciting the Egyptians, had done all they could in the way of conciliation.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's High Commissioner in Cairo.

I have, &amp;c.

JAMES MORGAN

F.O. 371/16981/E. 265

F.O. 424/278, p. 7, No. 3.



## No.169

*Mr. Morgan to Mr. Rendel*

No. 10/2/33.

ANGORA, January 7, 1933

(Received January 12, 1933)

My dear Rendel,

You will see from our despatch No.1 of January 2 that the "fez" incident is settled. You may be interested to know that when the Egyptian Minister arrived at the Red Crescent Ball the Gazi sent for him and the following 'conversation' ensued:

*Gazi* (mock-severely): "Why are you not wearing your fez?"

*Hamza Bey* (confused) ? ? ?

*Gazi* : "Why did you send a report about me to your Government?"

*Hamza Bey* (ahuri) ? ? ?

*Gazi* : "If you don't wear a fez at the dinner on the 29<sup>th</sup> October next I will send a report about you to your Government."

*Hamza Bey* (aplati) ? ? ?

Stimulated by this lively repartee, the Gazi went on to expatiate at length on his love for Hamza Bey and for King Fuad and a pleasant evening was had by all until 7 a.m.

Yours ever,

JAMES MORGAN

F.O. 371/16981/E.265.

## No.170

*Mr. Matthews to Sir G. Clerk*

No.3.

MERSIN, January 9, 1933

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the eleventh Anniversary of the Deliverance of Cilicia, or, as the Turks call it, *Çukurova Kurtuluş Bayramı*, was celebrated at Mersin, Tarsus and Adana on the 5<sup>th</sup> instant in a manner similar to, but more modest than, that of 1932, described in Mr. Catton's despatch No.1 of January 9 last.

The organization of the Festival was, as in 1932, carried out by the principal local actors in the Deliverance, prominent among them being Tor-oglu Ahmet Mithat Bey otherwise Öz Kul Efe, the chief of the Grey Wolf Band and now President of the Mersin Municipality. This year, Mithat Bey did not figure in the procession, but, dressed in ordinary civilian clothes and wearing a bowler hat, was much in evidence on the Meydan or open space near the French Consulate, where a rostrum had been erected, from which orators addressed the crowd, and where in the evening food was dealt out from large cauldrons to the former *çeteris* or irregulars.

I transmit herewith two copies of the official programme of the Mersin Festival, which was not, however, strictly followed. The advertised "composite battalion of the 23<sup>rd</sup> regiment and gendarmery" did not take part in the procession, while the music was provided by a schoolboys' band and the Ramazan drummers.

The Turkish girl in the toils of the French snake was absent from this year's procession, her place being taken by three Turkish ladies dressed as Red Crescent Nurses and tending a wounded warrior, also obviously a lady, all mounted on an open motor lorry bearing on a strip of white cotton sheeting in large Neo-Turkish characters the word, "SINGER," the lorry having been supplied by the Sewing Machine Singer.

The irregulars, who formed the bulk of the procession, were a tough-looking lot of men of all ages, and wore *kalpaks*, although some sported primitive bushies. Many carried firearms, some, swords and daggers, and others, wooden clubs. They were in good humour and obviously enjoying themselves, although I hear that many of them slipped away quietly to their villages early in the afternoon. Among them was a *hoca*, conspicuous as the sole representative of his order.

The present hard times, the drought prevailing in this region, and the Ramazan Fast, badly kept though it may be, all contributed to damp the ardour of those taking part in this year's celebration. Moreover, it would appear that responsible Government officials were unwilling to lend much support to the proceedings.

I transmit herewith two copies of a pamphlet issued in connexion with the Anniversary, which contains articles by Suleiman Fikri and Hamdi Beys, Deputies of Mersin in the Grand National Assembly, by Mithat Bey, President of the Municipality and by others, as well as portraits of numerous personalities, from the *Gazi* or *Bay Kurtarıcı* to simple officers, who took part in the Nationalist Movement. The omission of M. Franklin-Bouillon was made good by the Adana newspaper "Türk Sözü" of the 4<sup>th</sup> instant, which published a photograph, showing him "at the Adana railway station, after the Treaty of Angora had been signed."

It appears from the pamphlet that most of the leaders of the irregular bands went under assumed names. Thus, Mithat Bey was known as Öz Kul Efe, Serif Arif Bey as Yılmaz Efe, and Tahsin Bey as Şahin Bey.

I have, &c.

W.D.W. MATTHEWS

FO 371/16981/E 700

No. 171

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No. 29.

ANGORA, January 21, 1933

Confidential

(Received January 27, 1933)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.53 of the 5<sup>th</sup> February 1932, regarding the substitution of Turkish for Arabic in the mosques of this country, I have the honour to report that Arabic is in some measure coming again into its own. While an occasional amateur or professional Hafız may still, if he likes, excite curiosity by reciting the Koran in Turkish, there is now no official objection to its being recited in the original tongue. Prayers, too, may be recited in Arabic.

2. This change is due to the present Director of Cults, who has great personal influence with the Gazi, and who represented to the President that the authorised Turkish version was not worthy of its original, nor seemly, and that it showed no signs of gaining favour or support. The Gazi agreed that people might revert to the Arabic text. This has given satisfaction to all.

3. The call to prayer is now heard either in Arabic or in a Turkish translation. Some muezzins content themselves with "Haydi namaza" (come to prayer). Whatever the language, there seems to be an increasing response, and Islam shows signs of strengthening its hold on the nation. It is true that the Government will not allow Moslem orders or sects to reunite, and that it is at present engaged in cutting down the number of mosques, and of the personnel of mosques, but it is not attempting to put an end to the Moslem religion. For instance, children in primary schools are taught religion and their prayers if they wish - and it appears that all do so wish. In regard to the mosques, it was found that many were not opened for the five times of prayers, or that they had scanty congregations, or were close to other and larger mosques. Unnecessary mosques will be closed, care being taken properly to protect historic or architectural monuments. The higher

personnel of mosques will in future be chosen only from among those who hold a school diploma of some value, and will be paid by the "Eskaf" Department.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 371/16984/E.534*

No. 172

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir J. Simon*

No. 43.

ANGORA, February 4, 1933  
(Received February 10, 1933)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that a number of the leading personalities of Turkey, the Gazi included, have taken advantage of the present recess of the Grand National Assembly to undertake tours in various parts of the country for the purposes of inspecting the work of the provincial authorities, acquiring first-hand knowledge of the political and economic situation, and stimulating popular interest and co-operation in the work of the Government. The districts which are receiving the lion's share of attention are those situated in the south and west of Anatolia, halts being made at a number of towns whose importance is based above all on their commercial activities.

2. The Gazi's suite is composed of Celal Bey, the Minister of National Economy, Hikmet Bey, Secretary-General of the Presidency, five Deputies, among whom are Saffet Bey (Erzincan) and Ali Bey (Afion Karahisar), the Inspector-General of the Is Bankasi (Business Bank), and three engineering experts, a combination which lends colour to the theory that the inquisition is designed to gauge the economic needs and resources of those districts which are being visited. At each town the programme of visits is very similar, such organisations as the vilayet offices, the municipality, the local headquarters of the Popular party, schools and hospitals being invariably inspected. So far the Gazi has visited Eskişehir, Brusa (where, on learning that a certain Lieutenant-Colonel Sidki claimed to have discovered a new atom, he promised to assist the colonel to publish a work on the subject and so help his candidature for the Nobel prize), Balıkesir, Kütahya, Adana, Gazi Antep (this being the latest official variant of Aintab), Mersin, Antalya and Smyrna.

3. At Balıkesir and Kütahya the Minister of National Economy received local delegations of merchants; that which met him at Balıkesir represented the olive

growers of Ayvalık and Edremit, and urged upon him the necessity for the establishment of a modern olive-oil refinery in the district. At Kütahya, Celal Bey discussed the production of sugar-beet for the sugar refinery which is to be established at Eskişehir, and the marketing of barley, eggs, fruit and minerals produced in the vicinity. Celal Bey has also made investigations on the question of the standardisation of Turkish export produce with a view to ensure that in the future markets are not lost through the tendency of Turkish merchants to supply foreign customers with goods that are far from being up to sample or specification. It is stated in the press that a special department will be set up in the Ministry of National Economy to regulate and enforce standardisation of exports. According to an article published in the semi-official newspaper *Hakimiyeti Milliye* of the 20<sup>th</sup> February, other measures are likely to be applied on the basis of the Gazi's and Celal Bey's enquiries, notably the division of the country into a number of economic zones with suitable administrative organisations to deal with agricultural, industrial, and transport problems, on the principle of the co-ordination of common interests. The very thorough programme of inspection which the Minister is carrying out in Smyrna suggests that he is leaving no stone unturned to probe to the depth the problems which are at present besetting both the home and the export industries of the country. At the time of writing it is reported that the Gazi and Celal Bey will proceed from Smyrna to Manisa, Isparta and Burdur.

4. İsmet Pasha's activities have been concentrated in Southern Anatolia; he has visited Afyon Karahisar, Isparta and the town of Antalya as well as a number of kazas in that vilayet, establishing contact with the local organisations of the Popular party and enquiring about the agricultural situation. Both at Afyon Karahisar and at Antalya the occasion was marked by assurances of popular enthusiasm for the project which the Government is reported to be considering for the construction of a railway to connect these two towns, and it may be inferred that his Excellency must have derived no small measure of gratification therefrom in view of the criticism to which his ambitious railway policy has been subjected in the past. İsmet Pasha has taken the opportunity to impress upon his audiences at these places the importance of the political and cultural work of the *Halk Evi* or People's Houses, which are mentioned throughout the country as centres for the furthering of the ideals of the Popular party.

5. The President of the Grand National Assembly, Kâzım Pasha, has carried out a similar programme in the neighbouring region, comprising the towns of Adana, Mersin and Konya, but in this case the mission is unlikely to produce any results of significance in the commercial sphere, Kâzım Pasha's attributes being mainly those of a magnet designed to attract political allegiance. Dr. Refik Bey, the Minister of Health, has visited Manisa in connexion with the forthcoming establishment of a modern hospital provided under the terms of the will of a certain Mr. Eskenazi, a native of Manisa, who died two or three years ago after

amassing a fortune in the United States. Lastly, Ali Rana Bey, the Minister of Customs and Monopolies, accompanied by Seyfi Pasha, the commander of the recently-formed force of Customs Guards, has just set forth on a tour of the southern frontier where smuggling is still a source of concern to the Government.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Department of Overseas Trade.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 424/278, p.15-16, No.8.*

### No. 173

*Extract from the "Daily Telegraph" of February 6, 1933*

#### RELIGIOUS RIOT IN TURKEY "TANRI" INSTEAD OF "ALLAH"

From our own correspondent.

CONSTANTINOPLE, Sunday.

The effort of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the President, to eliminate from the Turkish language and religion all use of Arabic words has provoked a reactionary religious outbreak at Broussa, an ancient city of many mosques in Asia Minor.

In accordance with the President's decree, a muezzin (Mohammedan public crier) at the Oulou Mosque began calling the faithful to prayer in Turkish instead of employing the centuries-old Arabic form of summons. This involved the use of the word "Tanrı" in place of "Allah" for God.

A loud outcry at once arose from a crowd assembled outside the mosque, and according to some reports, the muezzin was attacked and prevented from continuing his call. A riotous demonstration against the authorities who had issued the order for the innovation followed. A detachment of gendarmes was called out, and before order was restored a conflict with them had occurred. About sixty persons were arrested, including several priests.

The President undoubtedly attaches great importance to the incident. He had just completed a visit to Broussa, and gone elsewhere. But the moment he heard of the outbreak he turned back in haste. He is now holding an investigation there.

*F.O. 371/16984/E. 771.*

## No. 174

*Extract from the "Daily Telegraph", February 7, 1933*ANGER AT PRAYERS IN TURKISH  
RIOTING SPREADS

From our own correspondent

CONSTANTINOPLE, Monday.

Smyrna is the latest scene of trouble in Asia Minor, as a result of Mustapha Kemal Pasha's efforts to eliminate Arabic from forms of worship.

During the saying of the mid-day prayer by the muezzin (Mohammedan public crier) in Turkish instead of Arabic there was violent opposition, and responses were made in Arabic. An arrest was made as an example.

The importance which the Turkish Government attaches to the religious riot at Broussa, reported yesterday, is further proved by the fact that the Minister for the Interior and the Minister for Justice have left Angora for the scene of the trouble.

F.O. 371/16984/E. 771.

## No. 175

*Extract from The "Times" of London of February 7, 1933*READING THE KORAN IN TURKISH  
PROTEST AT BRUSA

From our own correspondent.

CONSTANTINOPLE, February 6.

Worshippers in the Ulu Mosque, which is the largest in Brusa and dates from the reign of Sultan Mohamed Chelebi (1413-1421), protested on Friday against the reading of the Koran in Turkish instead of the once customary Arabic, and left the mosque in order to demonstrate before the Vali's residence. The crowd was dispersed after a number of arrests had been made.

The Gazi who had reached Smyrna in his tour, immediately returned to Brusa, which he had already visited, in order to investigate the matter personally.

As the attempt made in January of last year to introduce the reading of the Koran in Turkish met with little success, the Government reverted to a policy of benevolent neutrality in the matter.

F.O. 371/16984/E.771.



## No. 176

*Extract from The "Times" of London of February 8, 1933*READING THE KORAN IN TURKISH  
GOVERNMENT'S ORDERS

From our own correspondent.

CONSTANTINOPLE, February 7.

The Ghazi has arrived here from Brusa, whither he had hurried to investigate the trouble which had arisen from the reading of the Koran in Turkish in the Ulu Mosque. The President's investigation showed that the demonstration was not due to any reactionary movement, which at first was suspected owing to its coincidence with similar incidents at Smyrna and elsewhere, but to absence of definite orders from the Department of Eykaf on the subject.

All the mosques here have now been ordered to use only the Turkish version of the Koran as from to-day, and it is expected that similar instructions will be issued throughout Turkey. The incident at Brusa has, therefore, served an important purpose, inasmuch as it has induced the Government to make a definite stand on this subject, whereas it had previously been reluctant to enforce the new regulations.

F.O. 371/16984/E. 771.

## No. 177

*Extract of the "Daily Telegraph" of February 8, 1933*WAR ON WORD "ALLAH"  
GHAZI'S EDICT TO BE ENFORCED  
MANY DISSENTERS ARRESTED

From our own correspondent.

CONSTANTINOPLE, Tuesday.

The President of Turkey, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, has made a new move in his war on the word "Allah" and on all Arabic speech in Moslem prayer.

As from to-day, the calling to prayer from the minaret and prayer in the interior of the mosque become obligatory in Turkish instead of Arabic throughout the Republic.

Thus, despite the reactionary incidents at Broussa and Smyrna, already reported, the Ghazi is continuing to defy the Moslem fanatics with the mailed fist.

The cry of "Let lovers of God follow us," is being raised by the reactionaries at Brussa, and Mustapha Kemal Pasha, who arrived unexpectedly in Constantinople at midnight last night, declared that the fanatics will not escape Republican justice.

Arrests of reactionaries are being made in many parts of Asia Minor. Further arrests have been made at Smyrna, and those who merely express written objection to prayers in Turkish are liable to be thrown into prison.

*F.O. 371/16984 E. 771.*

No. 178

*J.G.E. Falanga to Sir G. Clerk*

No. 19.

TREBIZOND, February 16, 1933

Sir,

I have the honour to report that a meeting was organised here on the 11<sup>th</sup> instant in the People's House (Halk Evi) to reprobate the movement against the prayers, *Ezan* and *Kamet* in Turkish, which took place at Brusa in the beginning of the current month. The meeting was attended by the Vali, Rifat Bey, the president of the Municipality and People's Party and a certain number of officials, and was addressed by four speakers, Bekir Süküti Bey, editor of the local "Yeni Yol" newspaper and president of the People's House, and three schoolmasters. After the speeches, telegrams were sent to the Gazi and the Central Government, expressing the indignation of the population at the movement, and its faithfulness to the Republican régime.

2. It is stated that, according to telegraphic instructions received from Angora on the 9<sup>th</sup> instant, all the local müezzins have been ordered to say henceforth the prayers, *Ezan* and *Kamet*, in Turkish, and that since that day these prayers are said in Turkish in all the local mosques.

3. Two müezzins, Hamdi Efendi, of the Cursi Mosque, and Musa Efendi, of the Meydan Mosque, were arrested here on the 10<sup>th</sup> instant on the ground that they had addressed a letter to the Public Prosecutor, asking that the prayers, *Ezan* and *Kamet*, might be said in Arabic. The houses of these two men have been searched by the Police, and compromising documents are stated to have been found in Hamdi's house, including correspondence with a hoca of Brusa, a collection of newspaper cuttings relating the reactionary movement which followed the adoption of the hat as the national headgear, and a letter written by Hamdi's son residing at Constantinople, containing two words: "Do not get mixed up in such matters, but submit to whatever order you may receive". The two müezzins will, it is stated, be despatched to Brusa for trial.

I have, &c.

J.G.E. FALANGA

*F.O. 371/16984.*

## No. 179

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No. 61

*Confidential.*

ANGORA, February 17, 1933

(Received February 24, 1933)

Sir,

It is a curious coincidence that only a few days after the date of my despatch No. 29 of the 21<sup>st</sup> January last, the tolerant attitude of the Gazi towards the continued use of Arabic in Moslem religious services, an event should have occurred in Brusa which has already had the effect of banning Arabic and imposing Turkish in every mosque in the country.

2. It would appear that from the beginning of the month of Ramazan, i.e. about the end of December last, in consequence of orders received from Angora, both the *ezan*, or call to prayer from the minaret, and the *kamet*, or prayer within the mosque, were said in Turkish in Brusa, but soon the *ezan* only was being recited in the vernacular. This stirred the civil authorities to reinforce the order, whereupon certain clerics resigned their functions by way of protest.

3. From the somewhat laconic and conflicting statements which have appeared in the press it is difficult to form a clear idea of what actually occurred at Brusa on the 1<sup>st</sup> February, but the following account may be accepted as fairly reliable. In the Ulu Jami, or Great Mosque, a certain "Lame" Halil, who was replacing the regular officiant on that day, read all the prayers in Arabic. A policeman present ostentatiously noted down the name and address of the delinquent, a proceeding which gave rise to unfavourable comment among the worshippers. After the service one of the latter rose and addressed the faithful as follows: "What does this mean? Why are we subjected to unlawful pressure, while the Jews worship in full liberty in their synagogues and the Christians in their churches? Let us go and give vent to our grievances." Thus incited, all the faithful present, variously reckoned as from thirty to eighty persons, proceeded "with many cries and gestures" to the neighbouring office of the Evkaf Department, where one of their number thus addressed the Government functionary in charge: "I hereby inform you that the people want their prayers said in Arabic, just as they are in Istanbul and other towns, and have come here to tell you so." At the same moment a confirmatory roar arose from the street below. The Evkaf official replied that he had not the necessary authority to settle the question, and advised them to have recourse to the Vali, which the crowd, by now considerably larger, accordingly did, the official meanwhile communicating with the police by telephone. Arrived at the Government headquarters, some of the demonstrators seated themselves inside, while the remainder took up their position in front of the building. They had hardly done so, however, when the police arrived in force, dispersed the crowd,

and arrested all those who had made themselves comfortable within. Numerous other arrests were effected, and minute enquiries instituted, which have been continuing ever since.

4. It was only on the 6<sup>th</sup> instant, five days after the event, that the first intimation of it appeared in the press in the form of an official communiqué, which gave a very much abridged account of the affair and contained the names of some dozen alleged instigators. The same day's papers contained the surprising intelligence that the President of the Republic, who attached special importance to the incident, had gone to Brusa to investigate it in person. He had spent the night of the 4<sup>th</sup> February travelling from Afionkarahissar, which he was then visiting on the tour of inspection referred to in my despatch No. 43 of the 4<sup>th</sup> instant, and had accomplished the final stage of the journey by car in the early hours of the following morning having left the railway at Bilecik before dawn.

5. The press of the 7<sup>th</sup> February, by which time the Gazi was at Constantinople, published the following communiqué issued by his Excellency to the Anatolian Agency:

"I have come to Brusa. I have obtained information about the incident from the interested parties. The incident is not of much importance in itself. In any case, the ignorant reactionaries will not escape the clutches of republican justice. The fact of our having given our special attention to this incident is intended to make clear, once again, that we will never tolerate that religion should be exploited for political purposes or in connexion with any sort of agitation. The essence of the incident is not really religious but linguistic. It must be realised that the national language and personality of the Turkish people will continue to support and to dominate its whole existence."

The contradictions which appear even on the surface of the above statement point to its having been the unaided composition of the Head of the State, whose logic is that of deeds rather than of words, and whose sensational appearance on the scene of so comparatively innocent an expression of popular opinion was no doubt intended as a stern warning to the nation at large, which his Excellency may have feared to be in danger of forgetting the executions at Menemen some two years ago.

6. Hardly less astonishing than the Gazi's surprise visit was the decision, taken at a special meeting of the Cabinet, to despatch the Ministers of the Interior and of Justice to Brusa, where they were received by Mustafa Kemal just before his departure for Constantinople. The Ministers returned to Angora two days later after having, according to the press, studied all the phases of the incident and applied the measures previously decided on in the capital. The result was the dismissal of the Mufti of Brusa, for having misunderstood the Government's orders

about the conduct of public worship; of a magistrate, apparently for having ordered the release of the persons arrested; and of the local Public Prosecutor for having telegraphed to Angora that thirty persons were under arrest, whereas not one was in prison at the time. The magistrate's lapse was made good by the rearrest of the persons confined, while additional arrests were made at Brusa, Constantinople, Sivriua and other places in Western Turkey. At Salihli the authorities, encouraged by the general 'round-up' of reactionaries, arrested a hoja for the triple offence of preaching against photography, non-arabic characters, and the theory that the world is round. Stringent orders have been circulated to all religious authorities for the enforcement of the previous injunction regarding prayers in Turkish, with the result that even Constantinople, whose privileged *de facto* position had aroused the envy of Brusa, now finds itself committed to prayers in the vulgar tongue, which the new linguistic reform tends to make progressively more vulgar.

7. After some further arrests at Brusa, and the interrogation of more than 200 persons, it was announced on the 15<sup>th</sup> February that, although the preliminary judicial investigation of the incident had been terminated, the preparation of the documents and the drawing up of the official report had not yet been completed, and the Public Prosecutor was consequently not yet in possession of the dossier. Further developments of the case will be reported in a subsequent despatch.

8. Meanwhile, even the heavy demands on newspaper space made by the recent election in Constantinople of the Turkish Beauty Queen for 1933 have left room for the daily publication of the usual sycophantic telegrams which keep pouring into the Government and the Gazi, invoking curses on the "criminals" of Brusa and calling for their exemplary punishment, stigmatising reaction in general and all its works, and professing ardent devotion to the republic and the régime. These messages, sent in the name of practically every town and more important village in the country, are, needless to say, despatched on their own initiative by the local authorities and by local branches of semi-official organisations which represent a very small proportion of public opinion outside the capital. No one seems to have ventured to point out that the Government is partly to blame for the incident. By allowing the use of Arabic in some mosques it created a sense of grievance in congregations of other mosques where, as seems to have been the case at Brusa, the local authorities either were ignorant of the new ruling or late in applying it. At the same time the Government considers the people of Brusa at fault for voicing their grievance in a noisy fashion. Prompt and continuous acceptance, without grumbling, of all decrees of the lay republican and revolutionary Government is the only distinguishing mark of a true-blue lay republican and revolutionary citizen.

9. While it may be hoped that the ruthless Menemen executions of 1931 will not serve as a precedent on this occasion, the Gazi's reference to the clutches of republican justice is disquieting, and, if either he or Ismet Pasha is in favour of making more examples, the gallows may soon be set up in the streets of Brusa, as they have been in so many other Turkish towns since the "laic" republic began to claim her victims from among the votaries of the old order. The glaring inconsistency of the "laic" State dictating the details of Moslem public worship, while non-Moslem Turkish citizens are allowed to pray as they please, has struck the humble mosque-frequenter of Brusa, and doubtless of many a town and even village besides; they must wonder, too, why the Government persecutes the hoja, the imam and the muezzin, and contemptuously brands them all as reactionaries, while at the same time decreeing by law that, in order to enhance the dignity of his office, the Moslem ecclesiastic must, while in ecclesiastical costume, not excite the contempt of the public by being seen carrying a basket, a sack or a petrol-tin (to which *Koroğlu* adds "or a goose or a turkey"). The Head of the State and the Government are, however, as unconscious of the inconsistency, or as heedless, as they are of that other and compensatory inconsistency which makes the profession of Islam, however nominal, the qualification *sine qua non* for official recognition as a true Turk.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 371/16984/E. 1056*

*F.O. 424/278, p.25-27, No.12.*

No. 180

*J.G.E. Falanga to Sir George Clerk*

No.12.

TREBIZOND, February 22, 1933

Sir,

I have the honour to report, with reference to paragraph 3 of my despatch No. 10 of the 16<sup>th</sup> instant, that another *muezzin*, Halil Efendi, of the Ortahisar Mosque, was arrested here on the 19<sup>th</sup> instant. Halil Efendi is accused of having persisted in saying the prayers, *Ezan* and *Kamet*, in Arabic, and of having conducted propaganda locally and in the surrounding villages against prayers in Turkish.

I have, &c.

J.G.E. FALANGA

*F.O. 371/16984.*



No.181

*Sir G. Clerk to John Simon*

No.64

*Confidential*

ANGORA, February 23, 1933

*(Received March 10, 1933)*

Sir,

In continuation of my despatch No.61 of the 17<sup>th</sup> instant regarding the recent religious demonstration at Brusa, I have the honour to report that I have received from His Majesty's consul-general at Smyrna a despatch in which he states that the Gazi's visit to that town at the beginning of February evoked nothing more than a lukewarm demonstration of popular interest from a scanty gathering of the public on his arrival; and that, apart from visits to the local authorities, the main part of the President's projected activities in Smyrna was curtailed by his Excellency's hurried departure at dead of night for the scene of the latest manifestation of popular insubordination.

2. Referring to the incident which took place at Brusa, Mr. Greig reports that in the Smyrna district a quickening of Islam religious sentiment was noticed by many observers during the recent month of Ramazan, and that there seems to be a tendency on the part of certain classes, notably the peasants, to interpret the impoverished condition of the country as a visitation ascribable to the violation of religious tradition by the Government. Mr. Greig is of opinion that the existence of such a feeling, which is especially widespread and bitter among the Moslem elements of non Turkish origin, must be considered as a factor in the political situation and may decide the Government to be chary of resorting to capital punishment in the case of those responsible for the demonstration at Brusa.

3. Mr. Greig adds that signs of official nervousness in the vilayet of Smyrna were manifest about the time of the events at Brusa, and that a hoja of Tunisian origin was arrested on the charge of having inculcated reactionary notions concerning the call to prayer in the Hisar Mosque in Smyrna during Ramazan.

I have, &amp;c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/16984/E. 1274

F.O. 424/278, p.27, No.13.



## No. 182

*James Morgan to Sir John Simon*

No. 96

ANGORA, March 18, 1933  
(Received March 23, 1933)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 418 of the 22<sup>nd</sup> December last, relative to the reception accorded to "Grey Wolf" in this country, I have the honour to report that further attacks on Captain Armstrong have appeared in the Turkish press on account of a lecture on Turkey stated to have been delivered recently by him in London. The Constantinople "Milliyet" of the 8<sup>th</sup> instant reflects that no nation can expect to endear itself to everybody; every nation has its admirers and its critics, and provided this sympathy or antipathy is kept within reasonable limits nobody has any cause for complaint; but by his malevolent attacks on Turkey and her statesmen Captain Armstrong has shown himself to be both unscrupulous and unjust. The "Vakit" compares Captain Armstrong to a mewling cat, and expresses astonishment that the Turkish press should continue to attach any importance to, or show any resentment at, the utterances of so despicable a person.

2. On the other hand, an article entitled "The Sick Man of Europe revives", which appeared in the "Daily Herald" of the 6<sup>th</sup> March, has given much satisfaction, to judge from laudatory articles which have appeared in several influential newspapers. A very favourable impression has also been created by the fact that, as reported in the Turkish press, a banquet of two hundred and fifty covers was given on the 14<sup>th</sup> March by the Near and Middle East Association in honour of the Turkish Ambassador in London, when Sir Ernest Bennett is stated to have delivered a speech in praise of the Gazi and his country.

I have, &amp;c.

JAMES MORGAN

F.O. 395/485/P.716.

## No. 183

*Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon*

No. 10.

*Telegraphic*ANGORA, March 22, 1933  
(Received March 22, 1933)

My telegram No. 7.

I gather from various sources and from excited discussion in Foreign Affairs Committee in Grand National Assembly that Gazi and Government are annoyed

because His Majesty's Government does not consider Turkey a European nation and disregards Turkey's new prestige and international importance. This refusal to acknowledge the changes wrought in this country by its victories and by the Gazi's policy of westernisation rankles. Resentment of this snub and slight to Turkey's *amour-propre* is solely directed against His Majesty's Government, from whom some explanation which may soothe ruffled susceptibilities is awaited. The disarmament proposals are for the moment of secondary importance to Turkey.

*F.O. 424/278, p.34, No.20.*

### No. 184

*Mr. Morgan to Foreign Office*

No.1.

*Telegraphic*

ANGORA, March 27, 1933

*(Received April 3, 1933)*

President of the Republic arrived unexpectedly last night at reception at Egyptian Legation for birthday of His Majesty the King of Egypt.

Visit though ostensibly prompted by concern for Chargé d'Affaires who was slightly injured in a motor accident just before the reception, is generally considered to be graceful reparation for the fez incident.

Addressed to Foreign Office No.1 Saving, repeated to Cairo No.1. Saving.

*F.O. 371/16981/E.1734.*

### No. 185

*Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon*

No.107.

ANGORA, March 30, 1933

*(Received April 7, 1933)*

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.61 of the 17<sup>th</sup> February last, relative to the demonstration at Brusa against the use of Turkish in Moslem public worship, I have the honour to report that the trial of the "reactionaries" has been proceeding at Çorum, whither the persons arrested at Brusa and elsewhere were removed some weeks ago. The press of the 28<sup>th</sup> March announced that five of their number, all clerics, had been condemned by the Criminal Court of Çorum to one year's imprisonment each.

2. The official excitement about the "Brusa incident" died down almost as suddenly as it was roused by the Gazi's sensational intervention, and it appears to have been realised in high places that undue importance was attached to it at the time. The press has long since ceased to interest itself in the matter, and there would now seem to be no question of executions. Meanwhile, Turkish has replaced Arabic in the mosques throughout the country, an innovation which has on the whole been accepted with the same stoical resignation as the hat and the Latin alphabet.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

F.O. 371/16984/E. 1811

F.O. 424/278, p.39, No.25.

No. 186

Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon

No.108.

Confidential.

ANGORA, March 30, 1933

(Received April 7, 1933)

Sir,

With reference to my telegram No.1, SAVING, of the 27<sup>th</sup> March, I have the honour to report that, to whatever extent the news of the Egyptian Chargé d'Affaires' motor accident may have influenced the Gazi, His Excellency's unexpected and unprecedented appearance at the reception in honour of King Fuad's birthday is now considered to have been not only a graceful act of reparation for the "fez incident" of last October, but also emphatic demonstration of goodwill towards Egypt and of a desire for cordiality in Turco-Egyptian relations.

2. The President of the Republic, who arrived at the Egyptian Legation after midnight, soon settled himself down in an alcove and talked unceasingly until 8 o'clock in the morning. Tawhid Bey, his head covered in bandages and sticking-plaster, was considerably despatched to bed at 5 A.M., leaving the Iraqi Minister, who had shared the presidential sofa from the beginning, to bear the brunt of the Gazi's eloquence for three hours longer, after which the Emir Zeid finished the evening with breakfast at the Angora Palace Hotel.

3. On the occasion of the Royal birthday cordial telegrams were exchanged between the two Heads of State and given prominence in the press.

4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's High Commissioner in Cairo.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

F.O. 371/16981/E. 1812

F.O. 424/278, p.40, No.26.

## No. 187

*Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon*

No. 114.

ANGORA, March 31, 1933

*(Received April 11, 1933)*

Sir,

With reference to your telegram No.12 of the 28<sup>th</sup> March and previous telegrams regarding the British draft Disarmament Convention, I have the honour to report that, on learning the nature of the proposals contained in the convention, the Turkish Government, always thin-skinned and prone to see offence where none exists, displayed undue excitement and irritation. Turkish pride was hurt by the allotment to Turkey of a lower number of aeroplanes than those assigned to two States which Turkey is not disposed to regard as superiors, namely, Yugoslavia and Roumania, and by the omission of Turkey's army from the list of armies of continental Europe. This was held to imply that Turkey was not considered a European nation and that Turks were therefore non-Europeans. Responsibility for these two fancied slights to Turkish self-respect was at once fixed on His Majesty's Government and attributed to British ill-will towards Turkey, while the suggested reduction in the number of Turkish aircraft was held to be inspired by the British General Staff, anxious to diminish Turkey's offensive and defensive potentialities in the Straits.

2. The Minister for Foreign Affairs had been at first flattered and touched when on the 16<sup>th</sup> March, as instructed in telegram No.1 of the 15<sup>th</sup> March from His Majesty's consul, Geneva, I gave him advance notice of the impending submission to the Disarmament Conference of the new British proposals, and he promised sympathetic consideration of them. But when the details of the conference reached Angora I became aware of a certain coolness and reserve in the attitude towards me of Tewfik Rüşü Bey and the higher officials of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. As reported in my telegram No.1 of the 18<sup>th</sup> March to you at Rome, Tewfik Rüşü Bey, in an interview to which he invited me, laboured the point that ill-will to Turkey was discernible in certain parts of the British convention. I have little doubt that he spoke under the direct inspiration of the President of the Republic and at the instigation of Numan Bey, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who showed later that he took the fancied affronts to his country very much to heart. Proof of the Gazi's interest was given a few days later in the course of a reception at the Egyptian Legation, where, in conversation with the Iraqi Minister, he spoke at length of the belittlement or ignoring of Turkey in the convention. It is natural that the Gazi, who has so greatly raised the prestige of Turkey and whose whole ambition is to make his people indistinguishable from Occidentals, should resent any imputation that Turks are

non-Europeans or that Turkey is not given what he imagines to be her rightful place in the world of hierarchy. Under the impulsion, then, of the Gazi, Tevfik Rüşti Bey pressed me for an explanation which would quieten Turkey's fears, and at the same time instructed the Turkish Ambassador in London to make enquiries there. While awaiting the results of these enquiries a communiqué, of which I enclose a copy, was issued to the Turkish press to inform the public that certain parts of the draft convention required elucidation and that this was being sought for.

3. I think that it was subsequent to the interview mentioned above that the idea gradually dawned on the Turkish Government that article 96 of the draft convention could be used to claim for Turkey the abolition of those clauses of the Straits Convention, signed at Lausanne in 1923, which had reference to demilitarised zones, and by the 22<sup>nd</sup> March the idea had been sufficiently elaborated to be submitted to a meeting of the Council of Ministers. Tevfik Rüşti Bey, whom I saw for a few minutes during the meeting, told me that the Turkish Government was on the point of deciding to ask for the removal of the clauses regarding the demilitarised zones, while respecting the engagement already taken to keep the Straits open, and the decision was taken that night and announced at Geneva on the 24<sup>th</sup> March, in the course of a speech by Cemal Hüsnü Bey, Turkish Minister at Berne, and delegate at the Disarmament Conference. A copy of the speech was circulated by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to all foreign missions.

4. The decision to demand the suppression of demilitarised zones was a source of the greatest gratification to Turks in Angora, and a matter of much self-congratulation, and the feeling that Turkey had replied in a sensational manner to an imaginary attempt to slight her at once made the slights seem less grievous. It was, therefore, a satisfied and complacent Tevfik Rüşti Bey who received from the Turkish Ambassador in London an account of his interview with Sir Robert Vansittart, which was considered so entirely satisfactory that the temporary coolness in Anglo-Turkish relations vanished and was replaced by great friendliness. As reported in my telegram No.12 of the 25<sup>th</sup> March, the Minister for Foreign Affairs still looked forward to a larger allotment of aeroplanes, and blamed his own General Staff for the ignorance of Turkey's military, naval and aerial strength which prevailed in foreign countries. If the Staff had allowed foreign military attachés to see more, and to attend manoeuvres, Turkey would undoubtedly have larger allotments than those hitherto proposed in international conferences. As it was, military attachés had to rely on what they saw at the annual review on the 29<sup>th</sup> October, at which, last year, 60 aeroplanes took part, and on the information they picked up from foreign suppliers of war material to Turkey. The military attachés had not seen the five heavy guns, drawn by tractors, which had been received from Russia. None of Turkey's smaller neighbours possessed such guns. Eighty of the guns taken from Greeks had been reconditioned and given

greater firing velocity, at great expense, and the number of heavy guns taken at Kars was very great. This year, on the occasion of M. Litvinoff's visit on the 29<sup>th</sup> October, he intended to display 100 aeroplanes, while twenty others would be on show at Constantinople and twenty at Smyrna. All this would show Turkey's superior strength to Balkan nations, and reinforce Turkey's plea for higher allotments in effectives and material.

5. As regards the Straits, Tevfik Rüşti Bey said that he had no intention of shouldering the sole responsibility for keeping them open or closed. He preferred that the present situation should continue, for then no belligerent could saddle Turkey alone with the onus of deciding whether they should be open or closed. Turkey had no wish to be drawn into the quarrels of other nations, and, in international conferences, was never prepared to place herself without reserve under international guidance when it became a question of deciding on international action against any Power. Turkey would always keep herself free to decide whether she considered such action necessary, and Tevfik Rüşti Bey implied that Turkey would never consider such action necessary. (This idea is in accordance with the definition of Turkey's policy given in Sir George Clerk's despatch No.257 of the 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1932, about the effect on Turco-Russian relations of Turkey's entry into the League of Nations.)

6. The result of the interview of the Turkish Ambassador in London with Sir Robert Vansittart, and of my subsequent talk with Tevfik Rüşti Bey, was given to the public in the form of a communiqué published in the press on the 26<sup>th</sup> March. I enclose herein a copy of this communiqué, which has made a good impression on all classes of Turks. Subsequent to this the satisfaction of the Turkish Government was much increased by the speech which you delivered at Geneva on the 28<sup>th</sup> March, and the parts relating to Turkey were greatly appreciated. Tevfik Rüşti Bey expressed to me his deepest gratitude for your words, and had the relevant parts of your speech translated *in extenso* and published in the press of the 29<sup>th</sup> March.

7. The coolness in Anglo-Turkish relations may therefore be considered to be at an end, and Turkey will consider the draft Disarmament Convention sympathetically, while at the same time aiming at securing satisfaction for the Turkish point of view, especially in regard to aircraft and the Straits. I have not given Tevfik Rüşti Bey any encouragement in regard to the Turkish proposals concerning the demilitarised zones, apart from remarking on his cleverness in using a disarmament plan to increase Turkish fortifications.

8. In conclusion, I would refer to a point which, while not arising out of the draft Disarmament Convention, has yet been occasionally linked with it in the local press, namely, the Italian four-Power proposal. The Gazi, and, of course, the Turkish Government, heartily dislike the idea that other Powers might take

decisions affecting Turkey's future without consulting Turkey. In this connexion I need do no more than refer to the speech made by the President of the Republic on the 29<sup>th</sup> October 1932, and mentioned in paragraph 4 of Sir George Clerk's despatch No.356 of the 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1932.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 424/278, p. 42-44, No.28.*

No. 188

*Sir John Simon to Mr. Morgan, Angora*

No.15.

*Cypher. No distribution*

FOREIGN OFFICE, April 20, 1933

*Telegraphic.*

We have been asked by the B.B.C. to assist Mr. Vernon Bartlett, who is at present in Angora, to obtain an interview with Mustafa Kemal. Please do what you can to help Mr. Bartlett in this matter, explaining to him at the same time that, if he obtains an interview through the good offices of the Embassy, he must in view of peculiar political considerations involved, consult with the Foreign Office before actually delivering his broadcast on his return to London.

We have acquainted Mr. Siepmann of the B.B.C. with the proposed procedure and he entirely concurs therein.

*F.O. 395/487/P. 976*

No. 189

*E.O. Coote, Foreign Office, to Mr. Siepmann, BBC*

*P.976/186/150*

FOREIGN OFFICE, April 20, 1933

Dear Mr. Siepmann,

With reference to our telephone conversation of to-day, I am writing to inform you that we sent a telegram to our Embassy at Angora this afternoon, instructing them to help Bartlett to obtain an interview with Mustafa Kemal. We told them at the same time to make it clear to Bartlett that if he obtains this interview, he must, in view of the peculiar political considerations involved, consult with us before he actually delivers the broadcast on Turkey.



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We added that we had informed you of the proposed procedure and that you concurred entirely therein.\*

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) E. O. COOTE

F.O. 395/487/P.976.

\* Foreign Office yetkililerinin BBC yayınına yönlendirmek istedikleri anlaşılıyor. F.O yetkililerinden Stendale Bennett bu konuda, Bakanlıkça da paylaşılmış olan 31 Ocak 1933 tarihli aşağıdaki servis notunu sisteme sunmuştur:

Any interview with Mustafa Kemal might certainly provide a timely opportunity for doing something to counteract the "Grey Wolf" business, assuming that Mr. Bartlett's subsequent talk on the interview was in some degree appreciative, and not in any way critical, of the Gazi's efforts in Turkey. I do not know Mr. Bartlett personally, and may, therefore, misjudge him. But such wireless talks of his as I have heard make me a little dubious about him. No doubt, however, his footsteps in Turkey would be guided by the Embassy with an eye to counteracting the impression created by "Grey Wolf". But we cannot afford to run the risk of having matters made worse, and if we give Mr. Bartlett facilities in Turkey, it should, I think, be in return for strict control over what he says when he comes back." (F.O. 395/487/P.976.)

No. 190

Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon

No.147.

ANGORA, April 27, 1933

(Received 4 May, 1933)

Sir,

With reference to your telegram No.15 to Angora of the 20<sup>th</sup> instant, received the following day, I have the honour to report that Mr. Vernon Bartlett arrived at Angora on the 20<sup>th</sup> April and at once called at His Majesty's Embassy, which had already received from Constantinople information regarding his impending visit and his desire to have an audience of the President of the Republic with a view to his coming wireless talk from London on "Europe's Strong Men."

2. Mr. Morgan, before the receipt of your telegram, wrote unofficially to Numan Bey, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, enclosing a memorandum on the subject of Mr. Bartlett's career and the motive of his visit to Angora. After Mr. Bartlett's arrival, Numan Bey having meanwhile left on an official mission to Athens, Mr. Morgan wrote to the Acting Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs enclosing a letter of recommendation addressed to Numan Bey, which Mr. Bartlett had received from the Turkish Ambassador in London. In the interval, and throughout Mr. Bartlett's stay, the Chancery of His Majesty's Embassy were in constant touch with the Protocol Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in regard to the desired interview, hopes of which the Protocol never failed to hold out, though quite unable to say when it might be expected. Finally, on

April 26<sup>th</sup>, when Mr. Bartlett had been in Angora almost a week and the interview seemed no nearer than before, he reluctantly decided that he could wait no longer, and left that evening for Constantinople en route for Rome, where he is to have a meeting with Signor Mussolini early in May.

3. Mr. Bartlett had at the beginning displayed marked optimism as regards the chances of an interview with the Gazi, but received little encouragement in that attitude from the staff of His Majesty's Embassy, who were in a position to quote previous cases, including that of Rosita Forbes some years ago, of similar hopes deferred and never realised. I am satisfied that the Protocol Department of the Ministry did what they could in the matter, but, apart from the normal difficulty of obtaining the Gazi's consent to grant an audience to a comparatively unknown foreigner, they were no doubt severely handicapped by the departure at the critical moment of the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (the Minister for Foreign Affairs had already left for Geneva), and still more by the death of the Japanese Ambassador and the consequent exacting funeral arrangements.

4. Mr. Bartlett was, however, by no means dissatisfied with his visit as a whole, even considered solely in connexion with his forthcoming broadcast from London. Accompanied by a member of my staff, he was shown over a number of the local institutions of which the New Turkey is most proud, including the İsmet Paşa Institute for Girls, the Agricultural Institute, and the Halk Evi ("People's Houses" head-quarters). In the hall of the last mentioned building he had the unexpected good fortune to see the Gazi arrive for a meeting of one of the cultural committees in which he takes such a lively interest, and so obtained a good view of His Excellency at close quarters, a fact which went far to console him for his disappointment.

5. Mr. Bartlett made a good impression on my staff as regards discretion, and undertook in particular to give no publicity to certain uncivilised sights and odours encountered in the old quarters of Angora, whither he had wandered in search of the picturesque. He moreover expressed his intention of calling on Mr. R.W.A. Leeper and Mr. Helm at the Foreign Office before delivering his proposed lecture.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 395/487/P. 1125.*

## No. 191

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No 173.

ANGORA, May 10, 1933  
(Received May 18, 1933)

Sir,

With reference to Mr. Morgan's despatch No.107 of the 30<sup>th</sup> March last, relative to the trial of the persons arrested at Brusa and elsewhere for opposition to prayers in Turkish, I have the honour to report that, according to the *République* of the 2<sup>nd</sup> May, a number of further condemnations were pronounced on the previous day by the special tribunal sitting at Çorum. One of the accused was condemned to two and a half years' imprisonment with hard labour, and five of them to two years, to be followed by two years' police supervision, while seven persons were sentenced to one year's ordinary imprisonment and six others to six months. There were four acquittals. All the persons found guilty were also condemned to share the expenses of the trial, and after their release are to remain under police supervision for longer or shorter periods.

2. It would appear from the newspaper report that other accused persons are still undergoing trial, but the whole affair has receded still further into the background since the date of the despatch under reference.

I have, &amp;c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/278, p.59, No.43.

## No. 192

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No.180.

*Confidential*ANGORA, May 13, 1933  
(Received May 18, 1933)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that certain passages in articles contributed to the *Milliyet* concerning the Turkish post-war struggle for independence, and entitled "An Angora Man's Note-Book," called forth a rejoinder, published in the *Milliyet* of the 5<sup>th</sup> May, from Kâzım Karabekir Pasha, who resented certain criticisms of his attitude during that struggle and sought to justify himself. Kâzım Karabekir Pasha, who was one of the leading generals during the war of independence, later became aware that the Gazi would tolerate no leading figures about him, except those who

were properly content to play a secondary rôle, and prudently retired into private life at Constantinople.

2. In justifying himself, against the charge that, when commander of the eastern front in Erzerum in 1919, he fell in with the plans of the then Vice-President of the Grand National Assembly, Celâlettin Arif, who wished to stir up a movement against the Turkish group (animated by Mustafa Kemal) then at Angora, Kâzım Karabekir Pasha wrote that it was he who had suggested to Mustafa Kemal in his house in Constantinople the idea of regaining national independence by force of arms, and had invited him to proceed to the eastern provinces with that end in view.

3. This suggestion that the honour of being the founder and originator of Turkey's independence falls to Kâzım Karabekir Pasha has, as may well be imagined, been regarded as little less than blasphemous, and has stimulated everyone who believes otherwise, or who knows that it is more expedient to believe otherwise, to rush into print, and show that the suggestion is false and belied by official history. The *Gazi* has given it as his opinion that Kâzım Karabekir Pasha is a case for the mental specialists, and with this lead it is easy to imagine that the *Gazi*'s friends and supporters, who are now filling the newspapers with refutations of Kâzım Karabekir's assertions, will not be deterred from abuse or derision. The newspaper campaign still continues. Yesterday's *République* under the heading "A striking contrast. The *Gazi*'s modesty," publishes a further comment on the matter made by the *Gazi* to some friends who were indignant at Kâzım Karabekir's claim that he, and not the *Gazi*, laid the foundations of the resistance which developed into the war of independence. His friends claimed this honour for the *Gazi* himself. According to the *République* the *Gazi*, with a modesty befitting his greatness, declared that his friends were mistaken. There were two Mustafa Kemals. One himself, the individual, who was mortal and would pass. The other was the nation expressed in one person, a symbol of all Turkish patriots. The first Mustafa Kemal was merely the individual in whom all the yearnings and dreams of the second came true. The second Mustafa Kemal was no other than the nation, and was immortal. It was the second which wrought the revolution and laid the foundations of the republic and built it up.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/16983/E. 2608

F.O. 424/278, p.59, No.44.

No. 193

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No. 241

*Confidential.*

ANGORA, June 21, 1933

*(Received June 30, 1933)*

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the press of the 7<sup>th</sup> instant announced that General Ali Fuad Pasha had offered himself as independent candidate for a parliamentary vacancy at Konya, and that the Prime Minister had issued a manifesto to the secondary electors in that town praising the general for the services he had rendered for the national cause, and declaring that "he had followed the same path as the Gazi." This announcement followed a visit of Ali Fuad Pasha to Angora, in the course of which he was received by the Gazi, and there can be no doubt that, whichever of the two may have taken the first step, the President gave a hearty welcome to his old comrade in arms and fully approved, if indeed he did not inspire, his return to parliamentary life. On the 10<sup>th</sup> June the press announced that Ali Fuad Pasha had been unanimously elected independent Deputy for Konya, and he subsequently took his seat amid the applause of the whole Assembly.

2. This unexpected return to public life, under the highest auspices, of one of the "Opposition generals" is doubly interesting at the present time, firstly, because of the contrast afforded by the official attitude towards the most distinguished of their number, Kâzım Karabekir Pasha, as reported in my despatch No. 180 of the 13<sup>th</sup> May last; and secondly, because it is generally believed to indicate that the Gazi's desire for a parliamentary Opposition has survived the dissolution of Fethi Bey's Liberal party in the autumn of 1930. It will be remembered that that promising infant, whose putative father was Mustafa Kemal himself, was sacrificed to the alarm of Ismet Pasha and the People's party at the triumphal reception accorded to Fethi Bey in Smyrna. The few "independents" who, by the Gazi's wish, were presented with seats at the general election of 1931, have proved too spineless to form anything even remotely resembling an Opposition, and most, if not all of them, have joined or returned to the People's party. It remains to be seen whether Ali Fuad Pasha will give any more proof of real independence; but even if he be supposed to have any serious thought of creating an effective Opposition, which is very doubtful, it is not to be expected that he will succeed where Fethi Bey, the intimate and still highly-favoured friend of the Gazi, so signally failed.

3. A biography of Ali Fuad Pasha was included in the series of Turkish personalities enclosed in my despatch No. 36 of the 31<sup>st</sup> January 1931. It will be seen from that biography that Ali Fuad Pasha was at one time Kemalist Ambassador in Moscow, and later Deputy for Angora and Vice-President of the Assembly. He

subsequently became identified with the Progressive party and, in 1926, was arrested for participation in an alleged plot against Mustafa Kemal, but was acquitted. His present election as an Independent Deputy with the blessing and full support of the Popular party signifies that he fulfils the conditions laid down by the party as essential for independent candidates. These, as reported in my despatch No.149 of the 30<sup>th</sup> april 1931, are that such candidates must have national laic republican principles and be sincere. Kâzım Karabekir Pasha and Refet Pasha fell short of these requirements, and were not allowed to become Deputies. If Ali Fuad Pasha has now been considered worthy, it means that he has wholeheartedly accepted the Gazi's primacy and policy, and that the Gazi is sure of him. The Gazi can therefore afford to be generous and give Ali Fuad Pasha freedom from the discipline and trammels of the Popular party and allow him, if he so wishes, to criticise and to oppose.

4. The press applauds the election of Ali Fuad Pasha, and attributes the support given to him by the Popular party to the fact that he has rendered great services to the State, to his upright character, and to the respect which he has always shown to the Gazi. It omits to say that others who have equally rendered great service cannot hope to be Deputies - even of the Opposition - because they do not show due respect to the Gazi, and it is obvious that this quality is the touchstone. The present independent Deputies do not fail in this respect, and the foremost among them, Halil Bey, Deputy for Smyrna, is usually the first to lead the House on any occasion when it becomes necessary publicly to acclaim or to congratulate the President of the Republic.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 371/16983/E. 3515*

*F.O. 424/278, p.74-75, No. 59.*

No. 194

*Mr. Vernon Bartlett, British Broadcasting Corporation,  
to Mr. Helm, Foreign Office*

LONDON, July 21, 1933

Dear Mr. Helm,

I enclose a carbon copy of the talk on Turkey in exactly the form in which I broadcast it last night. I had to cut out one or two sentences I should have



preferred to leave in, because otherwise I should have gone to far beyond my usual fifteen minutes. I hope very much that the talk may be of some little use.

Thanking you for your help and advice,

I am,  
Yours sincerely,  
VERNON BARTLETT

*F.O. 395/487/P. 1736.*

Enclosure in No.194

# STRONG MEN OF EUROPE - VIII

## THE GAZI

by

*Vernon Bartlett*

*Thursday, 20<sup>th</sup> July, 1933 at 9.20 p.m.*

One of the world's more depressing monuments stands high up above the Golden Horn in the European quarter of what used to be Constantinople and is now Istanbul. It represents the struggle for Turkish freedom under the leadership of one of the most remarkable men alive, Mustafa Kemal, better known as the 'Gazi', or 'Liberator'. On one side there is the Gazi in uniform, leading his men in battle. On the other, the struggle is won, and there he is in a neat, European frock-coat in front of all his frock-coated ministers. In nearly every photograph - on the postage stamps, even - he is portrayed in evening clothes, with a white tie. One might think, especially if one remained in Constantinople, that there had been merely an empty victory of European fashions over eastern ones. The men wear the same sort of hats as we do, and the women go unveiled. Was it necessary to have a war and a revolution to achieve that? Istanbul is terribly shabby, with thousands of tumbledown, wooden houses and badly paved streets. Any changes do not seem to have been for the better.

But to get an idea of what is happening in Turkey it is absolutely necessary to visit Ankara, the capital. It is easily the most astonishing place I have ever seen, and it helps one to understand the contradictions that strike one as soon as one arrives in Turkey. There is for example, this insistence upon European dress, and yet the capital has been transferred from Europe to Asia. even Herr Hitler has done less to make Germany a country for Germans than the Gazi is doing to keep Turkey for the Turks - all the Greeks and most of the Armenians have been pushed out of parts of Turkey, except Istanbul, probably to the country's immediate disadvantage.

And yet, despite this dislike of the foreigner, Austrian and German architects are busily putting up modern villas in the Asiatic desert. If I may be permitted an Irishism, I should say that almost the best European architecture of to-day is in Asia.

You start off on your journey to Ankara by taking a steamer across the Bosphorus to the Asiatic shore, and as I waited near the famous Galata Bridge for the steamer to leave, I wondered how much more oriental and picturesque Ankara was going to be. The odd variety of people on the steamer, the noise, the little boats scurrying to and fro, rowed by ragged men with vividly coloured stuffs around their middles - it was all just the sort of thing one expects from a play or a film about the east. And now for the first time I was to penetrate into the interior of Asia.

When we finally landed on the Asiatic shore, I forgot to be thrilled. There was a large new station, rather like some modern station in Germany or Switzerland. There was a train with the usual dining and sleeping cars, and there was a bunch of diplomats to remind me of the night train from Paris to Geneva on the eve of a League of Nations Council meeting. The outside world was a little unusual - on the right, the Sea of Marmora and the lovely Island of Prinkipo, where Mr. Trotsky has lived as an exile, and later on, when we climbed up from the sea, there was a narrow strip of land where each branch of each of the few trees was weighed down by roosting storks - but our box on wheels was to all appearances entirely European. The only camels I saw during my time in Turkey were in Europe. I passed them on my journey from Sofia to Istanbul, and they looked so out of place against a landscape exactly like Salisbury Plain that I still wonder whether they hadn't something to do with some circus.

After fifteen hours, we reached Ankara. On a chocolate coloured hill is the old town, with all the noises and the smells and the colours that anybody with romantic ideas about the east could possibly desire. The walls that surround it are amazing, for they contain the whole of history. Pieces of Roman columns, slabs of stone inscribed in Greek, sarcophagi, altars - anything hard and solid has been used in building the fortifications against the different enemies that have swept over these sandy hills. The Turks are so proud of all they have done in Ankara since it became their capital that they take little interest in the old town. But you must visit it to contrast it with the new. Nothing has given me greater respect for the achievements of the present Turkish Government than the discovery, as I pottered about among the hovels and the houses of this old town, of the half-decayed leg of a horse. A few hundred yards away, at the foot of the hill, is the new town. As I looked out of my window on my first evening there, I saw two European engineers measuring out the length of road they had paved during the day with the help of some very modern German machine, and they were as proud of their achievement

as any Russians might be breaking records for their five-year plan. At night I was kept awake by conflicting jazz bands in two rival cafés. There are no trams and very little other traffic, but at each street corner there is a smart policeman on point duty. There is an enormous modern building, the Ismet Pasha Institute, where nearly nine hundred girls are learning to design Paris hats and gowns, to write advertisements, to illustrate papers and books, to compete, in fact, with the modern businesswoman in Europe or the United States. And the different government buildings are, I think, the finest I have ever seen anywhere. Every hundred yards or so a street sweeper is busy collecting imaginary scraps of rubbish - in the new town. One would imagine that, were he to visit the old town, he would become the centre of an amazed and curious crowd.

Now this building of a modern city in Asia would be astonishing in any circumstances, but it becomes doubly astonishing when all its implications are realised. No country in the world has changed as much as Turkey in the last ten years. Until 1926, when the Swiss Legal Code was adopted, all law was based on the sayings and commands laid down by Mahommed in the seventh century. Since no human figure must be portrayed, there were no statues in Turkey; now there are three of the Gazi (but none, as far as I know, of anybody else) in Ankara alone. A drawing master who allowed his pupils to copy any living object would have been dismissed, and photographers must have done a very poor business; now there are cheap photographers of the sort that you find on the beach in summer at nearly every street corner. The attempt to adapt the Koran to modern life was of course a hopeless one, and although civil courts had recently been set up side by side with the religious ones, there was little hope of justice in Turkey before the war. A century ago people wore the most complicated kinds of turban which showed you every man's religion and trade. Sultan Mahommed II was threatened with assassination because he abolished the turban in favour of the fez, but it wanted much more courage to abolish the fez in favour of an ordinary hat, since a hat with a brim makes it difficult for its wearer to touch the floor with his forehead when he is praying, and Mahommed orders him to do so. In one way and another, Turkey under the Sultans had become probably the most dangerously backward country in the world.

But now the Sultan and the Caliph has gone, and the harems are silent and deserted except for tourists. The Arabic alphabet, in which the Koran is written, has gone, with astonishing results when you see how the Turks spell European words. Saint George becomes Sen Jorj, and mademoiselle is written matmazel. The fezes and the veils have gone, and in modern Ankara there are so few minarets that one could easily mistake them for the factory chimneys that we associate with our own European cities. Some miles out of Ankara, on the slope of a hill near the British Embassy, is a low modern villa where lives Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the

President of the Republic, and the man who is responsible for all these changes. How did he bring them about, and why?

As far as I can see, the trouble about Turkey in the last century or so has been that the man who was Sultan in Constantinople, that is to say, ruler of the Ottoman Empire, was also Kalif of all the Mahommedans. There was a constant friction between the religious conception and the national one, and the religious one used to dominate. The palaces at Constantinople were filled with the worst mixture of people in the world - Albanians, Greeks, Armenians, Kurds, Tartars, Slavs, and so on, and when the Young Turks began their nationalistic campaign, they made the mistake of talking about the whole Ottoman Empire instead of only about its purely Turkish inhabitants. Their nationalism encouraged the rival nationalism of the Kurds and the other peoples in the Empire, so that it was weakened instead of being brought closer together.

Among those who had decided before the war that the old system was too corrupt, too cowardly and too lazy to be reformed, was a young officer with piercing, deep-set grey eyes, who was always being sent to remote parts of the Empire to keep him out of mischief. During the war, as British troops who fought against him at the Dardanelles learned to their cost, this young officer, Mustafa Kemal, showed very unusual ability, but he was uncompromising and unpopular, and never received the credit he deserved. It was only after the war, when Constantinople was occupied by allied troops under a British general, and the Sultan had become merely a puppet in their hands, that he and his friends revolted against the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres. They formed a national government in Asia and defied the world. The Sultan could do nothing against them, but the Greeks, who were to inherit a lot of territory in Anatolia as a result of this Treaty, marched towards Ankara. After a long campaign, and despite difficulties of every kind, Mustafa Kemal drove the Greeks back to the sea and marched to within a mile or two of Constantinople. The Sultan took refuge on a British warship, and about ten years ago Mustafa Kemal, already President of the Great National Assembly in Ankara, became first President of the Turkish Republic.

It was then that the soldier had to become a statesman. Constantinople had been on the western fringe of the Empire, and despite temporary disadvantages some more representative city must take its place. Ankara seems remote enough when you make the journey to it, but there is still more of Turkey to the east than to the west of the capital. The Arabic alphabet was so complicated that it was one of the causes why so few people could read or write, and if Turkey was to hold her own in the modern world she must adopt the Latin alphabet, so Mustafa Kemal insisted that all government officials should learn this Latin alphabet, and he was not above appearing at official receptions with a blackboard and putting them

through an examination. The veiling of women might be picturesque, but it was incredibly uneconomical, since a Turk had to travel with so many people to protect his wife or wives, and there could be no sensible relationship between the sexes while such a system lasted. Mustafa Kemal horrified the orthodox, not only by encouraging people to go unveiled, but even by dancing with an unveiled girl at a big public function. The fact that every Mahommedan man had to wear a fez led to a dangerous division based on religion between the subjects of the Ottoman Empire, and by appearing in one of the most bigoted parts of Asia Minor in an ordinary European hat, Mustafa Kemal started a change, the social effects of which are enormous. At first fezes were still allowed, but it can easily be imagined that when he got back to Ankara everybody who came to meet him at the station had discovered some sort of European headgear. For the next few months, hat merchants did the most glorious trade they have ever done. That change alone has done so much to wipe out the old rivalry between Mahommedans and Christians that I was astonished when a little boy called after me in the street the word "infidel". I am told some Turks, especially the older ones, still like to put their fezes on when they get back to the safety of their homes, but their sons will not share this same rather queer ambition, and this distinction between the two religions has gone for ever. When the wearing of hats was made compulsory, there was such an outcry in the eastern part of the country that martial law had to be declared and several men were sentenced to death, but now the hat has become a symbol of religious reconciliation.

I had rather expected that the Gazi would be a man who was always strutting about in magnificent uniform, opening new buildings, laying foundation stones, reviewing troops, and so on, but to his own distress the more active part of his job is done. He has put through legislation which does all that legislation can do to make Turkey an entirely modern state, and his job now is to make sure that these laws are carried out. For the greater part of his time - except in summer, when he comes down to Istanbul - he leads a very lonely life in his villa on the hill above Ankara. From time to time however, one notices that there more sentries on the road than usual. Suddenly two soldiers on motor cycles come tearing along, followed by a car driven at high speed, and followed by two more cyclists. You may get a glimpse inside the car of the President of the Turkish Republic. I am afraid that I did not manage to interview him, for it takes too long to get an appointment, but I saw more of him than most of his own compatriotes do because I happened to be in a building when he visited it, and I was not turned out since I was with an imposing looking dragoman from the British Embassy, and his uniform commanded respect. From all that I had heard of the Gazi, I had expected a man who looked worn out and old. Instead I saw an alert upright man in an ordinary dark blue suit. A man with yellowish hair, deep-set grey-blue eyes, prominent cheek

bones and very thin lips. A man in whom I should have complete trust in time of danger, and of whom I should be very alarmed if he were my enemy.

The Gazi's will is law. He has long since blazed the trail for Hitler by abolishing all parties except his own. All over the country are branches of his National Union for, like Mussolini in Rome, Salazar in Portugal, Hitler in Germany and Stalin in Moscow, he hopes to keep up enthusiasm by constant propaganda in every town and village. I suppose dictatorships always become most dangerous when the dictator dies, and the changes that Mustafa Kemal has wrought in Turkey are so great that there must be many Turks who would oppose him if they dare. But even if there were a long period of uncertainty when Mustafa Kemal retires from the political field, he would none the less have justified himself, for whatever happens, owing to his courage and energy, the Turkey of to-morrow will bear no resemblance to the Turkey of yesterday. It is fairly easy to prophesy what people will say in a hundred years' time, because I shan't be here to be corrected if I am wrong, and I would say without much hesitation that the three greatest men who have come to the front during or since the war are: Lenin, Mustafa Kemal and Mussolini. Ah I am not sure that I should not put the Gazi first.

*F.O. 395/487/P. 1736.*

## No. 195

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No. 321.

CONSTANTINOPLE, August 16, 1933

(Received August 25, 1933)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.326. of the 1<sup>st</sup> October 1932, I have the honour to report that it was announced on the 14<sup>th</sup> instant that Reşit Galip Bey, the Minister of Public Instruction, had resigned on grounds of ill-health, and that Refik Bey, Minister of Health, had been appointed to act in his stead pending the bestowal elsewhere of the vacant portfolio. That ill-health is the true reason of the Minister's disappearance from the public scene no one is prepared to believe, even though the fact that he was recently involved in what might have been a serious bathing accident lends a certain plausibility - sufficient for the Gazi - to the ostensible cause.

2. It is, indeed, an open secret that relations between this Minister and the Head of the State have for long been deteriorating. The Gazi has never really liked Reşit Galip Bey since the latter, some three or four years ago, prevented him from



carrying out a too generous promise of financial assistance made in a moment of exhilaration to the Russian proprietress of a Stambul restaurant, when the President approved his appointment last year to the high position which he has just forfeited, it was chiefly, as stated in my despatch No.326 of the 1<sup>st</sup> October 1932, because he wanted someone young, ambitious, energetic, and capable to push through the reform of the Turkish language, which he had so much at heart. (Incidentally, Resit Galip Bey was one of the two vice-presidents of the first Turkish Linguistic Congress, held last summer at Istanbul.)

3. Unfortunately for his credit with the Gazi, Resit Galip Bey's reforming zeal appears to have taken a somewhat different direction to that required of it, and instead of devoting himself to the elimination of all foreign words from the Turkish language, the Minister gave most of his time and energy to the infinitely more profitable task of reorganising higher education in Turkey.

4. This task, though doubtless the President appreciates its importance, is less close to his heart than that of language reform, and as the work of reorganisation involved wholesale dismissals and the making of many enemies, some of whom doubtless had influence in the highest quarters, the eventual downfall of the Minister was a foregone conclusion. A lack of consideration for the Gazi's feelings would appear, however, to have been the immediate cause of his downfall. Thus, without consulting his Excellency or anybody else, he recently appointed himself president of the newly-formed "Institute of the (Kemalist) Revolution." I am told that the Gazi on learning of this summoned him to Yalova on the Gulf of Ismit, where His Excellency is at present in residence, and reproached him bitterly for his action, pointing out that he might at least have asked him, Mustafa Kemal, the author of the revolution, to be honorary president of the institute. The President insisted then and there on the Minister's withdrawal from the position of president of the institute, and a day or two later ordered him to resign his portfolio on grounds of ill-health.

5. The Gazi seems to have followed his personal feelings rather than the good of the country, and it may be doubted whether the new Minister of Public Instruction, whoever he may be, will approach the task of reforms with the zeal and enthusiasm which was shown by Resit Galip Bey.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

*F.O. 371/16983/E. 4962*

*F.O. 424/279, part 26, p.17-18, No.18.*



No. 196

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No. 322.

CONSTANTINOPLE, August 16, 1933

*(Received August 25, 1933)*

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a translation of a Bill for the reorganisation of the Turkish University, which was passed by the Grand National Assembly on the 31<sup>st</sup> May last.

2. The question of the much-needed reform of higher education in Turkey has for some time been occupying the attention of the Government and, in 1932, they requested the Swiss Government to send them an expert to examine the question on the spot and make recommendations.

3. The Swiss Government chose for this purpose a certain Professor Malche, of Geneva University, who was also a Deputy in the Federal Parliament. The professor spent the autumn in Constantinople studying conditions at the university, and subsequently presented to the Government a report giving the results of his observations together with proposals for reform. This report was accepted by the Government. I transmit herewith a summary of this document, made by a member of my staff. I would ask that the paper should be treated as confidential, as my Swiss colleague, in lending me the report for perusal, begged that I would not disclose the fact of his having done so.

4. It will be seen that Professor Malche's criticisms of the present state of higher education in Turkey are severe, though doubtless fully justified, and that the reforms which he proposed were far-reaching. On the approval by the Grand National Assembly of the above-mentioned Bill, which was based on the professor's report, the old university was dissolved and a new one established. At the same time Professor Malche was engaged for a year to supervise the reforms and a Committee of Reform was set up under the presidency of the energetic young Minister of Public Instruction, Reşit Galip Bey. The Minister at once put various reforms at hand. Thus the medical faculty was transferred from the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus to Constantinople; hours of study were increased; and, with a view to putting into effect the recommendation that "teaching methods should be reformed," over 100 Turkish professors were dismissed. The Minister, moreover, started negotiations with some thirty foreigners, many of them eminent Jews and Liberals expelled from Germany, with a view to their accepting professorships in the new university.

5. Unfortunately, not only did Reşit Galip Bey make many enemies, first, by the wholesale dismissal of incompetents (most of them members of the People's party);

and, secondly, by the negotiations with foreigners (who were to receive salaries out of all proportion to those given to the Turks); but also, a more serious matter, he omitted, it would appear, to take the very necessary precaution of securing the Gazi's support before putting these drastic and unpopular decisions into effect. The result is that, as reported in my despatch No. 321 of to-day's date, he has been forced to resign, ostensibly on grounds of ill-health.

6. I gather, however, that much as the enforced resignation of so energetic and capable a figure is to be regretted, the change in the Ministry of Public Instruction will at worst affect the *tempo* of the contemplated reforms. The Gazi is too intelligent not to recognise the hopeless state of higher education in this country, and in any case the Turkish Government is now committed to a large measure of reform. Fortunately, Professor Malche was careful to avoid all mention of personalities in his report, and the whole onus of the dismissals, as also of the proposed appointment of foreigners, will thus be borne by Reşit Galip Bey. One result of the incident, so a member of the Swiss Legation stated in conference, is likely to be that the salaries of the Turkish professors will be considerably raised. This is intended to reconcile Turkish public opinion to the appointment of a number of foreigners.

7. Meanwhile, the Acting Minister of Public Instruction, Refik Bey, has stated that the reorganisation of the university will be carried out according to plan, and that the dismissals hold good. On the resignation of Reşit Galip Bey no contracts had yet been signed with any foreign aspirants to professorial posts, and it seemed possible that a decision regarding their engagement might be deferred for the present. However, according to to-day's press, Refik Bey has been negotiating with some of these gentlemen and an agreement has been reached with two of them. These aspirants include among other well-known names, those of Herren Sauerbruch and Niessen, the famous German specialists. Refik Bey is stated to be in close touch with Dr. Malche, whose contract as adviser to the university does not expire till next year. It is announced that the Committee of Reform set up after the passing of the Bill is to be dissolved, having completed its work, and that the reforms are henceforth to be carried out by the governing body of the university in collaboration with the Minister, whose principal adviser will, of course, be Dr. Malche.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

FO. 424/279, part. 26, p. 19, No. 19.

No. 197

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon*

No. 334.

*Confidential*

CONSTANTINOPLE, August 23, 1933

*(Received September 7, 1933)*

Sir,

M. Edouard Herriot is leaving Constantinople by Russian steamer for Odessa to-day on the conclusion of a sixteen days visit to this country, which, though nominally private and unofficial, was made the occasion of a reception which could scarcely have been more impressive had he still been Prime Minister of France.

2. A Turkish destroyer, with the Private Secretary of the Minister for Foreign Affairs on board, was sent to Varna to bring M. Herriot from Bulgaria, where he had been attending the Radical Union Congress at Sofia, and in addition to the usual three days of banquets, receptions, inspections of schools, hospitals, and so on, at Angora, and a prolonged interview with the President of the Republic at Dolma Bahçe Palace, the presidential yacht was placed at M. Herriot's disposal for an excursion to Troy. The Turkish press published long articles daily in praise of France and "notre cher hôte," whose friendship for Turkey was so well proved, though some of these articles contained an underlying suggestion that France could and should make some return for all this manifestation of friendship. One paper, for instance, called the serious attention of M. Herriot to the impropriety of installing elements hostile to Turkey, such as Armenians and Assyrians, anywhere near the Turco-Syrian frontier, and, in another article, contrasted the strong and convinced laicism of M. Herriot with the support given to Catholic propaganda in the Near East by France.

3. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs has stated that no formal political discussions have been held with M. Herriot and I am not myself convinced that the visit has the portentous political importance which some of my colleagues, especially the Italian Chargé d'Affaires, attribute to it. The warmth of the reception given here to M. Herriot, the fact of his visit to Sofia, and the journey that he is now making to Russia, taken together, have alarmed my Italian colleague, who seems to fear that it all means that Turkey is moving away from the Italian orbit. It is the habit of the Turkish Government to make as much as possible of the visit of any leading European statesman, and in this case it was, I understand, largely on the insistence of Tefik Rüşdi Bey that the visit, or at all events so long a one, was made. When we add to this the conviction of the Turks that M. Herriot will certainly, and probably soon, again be Prime Minister of France, their belief that he dislikes the Four Power Pact almost as much as the Gazi does, and their wish to acquire merit at Moscow by instilling into M. Herriot's mind the virtues of the

Soviet Government, there seems reason enough for the marked courtesies shown by the Turks to their distinguished visitor.

4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/16987/E. 5236

F.O. 424/279, part. 26, p. 21-22, No. 22.

No. 198

*Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon*

No. 360.

CONSTANTINOPLE, October 2, 1933

(Received October 20, 1933)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that Sir George Clerk left Turkey to-day on the completion of his tenure of office as His Majesty's Ambassador in this country.

2. Since the news of his transfer became known expressions of regret have been widespread. Opinion was unanimous among Turkish officials that they were losing a sincere friend of their country, and one whom they had personally learnt to esteem and to respect. They had come to value his views not only on questions concerning their country and his, but on questions of wider scope on which they consulted him with confidence, and with the knowledge that they would receive objective advice, free from any *arrière-pensée*. His diplomatic colleagues, too, deplored his departure. The doyen, M. Suritz, Ambassador of the U.S.S.R., who had known Sir George Clerk since his arrival in Turkey, and who was expressing both the Turkish and the foreign official view, told me that the improvement noticeable in recent years in Anglo-Turkish relations was largely due to the late Ambassador, who, arriving in the difficult days following the Mosul dispute, had by patience, tact and personal qualities won Turkish suspicion and soothed Turkish susceptibilities, so that finally friendship and confidence took the place of hostility and distrust.

2. The special position won by Sir George Clerk was emphasised during the past week, when the President of the Republic, the President of the Council and the Minister for Foreign Affairs agreed to receive him in Constantinople for the purpose of taking leave of them, thus waiving their jealously-guarded principle of discouraging receptions of foreign diplomats in Constantinople. The Gazi was markedly friendly, expressing pleasure at the cordiality of Anglo-Turkish relations.

and consulting the Ambassador on various points connected with the approaching visit of the Yugoslav Sovereigns and on Turco-Bulgarian relations. Ismet Pasha and Tefik Rüşti Bey were unaffectedly moved by the leave-taking. Sir George Clerk paid a hurried visit to Angora for the purpose of making an official farewell call at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. At a luncheon given at Angora in his honour in the new premises of the Diplomatic Club, Şukru Kaya Bey, Minister of the Interior, gathered together Angora's most prominent personages, and if the speeches delivered on the occasion were long and numerous, his Excellency was much touched by them, as they were patently sincere and clearly expressions of genuine regret at the loss of a personal and admired friend.

3. The Turkish Ministers in residence at Angora and numerous Turkish officials and others saw Sir George Clerk off at Angora Station, and there was a large assembly of diplomatic and other friends at the station on his departure from Constantinople. There were no Turkish officials at this latter gathering, no doubt because Turkish official leave-taking is considered as accomplished only in Angora. There is a bare possibility, too, that the Turkish authorities refrained from appearing because they had remarked a report in the *Times* of the 28<sup>th</sup> September (due to over-intelligent editing of a correctly-worded telegram from its Constantinople correspondent) to the effect that the Ambassador had presented his letters of recall to the Gazi at Dolmabahçe, and may have felt called on to show by their abstention the the *Times* misrepresentation of a special and personal concession made in the case of Sir George Clerk did not imply that Constantinople could in any way replace Angora as the diplomatic capital, or that the Gazi would be willing to receive other such visits in Constantinople in future.

4. To various journalists who asked for Sir George Clerk's views on the occasion of his departure, the Ambassador stressed his regret at severing his seven years' connexion with Turkey and his admiration for its progress and increasing prestige under the able guidance of the Gazi, as well as his wishes for its success in the future. His words were reproduced with satisfaction in all newspapers.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

## No. 199

*Foreign Office minute by Mr. Helm dated 9<sup>th</sup> October 1933*

## TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PROCLAMATION OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

Turkey was proclaimed a Republic on October 29<sup>th</sup> 1923, Mustafa Kemal Pasha being elected first President on the same day. Great preparations are, I understand, being made at Angora for the celebration of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of both events on October 29<sup>th</sup> next. According to the press, a number of countries are sending special missions to Angora for the occasion, and fulsome congratulatory messages from foreign governments are sure to pour into the Turkish capital on that date.

2. In 1931 (E 3761/3137/93 and E 1400/4400/65) Sir G. Clerk suggested that congratulatory message might be sent by The King to the Gazi on Republic Day. The suggestion was not acceptable and the proposal was dropped. Soon afterwards His Majesty's Government presented the Gazi with a copy of the Official History of the Dardanelles Campaign and the gift was much appreciated.

3. I am not sure whether the objections which applied in 1931 to the despatch of a congratulatory message from The King on the occasion of an ordinary anniversary would apply to the rather special circumstances of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary, but there is, in my opinion, no doubt that the Turks would be disappointed if His Majesty's Government took no notice of their anniversary, while other countries did, and would be correspondingly pleased at receiving the congratulations either of the King or of His Majesty's Government.

4. In any case I have considered it well to submit the point for consideration.

A. K. HELM

*F.O. 371/16983/E.6011.*

## No. 200

*Extract from the Daily Mail of the 11<sup>th</sup> October 1933*

## A NEW TURKEY CREATED IN TEN YEARS

A new Turkey has come into being in the ten years since Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha was elected (on October the 29<sup>th</sup> 1923) the first President of the Republic which replaced the rule of the Sultans.

How the nation has united in a great campaign of social and industrial modernisation is described by Mr. Ernest Main, our special correspondent in the message printed below.

Angora, Tuesday.

What are the aims and ideas of the new Turkey, and how are they being put into effect?

They were explained to me by Rejeb Bey, secretary General of the People's Party and one of the "strong men" in this new Republic. He has held several cabinet posts and is now the main spring of the only party that counts. His party, he told me, holding as a fundamental that Republicanism is the ideal of National Sovereignty.

The new Turkish principle of Government is Government of the State by the State, for the State. In other words, this conception provides for State control of, and interest in all individual activities. This does not necessarily mean curtailment of public liberties, but it does mean discipline in the interests of the State, which are regarded as supreme.

#### THE TURKISH NATION TO-DAY, IT MAY BE SAID IS MOBILISED FOR PEACE

The nation has fallen in behind its leaders; they are unanimity and enthusiasm in the furtherance of progress. Thanks to the new régime inspired and invigorated by the Gazi's dynamic personality, this progress has been remarkable.

Turkey is predominantly an agricultural and pastoral country and is dependent on foreign markets for the sale of her surplus agricultural products. Trade and agriculture are, therefore, among the principal preoccupations of the Government. Foreign trade is fully controlled either by Tariffs or quotas, or by the new series of international treaties, which provide for a "balance" of exports to and imports from certain countries and are thus calculated to prevent disturbance of the exchange. Sugar factories and cotton mills are to be established with a view to cutting out the present heavy imports of these commodities. Agriculture is being stimulated as far as possible but the world slump in the price has hit Turkey hard.

Turkish national finances are sound. As in the last few years, this year is expected to show a surplus for the Exchequer; so, too, with the balance of foreign trade.

In education and public health great strides have been made. Schools are springing up everywhere, and public "health drives" are in progress against malaria, tuberculosis and other diseases.

The nation's defence policy is based on universal military service. The troops are smart and well turned out with good discipline. On the naval side, too, there is a good deal of activity. THE DEFENCE OF THE HOME LAND IS REGARDED AS ONE OF THE MOST SACRED OF THE NATION'S OBLIGATIONS.



Politically Turkey seems to be taking the lead in the new "Balcan Locarno" that is coming into being, and militarily she seems well able to take care of herself.

In the economic field she has adopted a policy of paying her way as she goes. The old leasurly methods of the bazaar have gone, never to return. A new honesty has come into things.

#### TURKEY HAS TURNED HER BACK ON THE PAST

That is the Gazi's great achievement.

No. 201

*Extract from The Financial News of 12.10.1933*

#### PROGRESS IN TURKEY

Constantinople, 11 Octobre

The leaders of the Turkish Republic, which is celebrating the tenth anniversary of its foundation on October 29, can congratulate themselves on having built up a sound economic State from very uncompromising bases. The Ottoman Empire to which they succeeded, had been a by-word for incompetent finance, and there were many among the post-war negotiators with Turkey who believed that the Republic would soon go down under the same incompetence. They did not reckon with the new spirit which Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha had infused into his administration, nor with the uprising of good business heads in the nationalist Government. The past decade has proved them wrong; and the Turkish Republic to-day stands out as the soundest of the economic State structures in the Balkans.

The first principle which the Republican leaders laid down was that foreign financial intervention should be eliminated. The system of loans by which ever-widening holes in Ottoman finances had been patched up was abandoned. Not only did the State cease to apply to foreign capital for its immediate needs, but it also brought to an end the policy granting concessions to foreign capital for the execution of public works. The object of these moves was to avoid the political pressure which it had always been found was the result of such dependence on foreign financial intervention. The new Turkey was to accept a quite dependent and controlled position.

This fundamental policy has been successfully maintained. Many attempts of financial offer have been rejected, and it was only last year, when the leaders saw that the State finance was in sound order, that they agreed to negotiate credits up to L.T. 50 millions from Moscow and Rome, chiefly in machinery, and for some reason the Rome credit has not yet eventuated. Attempts by foreigners to obtain

concessionary rights in Turkey, especially in railway construction, have been equally turned down, and the Government has adopted the policy of creating State-owned and operated lines. None of the foreign concessionary railways are extending, whereas the Republic since its inception has completed and put into operation 1950 kilometres of standard gauge. The nationalistic character of the republican financing of public works has recently touched its highest point by the granting to a purely Turkish Capitalist group of the contract to construct a new railway for LT 47  $\frac{1}{2}$  millions in the face of foreign capitalist offers.

A second principle to which no exception has been made by Premier İsmet Pasha, who has had his hand on Turkish economy under the Gazi during the whole decade, is that Budgets were to be balanced. This complete innovation for Turkey was put into execution despite the fact that the chief sources of taxation from the peasantry by means of the tithe was abolished, and despite the fact that a wide constructional programme was undertaken. At first there was some difficulty in equalising revenue and expenditure, and some of the balances were uncertainly established. But since 1926, the fourth year of the Republic, every year has closed with a surplus of revenue except 1931-32. Immediately the deficit in the latter year was known, steps were taken to avoid a repetition of it, and the expenditure was cut to a figure that would balance against the receipts. Until 1930 there was a continual increase in revenue, which rose to LT 224 millions in that year. Last year it was LT 169 millions, and in the current year is placed at LT 170  $\frac{1}{2}$  millions.

Taxation has been made much more scientific, and has been largely taken off the shoulders of the peasantry and put upon the other categories of workers. Indirect taxes are still the chief budgetary resource, followed by the various imposts on individual fortunes, and then, by LT 41 to LT 33  $\frac{1}{2}$  millions gathered in from the monopolies. Owing to the crisis the salaried workers are now subject to considerable deductions from salaries before payment, running up to 35 to 40 per cent. But the cost of living has been lowered and, with a Turkish pound kept stable to the French franc, the population is confident that the period of hardship will pass. It sees that the Republican administration has re-established Turkish credit abroad, and that its internal actions are scientifically developing production, and it is satisfied.

The balance of payments and the balance of trade were next taken in hand by the Republican leaders, and here again they have had success. The reduction, gained by persistent negotiation and put into effect this year, of the Republic's share of the Ottoman Debt from LT 107  $\frac{1}{2}$  millions gold to LT 8 millions gold, with annuities of LT 700.000 gold instead of LT 1  $\frac{1}{2}$  millions gold, brings an attainable balance of payments. As for trade, Turkey has never had a favourable trade balance before 1930, when this was achieved at LT 4 millions. In 1931, it was LT 400.000 and in 1932 rose to LT 16 millions, which figure is likely to be equalled

this year. In order to ensure this, the Republican leaders have utilised in face of the crisis, the methods of quota restrictions and barter treaties accompanied by clearing arrangements, and have generally assumed a wide control of trade and production.

With the economic framework of the State thus soundly constituted the Turkish population has immediately launched out into every form of economic and financial activity, and has displayed an unforeseen competence. Private industry has made big strides, and instead of 150 factories when the Republican law for the encouragement of industry was introduced, there are now 2,200. The principal new manufactures which have been developed are leather footwear, sugar, cotton, wool and silk textiles, hosiery and rubber goods. The import restrictions have induced manufacturers to augment production, and Turkey is becoming moderately self sufficient in most ways except in heavy industry. The Government has latterly taken a directive control of the establishment or development of new industries so as to prevent undue competition and to keep industrial expansion within the real needs of the country. It is itself erecting textile and sugar factories, and has founded an industrial credit bank with a large capital through which private industry will be able to expand under supervision.

In banking, industry and commerce, Turks have now taken their due place and have largely reduced the foreign hold upon these avenues of employment. Only a small proportion of non-Turks is allowed to continue in them. Turkish banks have absorbed LT 34 millions of the people's savings and 100 millions of commercial deposits, while the few foreign banks remaining only hold LT 4 millions of the savings. The Central Bank of the Republic has assumed the duties formerly performed by the Ottoman Bank and other Turkish bank management has proved its ability to handle financial business.

The net result of one decade of the Republic under Gazi Kemal Pasha has thus been to give the population wide new activities in a soundly managed economic system very different from the Ottoman Empire.

## No. 202

*Extract from the Evening Standard of the 13<sup>th</sup> October 1933*

### CAN KEMAL KEEP IT UP?

By Kenneth Williams.

Republican Turkey is celebrating her tenth anniversary at the end of this month. It is an important occasion.

Turks now feel that they have consolidated their régime, that both internal and external danger is, if not dispelled, at least remoter than it was a few years ago.

that the diplomacy of their representatives which can win the favours at once of Soviet Russia and of France is superb.

Never a modest folk, the Turks are inclined in thought to indulge in some self-congratulation. Is this wise? It is premature? Is the new Turkey as the Anatolian remnant of the Ottoman Empire is called, so very different from the old? Eski hamam, eski tas, the cynical Turks used to say whenever reforms were mooted or practised - (it's the same old bath and the same old bath bowl).

Those same old men, sipping their sherbet on the banks of the Bosphorus did not believe in the capacity of the politicians to change the nature of the Turk. Has the leopard, then, really changed its spots? Assuredly it will not be the fault of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his colleagues if that metamorphosis is not achieved. The pace of their reforms has been terrific. They are the pattern of the envy of all would-be progressive states in the Middle East.

The earlier reforms of the Gazi, or Saviour, as the Turks exalt in calling the President of their Republic are too well-known to need discussion here. Some of them such as the abolition of the Sultanate, of the Ottoman Caliphate, of the Capitulations, or the Expulsion of Armenians and Greeks were absolute and final; they were the ejection of useless or out-moded or undesirable lumber, and essentially destructive. Others, as the abolition of the veil for women, have been effected only in the more civilised or urban districts; for these, the constructive ideas, time is needed. The emancipation of women in Turkey is by no means complete. True, she is no longer required to be stout (in the old days beggars wanting arms used or wish that "Allah might give one a wife as stout as an orange") she can move freely, without escort, she can take up a profession, she can even be a police woman, but she can as yet vote only at municipal elections. In the Parliament, she has no say. Nor is it possible that a suffragette movement will ever arise in Turkey.

But it is of the latter and less picturesque reforms, which naturally have attracted less attention, that I wish to write here. Mustafa Kemal Pasha is a born driver, merciless with whip and bit. Not for an instant has he slackened his resolve to regenerate his nation. He does not merely issue an edict and leave it for subordinates to carry through. Whenever possible he himself takes the lead in publicly witnessing his trust in Westernisation: This personal testimony is of untold value. Which other ruler to-day would have a blackboard, erected in a village street and then with a chalk demonstrate to butcher and baker the correct way in which to spell their language.

But probably his greatest reform is in the realm of religion. The Turks, as everyone knows are Moslems: Possibly they will always be so. But for their conquest of Arab lands, indeed, there was a chance of danger that Islam in its claim to be a

world faith would fail. Yet in the conquest of Islam as such, Mustafa Kemal takes little pride. He spurns the dog of the Arab or Semitic religion, which, in his view, has acted as an intolerable clog on the progress of the Turks. And so he abolished Islam as the State religion of Turkey.

No more will the muezzin be permitted the "call to prayer" in the traditional Arabic. If the people choose to obey that call it must be made in Turkish and they must respond in Turkish. Nor shall they read the Koran in anything but Turkish. Time alone can show whether such decrees will result ultimately in the decay of Islam in Turkey or in the establishment of a sort of National Church in the Republic. What is quite definite is that the Turks renounce the old international ideals of Islam and that, if they remain Moslems they will do so much as brothers of the vast Mussulman outside their borders, but of their own free choice as a separate and individual nation.

At present the Turks are acting enthusiastically under the impetus of an historical concept, which is probably not better found in fact than a similar theory now agitating the German nation. This is the theory of the origin of the Turks. It is not new - many students indeed were attracted to it when the Sultans were still firmly on the throne in Constantinople - but it has been revived in new form. The Turks now believe that they derive directly from the first occupiers of Anatolia - that all the Hittite conquests par exemple, were nothing but Turkish conquests. They even claim the Sumerian civilisation as a Turkish civilisation. And the more they extol the ancient achievements of their ancestors the more they depreciate the efforts of the Turks after they had adopted Islam. They assert in short that their tying up with the Arabs and the consequent responsibility for the Ottoman Empire were a profound mistake. In all this historiographic Mustafa Kemal places himself first: Hitler himself is no more fruitful of theories, of arians than the Gazi of Turks. No that Turkey is seeking new lands to conquer in Turki-speaking countries of Central Asia; her statesmen are far too shrewd to suggest any extravaganzas such as that in which, just after the great War Enver Pasha unsuccessfully indulged. But they are anxious that their country should be the main cultural influence in all Turki-speaking lands. Their ideal is, in the words of the Turkish Minister of Education that, "a Turkish newspaper, published in Constantinople or Ankara should be read and understood by all Turks from the Aegean Sea to the borders of China".

It is undeniably impressive this reforming zeal of the Turks. They have been called an indolent people; they are so no longer. So far they have but imitated the West, with improvisations to suit their national oriental character. True, they have a Parliament of the Grand National Assembly but since no Opposition is allowed to exist, the pages of the Turkish "Hansari" are less entertaining than they might be. They have a President but since he is an unqualified Dictator those who think that

a Republic is the best of all forms of Government can hardly take pride in Turkish adherence to such a creed. They have many newspapers but since no criticism of the Government is allowed expression, the journalists calling in Turkey is not monopolised by the brighter brains. Yet, if materialistic and unoriginal, the ruling men in Turkey are also realistic. They have, unquestionably, become the chief power in South Eastern Europe, and have the respect, if not the friendship, of all the Balcan countries. The way in which in particular they have cultivated relations with Greece, the power which, only twelve years ago, was execrated by every Turk, has been remarkable. Nor have their relations with other neighbours, such as Russia, Persia and Irak been marked by any less able handling. Even from the World Economic conference Turkish representatives extracted satisfaction.

"The same old bath and the same old bath bowl?" But at least there is such a lather therein as no Turkish soap ever before produced.

No. 203

*Sir P. Ramsay to Sir John Simon*

No. 438.

*Secret.*

Sir,

ATHENS, October 14, 1933

(Received October 21, 1933)

I have the honour to inform you with reference to Mr. Cavendish Bentinck's despatch No. 400 of the 23<sup>rd</sup> September, that I learn from a reliable source that M. Veniselos, while giving an account of his recent visit to Ismet Pasha, told one of his most trusted partisans that Mustafa Kemal had stated that Turkey would do her best to keep out of any future war, but if she did have to go to war it would be on the side which held the command of the sea.

2. I have transmitted a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Ankara.

I have, &c.

PATRICK RAMSAY

F.O. 371/16987/E.6297

F.O. 424/279, part. 26, p. 26, No. 27.



## No. 204

*Extract from The Observer of 15<sup>th</sup> October 1933*

## MUSTAFA KEMAL PASHA

It was on October 29, 1923 that, on the initiative of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the Turkish Republic came into being. He himself became President, and Ismet Pasha became Prime Minister. For ten years, Ismet has been a loyal and skilful lieutenant, Kemal a virtual dictator. It is in many senses the most remarkable of the dictatorships. The changes Kemal has wrought have been greater, the disturbances smaller than those effected by any other contemporary despot. At home, he has revived, unified, and modernised his country. Abroad he has substituted friendship for traditional enmities. Greeks, Russians, Persians, Iraqis are as grateful for Kemal as are the Turks themselves. the tenth anniversary, that will be celebrated in Angora to-day forthnight, will be one of the few decent political spectacles of our time.

## No. 205

*Extract from The Referee of the 15<sup>th</sup> October 1933*

## CHANGING THE EAST

The Turkish Republic will complete its tenth year on October 29. A decade of New Turkey shows far greater changes than a cycle of old Cathay did. The country is being transformed beyond recognition. Only a generation ago, Western people thought of the Turkish men as a bigoted mohammedan, incapable of adopting modern civilisation and of the Turkish woman as a veiled prisoner of her husband, whom they could never hope to see or meet. But to-day they would have to search hard to find such Turkish men and women.

The creator of new Turkey is its President, Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha. The Gazi is not anti-islamic, as some people seem to imagine. He has waged no war against Islam as such. All he has done is to separate the State from the Church, because he thought that Islam came too much in the way of the modernisation of his country. Seeing how the Sultans has degenerated, the Gazi abolished the Sultanate in November 1922, and set up the Republic in its place, the change taking effect from October 1923. His action horrified the Mohammedan world, because it believed that a Monarchical form of Government was essential to an Islamic country. But the Mohammedans were wrong in so thinking for neither during the life time ....the Arab world. Then followed the other changes, the Gazi abolished the Khaliphate and declared Islam to be no longer the State Religion of Turkey. This again shocked the Islamic world, but that did not matter to him. He



did what he thought was best for the welfare of his country and that was all he was interested in. The Turkish Government now found it easy to discard the old Laws and substitute in their place civil and criminal codes based upon the civil and criminal codes of Switzerland and Italy. These new laws are interpreted by secular judges and not by Ulema as were the old Laws.

In the old days the Turks did not study the fine arts, because Islam forbids the representation of living form, human or animal. But now they do so, drawing is taught in all elementary schools and schools of arts have been founded in all towns and cities. Turkish boys and girls also go to European countries to study painting and sculpture, and when they return they practice those arts professionally. In pre-war Turkey such things as finance exhibitions were not known. To-day they are frequently held and prices given for good work. An Austrian artist, Professor Joseph Marx has been appointed Art Adviser to the Ankara Government.

In the old days Turkish women wore a veil, because the prophet of Islam enjoined Moslem women to cover their faces as a mark of modesty. Mohamed also permitted a man to marry four wives. It was also thought by Mohammedans-though wrongly- that he was against female education. To-day Turkish women have discarded the veil, polygamy has been abolished, education made compulsory for all girls between the age of six and ten and all educational institutions of the country are thrown open to women. Formerly only men could divorce but now women do so. Turkish women are taking to all sorts of careers. There are women doctors, barristers, aviators, artists, actresses among them. They have started welfare centres and societies for the protection of children and they will be soon employed in the diplomatic service and police.

In the old primary education was mainly religious and in the hands of the Hodjas. To-day it is secular of the Western type and in the hands of laymen. In the new Turkish schools no religious education is given, nor are Arabic and Persian taught. Formerly Turkish boys could not play football because the Hodjas said that it looked like a human head, and so it could not be kicked. To-day they play football as well as other Western games, tennis, cricket and baseball.

The seventy year old university at Constantinople has been abolished because it was obsolete, out-of-date, and a new up-to-date university instituted in its place. A Corps of translators has been attached to the new University to translate into modern Turkish, literary, historical and scientific works from various Western and Eastern languages.

The Turkish language is being "purified", that is Arabic and Persian words have been eliminated and Turkish words are substituted in their place. Turkish poets no longer seek their inspiration from Arab and Persian but from Western poets. That means that Turkish poetry is no longer religious but secular.

Agriculture, industry, and trade are being developed. The Government buys Agricultural machinery from Western countries and sells at cheap rates to farmers. Irrigation has been improved and extended, the tithe abolished, and a model farm has been started near Ankara, the new capital. The Government has built a number of new factories for making silk, sugar, cotton and woollen textiles, beer, etc. New roads are being built and railways extended. It is noteworthy that 2000 miles of new railways have been built by Turkish engineers with Turkish money. A merchant fleet has been created, for which all coastal trade has been reserved. The new capital is growing rapidly. In 1919 Ankara was a small almost mediaeval town, with a population of 20,000. To-day it is a large up-to-date town with a population of 100,000, possessing fine public buildings, hotels, restaurants, taxis and motor omnibuses and where balls and receptions are given every week by Madam Ismet Pasha and other highly placed Turkish women.

Turkey has now become a part of the modern civilised world. It has joined the League of Nations, concluded Treaties of Friendship with various Western and Eastern countries. And it is cooperating with the other members of the League in suppressing white slave traffic and the narcotic trade. Turkish delegates are sent to all international, scientific, economic and other conferences, whether held in Europe or America. At the beginning of this century it would have been difficult even to dream of Turkish girls taking part in international beauty contests, but to-day Turkey can show with pride a Turkish Miss Univers!

The Turks to-day do not look backwards but forwards. Their old fatalism has been replaced by a belief in man's capacity to work, for his own salvation.

## No. 206

*Extract from The Manchester Guardian of the 16<sup>th</sup> October 1933*

### REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

#### Tenth Anniversary

The tenth anniversary of the declaration of the Turkish Republic is being celebrated from October 29<sup>th</sup> by a three days national holiday, and country-wide propagandist festivities. Each town has its own organised program and every house is bound to put up its quota of flags and illumination. Platforms are erected in all squares and open areas where speakers volunteering for this oratorical work and selected by the People's party organisers which succeed one another in celebrating to the chance crowds the changes of the New Turkey.

Special anniversary hymns are being composed set to music, and will be sung in their processions and parades. The peasants are being given facilities by cheap

fares and increased train services to come up to the capital and the chief towns and to join in the town festivities, and in the Istanbul province for example, selected peasants, men and women, boys and girls are to be brought up from each village and housed in Istanbul free for the period of the fête. They are expected thereafter to be propagandists of the Republic and to hand down the tales of these days.

There is one word which will not be heard in the country at this time, and that is the word "dictator." The nation knows that is owed all its new life to Gazi Kemal Pasha but it knows also that it has not been dragooned or dictated into it. Its leader after winning great military and political prestige has been able to direct it rapidly into fresh paths, but he has done so tenderly. He has taken care to engage their sympathies to explain to them his actions and his ideals. He has made it his aim to interpret their real qualities and not to let those qualities be entroubled by outworn vetos. If there is a title which he would like more than another it is that of "first Citizen."

Ten years of the Republic have sufficed to change Turkey from a mixed modern-medieval state, clogged on all sides by the incompatible mixture into a modern society. What has been broken up by Gazi Kemal Pasha is the oriental middle ages.

Though every section of the population has felt his moulding hand, it is perhaps his influence on women habits and life that will most profoundly affect Turkey's future. It is at any rate the most striking symbol of modernity and of the departure from mediaeval standards and conventions. Yet it is to be observed that there has been no direct legislation bearing upon women except the laws establishing monogamy and civil marriage and legal divorce which equally bear upon men. The changes have come about by suggestion, persuasion, example, and not by code. The male sex has had to be legislated for but not the female. Men were ordered to adopt the hat on a certain day. The women without an order have first thinned, then lifted then thrown aside the veil.

Women too have entered actively and extensively into all branches of the new life. They are magistrates, municipal councillors, chief accountants in Ministries, historical experts in close touch with the Gazi, advocates, surgeons, dentists, typists, Post Office clerks, educationists nurses. In sport they have become pilots in the just formed civil aviation, in the winter sports club which is making the Mount Olympus of Asia at Brusa into Turkey's Switzerland, hikers, swimmers, oarswomen. The girls schools hold vast mass exhibitions of the eurythmic gymnastics, and in the light attire of shorts and sweaters marks the difference of the times from the days of the harem.

The new Turkey has a new language. Three years of the latinised alphabet which the Gazi invented and imposed has served to make the age long arabic script and tongue a thing of the past. And with the script have gone the circumlocutions of the former style. The vocabulary is being changed and filled with Turkish words culled from the popular speech and the neglected antique national dialects. The Turkish Republican is beginning to be proud of speaking and writing a sharp, crisp, businesslike language. Religion has been a matter which had given some trouble to the innovators. For a long time Kemal Pasha watched his way with care. There were many hodjas and efendis among his first supporters and they had to be handled. But when he acted, he acted thoroughly. The almost sacrosanct Caliph was deported, the Caliphate abolished - and found at once to be utterly without roots and reality. The monasteries were dissolved and religious associations were forbidden. This step would be wrongly compared with any similar step which has been taken by the republics of other regimes in the West. Turkish monasticism was never in an advanced state of culture or erudition nor versed in practical arts. It was a sort of feudal enclave intriguing against change and steeped in a hopeless literalism in regard to the Moslem law. Idleness, ignorance, crude hypnotic practices as rites characterised it. Under the action of Kemal it was liquidated. Twice it tried to break its breakers - the first time by armed revolt, the second by intrigue, but now its influence is over.

In language religion has been made national, so that now the prayer call from the minarets and then prayer in the mosques are in the new Turkish tongue. Otherwise it is not interfered with. The hodjas are registered and are watched that they do not fall into political heresy in their sermons. They have to dress in regulation way. They can no longer practice "breathings" and other healing rites and charms on the population. The Turkish State remains nominally Moslem, but everyone is allowed to follow his own religious convictions without interference, except for the veto on religious associations. It cannot be said that there is any large section of the population now which is hurt in its innermost feelings by these reforms and it is certain that the divorce of religion from the State has left the State free to change social life fundamentally.

In politics, the republic has passed through stages - here again showing Kemal Pasha's gradual adaptation. Attempts have been made to administer it on the two party system, and even to allow the "group" democratic system. But the attempts failed. "Oppositions" only led to all sorts of intriguers trying to raise their heads under the cover of that label. So, finally, the Republic has settled down to one party Government like Russia or Italy. But though one party, it is not fascist, and the Turkish Republic still claims to issue from the French Revolution and to be the Turkish embodiment of the idea of national sovereignty. Nevertheless it is authoritarian, it is governed by a single set of men representing the national ideal and imbued with definite principles sponsored by the Gazi and covering the whole

range of national and social life. Within these limits there is perfect freedom of expression of opinion.

In the economic life of the State these ten years have seen enormous changes. The Turks have entered into business and trade, banking and industry, and they have shown great competence. Instead of 150 factories a decade ago, there are now 2,000, and some of the manufactures such as silk stuffs, are first rate. Still more remarkable have been the improvements in State finances. The Republic has balanced Budgets, and yet, without foreign loans, has managed to build a network of 1,700 kilometres of railways through Anatolia and to pay for it. The peasants have been relieved of the main taxation which weighed them down and have been made to feel that the Government has a real interest in improving their lot. No longer do they have to live as providers for the squandering incompetence of the Palace. The whole country has been mapped out for economic production. The currency has been saved and stabilised, the cost of living has been lowered, the balance of trade has been carefully controlled, and without too many restrictions, the Turkish Republic has managed to increase its share in the world's trade.

The non-Turk minorities who feared the Kemalist régime when it was installed, have become completely reconciled to it and find that they can live under it comfortably, though their chances of employment have diminished. 90,000 Greeks and many Armenians, as well as a large Jewish community are now fast becoming contented citizens of the Republic.

## No. 207

*Foreign Office Memorandum dated 17<sup>th</sup> October 1933*  
*(Received in Registry 24<sup>th</sup> October 1933)*

### CELEBRATION OF DECENNARY OF TURKISH REPUBLIC

It is suggested that, on the occasion of the celebration on October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1933 of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the proclamation of the Turkish Republic and of the election of Mustafa Kemal Pasha as Turkey's first President, a congratulatory telegram be sent on behalf of His Majesty's Government to the Turkish Government.

2. There are precedents for this action in the congratulatory messages sent on the occasion of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the proclamation of the Czechoslovakia and Baltic Republics. On the occasion of the Polish decennary in 1928 the King sent a congratulatory telegram to the Polish President, but the circumstances in that case were exceptional. The Turks are still suffering acutely from an "inferiority complex", and would probably regard it as an international slight if their celebration did not receive from His Majesty's Government at least as much notice



as was accorded to the corresponding celebrations in Czechoslovakia and the Baltic States.

3. Moreover, it is known that Soviet Russia and probably certain other countries will be sending special missions to Angora for the occasion. Congratulatory messages can confidently be expected from Italy, France and other Powers. The absence of such a message from His Majesty's Government would be marked, and would be likely to prejudice the friendly feelings towards this country which have developed in Turkey in recent years. This would be unfortunate at a time when Turkey is assuming an increasingly important role in Balkan political affairs and when the question of the future of the Straits is likely to be revived. Further, it would be well to avoid ruffling Turkey's hypersensitive feelings before the arrival of the new Ambassador to Turkey. Indeed, the fact that His Excellency cannot arrive in time to be present at the celebrations furnishes an additional reason for sending such a congratulatory message.\*

Oct. 17 1933

F.O. 371/16983/E. 6389

\* Bu mübâraza veya servis notunun altına Lancelot Oliphant, "I think that such a message may do good. Send one" diye not düşmüş ve Foreign Office'in öteki ilgilileri de mesaj gönderilmesi yönünde görüş bildirmişler -BNS.

No. 208

*Extract from The Northern Daily Telegraph,  
Blackburn, of 21<sup>st</sup> October 1933*

THE NEW TURKEY

by Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah

Preparations for celebrating this month, the tenth anniversary of the Turkish Republic are already well advanced.

An impression of New Turkey may not be without interest to those who only knew the country before the War. An autumn haze floated over the silvery waters of Marmora. Thickening on the law lined hills far beyond, it blended with the Asiatic shores of Anatolian Turkey. Slowly it melted this closing hillsides, packing with monuments, mosques and houses, till the city drenched in the sunshine of the East stood sharp and clear in its indescribable glory. None could have mistaken it, for Constantinople, is still the magic city of the East. At the Galata Bridge which connects the old and the new Constantinople I walked through a crowd of many

nationalities. Not a fez was to be seen, the brighter kamarbands too, are gone; women walked bare-faced, save a shy look in their eyes, I could not tell a Turkish maiden from a Greek beauty queen. One of them stopped at the booth by the bridge to buy a lottery ticket and drew a blank. "Oh, it does not matter," I heard her say, "it is another coin to built an air force," and she pointed up to a miniature aeroplane, perched over the booth to signify where the proceeds of the lottery go. As for the Sublime Porte, it no longer houses the Court of mighty Sultans; the outer gate is built over, the yellow building is nearly a minor government department and the old Crescent of the Grand Vizier could well do with a coat of paint. To the left stood on an iron gate way leading into a large park that skirts the old palace, once the sight of ancient acropolis.

During Abdul Hamid's times bared scimitars would have fallen on any who dared to peep into the secrets of that Seraglio-Palace of the Sultan. To-day men and women walk as freely in the garden as in any London Park. A Turkish officer was endeavoring to take a photograph of his baby in a pram, while it's unveiled mother was making every conceivable gesticulation to attract the attention of the refractory child so that the photograph might be taken. Once the child scratched him and slightly tore his cheek. "It is well, it is well" said an admiring old man on the park seat. "He will make a warrior that boy."

The short stretch of the sea between Constantinople and the Asiatic coast at Haidar Pasha, whence trains go to the new Turkish capital can be as nasty as the English Channel on a stormy night. It was so on the night of my travel to Angora. Once at the North East point of Asiatic Turkey, however, you realise you have entered into a different world. Angora, is a city which more than anything else shows the power and vision of Kemal Pasha. Under the hill the Gazi Avenue is laid out in the modern European style, there are towering buildings, not unlike those in the busy city of Lyon. Banks, stores, villas, all spick and span are springing up out of the dust and neglect of the Sultans, and only the ancient walls of Timur the Lame, crowning the Angora hill present a remarkable blend of the new and old.

From a breach in the mighty walls coloured electric signs of the modern Turkey inform you that the Ottoman slumber is broken; for there are economic slogans, even inviting advertisements of the Turkish products. All around was a clang of hammers the thud of cement machines for new constructions; hords of workers differing little from the five o'clock London crowds pouring out of their offices.

And the love that the modern Turc has for his President! I heard a distinct roar of cheers. Every moment it came nearer and nearer. The Gazi was on his way to a military review. Every man and woman rushed to the pavements as a huge open motor car bumped slowly along the stone paved Kara Ogland Street. Its occupant was Mustafa Kemal, the Gazi, clean shaven, dressed in European clothes, holding a top hat in his hand, and repeatedly bowing acknowledgments to the cheers of his people.



No. 209

*Extract from The Observer of the 22.10.1933*

TURKEY'S TENTH BIRTHDAY  
Centuries Crowded Into a Decade

Istanbul, Saturday.

The first decade of Kemalism is over and Gazi Mustafa Kemal - he has discarded the title of "Pasha" has certainly earned a place among the great figures of the post-war period. The changes which have occurred may be best described by a series of pictures. Take the Galata Bridge - the long bridge spanning the Golden Horn between Istanbul and Pera. Ten years ago the bridge was thronged by heterogeneous masses of nationalities - obese Turks, wearing fezes, counting their beads, ...slowly along, oblivious of time; handsome Arabs in long flowing robes, Russians out of the Caucasus, swarthy Persian carpet sellers, dapper Egyptians, all picturesquely attired, rubbed shoulders with them. And hardly one woman was to be seen.

To-day 99 out of every hundred people traversing the bridge are Turks - the gay cosmopolitan crowds have disappeared. Dressed like the inhabitants of a large provincial English city, the men favour bowler hats, felt and straw hats, and caps. Women stride along beside the men, unveiled, short skirted, low-heeled, chicly hatted.

Saint-Sophia, Sultan Ahmet, and other famous Mosques are still there, but they look grim, sad, and save during the great Mohammedan religious festivals, they are little frequented. And finally there are the expensive motors, the fast motor boats, and the fishing boats that flit about the port. And nothing too is more striking than the change which has occurred in domestic life. There could hardly be a greater gulf than between the men who used to allow Greeks and Armenians to run their business and the men who now go to their office at 8, every morning, sit on an American roll-top desk, have a telephone, perhaps a dictaphone beside them, and dictate letters to typists. As for his wife, she now personally buys what is required for the household. She will walk down the grande rue, Péra, exchanging greetings with other Turkish women, and may be even sip a cocktail at midday. Even her son plays football. The daughters will attend the University, one will study law, another medicine. And eventually they will become judges, lawyers, doctors, dentists.

Religion may or may not play a part in this family's life. Always unostentatious about their religion, the majority cling to their faith, even if they do not go to the mosques.

The Gazi in fact, never believed in half measures. He realised that his only chance of success lay in making a complete change from the past. Religious influence, polygamy, the wearing of the fez, the Arabic alphabet - had all to be

abolished. Reaction followed. The Kurds, always a fanatical race made trouble; some of Kemal's followers showed themselves listless. Stern measures were adopted, and the Government showed itself to be the master. In two or three years Kemal had settled his domestic troubles and was able to devote himself to the international position of Turkey. A dispute with Great Britain regarding the ownership of the Mosul oilfields was the first important problem he had to solve. Instead of being intransigent, - as a smaller man would have been - Kemal gave way on this matter and thereby established anglo-turkish relations on a sound basis. Since then, Turkey has played an increasing part in Foreign affairs and in recent months her steady and pacific policy in the Balkans may well lead to the conclusion of a Near Eastern Locarno. At home, security reigns throughout the countryside, and this is no mean achievement when one takes into consideration the wholesale banditry which used to prevail under the Sultans. The armed forces are decently paid and looked after, and the army possesses in Fevzi Pasha, the chief of staff, a soldier of the highest calibre.

Much progress has been made in internal reconstruction, and a vast railway system now links up Anatolia with Angora the new capital. Education has made great strides - largely owing to the introduction of the new Turkish alphabet, derived from Latin.

When Gazi Mustafa Kemal celebrates the tenth Anniversary of the Republic on October 29<sup>th</sup>, he can look back with pride on the achievements of the past decade, and as he is a comparatively young man, he can look forward to the future with confidence.

## No. 210

*Extract from The Manchester Evening News of 25.10.1933*

### THE ONCE "SICK MAN" SETS AN EXAMPLE

The Turkish Republic is celebrating this week the tenth anniversary of its establishment. Strictly speaking perhaps Turkey ought not to be regarded as one of the countries of Europe. For of her 15 million inhabitants about 14 million live in Asia, she has moved her capital from Constantinople to Angora in Asia Minor, and there is left to her of all the once great Turkish Empire, only Constantinople and a tiny strip of territory on the European side of the Straits.

But there have been clear signs of late that Turkey has still to be taken seriously into account, in European affairs. There have been during the past few weeks constant comings and goings between the statesmen of the Turkish Republic and those of the Balkan and Danubian States, and the Turkish Government has been concluding with one after another of her neighbours Pacts of Friendship and

ties which has again made her an important factor in the politics of South Eastern Europe. Moreover Turkey became last year a member of the League of Nations, from which she had previously stood aloof, and while to join the League of Nations just now may seem to be going against the current of events, for Turkey membership of the League undoubtedly meant an entry into the circle of European political relationship.

All observers agree that the transformation which has been wrought in the Turkish Republic during the past ten years is one of the most remarkable in history. Turkey emerged from the War, a defeated power, and had imposed upon her a treaty of peace based like the treaties with Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, on the acceptance of a definite inferiority. But of all the powers defeated in the late war Turkey alone was able within a few years, successfully to repudiate the Treaty which had been forced upon her and to make with her late conquerors a new treaty on terms of equality, based on a decisive military victory. The Treaty of Sévres was replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne and Turkey, rehabilitated in her own esteem by her victory over the Greeks in Asia Minor, settled down under her new leadership for a thorough reorganisation of her internal political and economic system.

This great transformation began under the auspices of the man who is sometimes called the dictator, but prefers to be called 'the First Citizen' of the Turkish Republic. Mustafa Kemal began by making herself the leader of the scattered and disorganised remnants of the Turkish Empire in the interior of Asia Minor, and consolidated his position by his success in driving the Greeks out of the great territory which they had attempted to occupy in their hope of re-establishing a Greek Empire, that would encircled the Egean Sea. The Greeks were driven out of Asia Minor in a rout, which in its after effect transformed the face of Greece as well as of Turkish politics. Not the least of Mustafa Kemal's achievements is to have followed up his military victory by removing for ever the danger of a successful revival of Greek ambitions in Asia Minor. This was accomplished under agreement with the Greek Government, by a wholesale exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey. There were nearly a million and a half Greeks living in Asia Minor, mostly in the ancient Greek cities along the coast. All these in the years following the Greek defeat were repatriated to Greece, and Turkey received in exchange the Turkish population which had been living under Greek rule.

The new Turkish Republic thus equipped itself with a population utterly unlike that of the old Turkish Empire in that it was based on racial and national homogeneity. For there remained under Turkish rule apart from men of Turkish race, only the substantial Kurdish groups in the interior of Asia Minor, and a handful of Armenians and other nationalities farther East. The Kurds more than once rebelled and were put down ruthlessly. But now they appeared to be learning

to live within the Liberal system created by the new Turkish Republic. In brief, Turkey has past from an Empire made rotten by its attempt to control a vast medley of subject races into a small but strongly consolidating national state.

It is impossible within the limits of a brief article to describe, even in outline, the measures which Mustafa Kemal has taken for the development of Nationality. For these include not only very large economic and budgetarian reforms - Turkey has successfully balanced her budget and built invaluable new railway lines without recourse to foreign borrowing - but although a thorough-going change in the cultural basis of the life of the nation. Like the Young Turks, who, though he turned and rent them after his succession to power, prepared the way for the new policy, Mustafa Kemal is a thorough-going westerniser. He aims at making Turkey a State after the European model and equipping her not only with an up-to-date system of production and distribution after Western models but also with European standards of culture and ways of living. In pursuing this object, the old Turkish alphabet has been done away with and the language greatly simplified to fit in with modern needs. The Kaliphat has been abolished, and Turkey has thus renounced her position as world leader of Islam in favour of her new status as a nation. Mohammedanism is still the established religion, but the affairs of the State have been thoroughly secularised, the monasteries suppressed and the powers of the priesthood drastically restricted. Prayers are said now in Turkish and not in Arabic and the priest must not omit prayers for the welfare of the new Turkish State.

With this secularisation of Turkish life has gone a momentous change in the status of women, due chiefly not to legislation but to the Government's influence exercised in other ways. Turkish women have discarded the veil and are beginning to play an active part in public life, in the professions, and in economic and social affairs. For both sexes a Western costume has been adopted, and Western ideas are energetically spread by every means at the Government's disposal. For example, Turkey has already provided official posts for a large number of Professors who have found refuge there from the Nazi persecution. Politically the new Turkey is often be described as dictatorship and its political structure does bear striking resemblances to those of Italy and Russia in that there is in the New Republic only one party that of Mustafa Kemal, and this party completely dominates political life. There is a Parliament, but all its members belong to the same party. The powers of the President are very limited on paper and the forms of Parliamentary government have been carefully incorporated in the Constitution. Mustafa Kemal is, nevertheless a virtually absolute ruler, but he rules not by virtue of any special position which he holds under the Constitution but by virtue of his leadership in the party which has the real control. For in the new Turkey the control of policy, quite as much as in either Italy or Russia, rests far less with the Parliament or the Congress of the Soviets than with the powerful and wide spread machine possessed

by the dominant party. In this sense Turkey is a dictatorship fully as much as Italy and Russia are in their different ways. And Mustafa Kemal has shown himself throughout ruthless in the suppression of forces opposed to the régime. But there seems to be general agreement that a great mass of the Turkish people willingly accept his leadership and that if he rules absolutely he does so practically by common consent. The Turkish Republic owes much in its early years to the friendship and support of the U.S.S.R., which it has throughout, despite the radically different character of its dictatorship maintains close and cordial relations. These still exist, but in the changed atmosphere of European affairs, it has become possible for Turkey while retaining her friendship with the U.S.S.R. to enter the League of Nations and to build up friendly relations with her neighbours in Southern Europe. Most important of all is the fact that the enemy left behind by the struggle with Greece in the years immediately following the War seems now to have been overcome. Turkish Statesmen have visited Greece and Greek Statesmen Turkey on missions of friendship and the two countries have bound themselves together, by solemn pacts, which seemed to exclude any renewal of the struggle for the control of Asia Minor. The exchange of populations undertaken after the Greek defeat was a dangerous and difficult affair and a cause of considerable financial strain upon both states, but now that it has been successfully carried through, it has seemed to have been abundantly justified in the event. In fact Turkey has moved at a stride from her traditional status as the "Sick Man of Europe" to a well ordered national life, that is a powerful object lesson to her neighbours.

### No. 211

*Extract from The Daily Mail of October 26<sup>th</sup> 1933*  
**TURKEY LOOKS TO THE NORTH FOR CULTURE**

*by Ernest Main late correspondent  
 of Daily Mail in the Near East.*

What is the secret of the amazing progress, spiritual and material, that Turkey has made within the past ten years?

I have lately been journeying through Turkey to try to find out why the strong leadership and vital inspiration of one man in ten years of vigorous statecraft, has done more than anyone could have thought possible.

The new Turkey is indeed a revelation. It has all come about because twenty five years ago a young man saw a star and made up his mind to follow it.

He was a young officer by name Mustafa Kemal. In his teens he had begun to see the effete-ness and corruption of the Sultans rule and in 1908, he had



supported the revolution of the Young Turks, as they were called. But he soon decided that they were no better than the Young Turks and it was no long before Fate began to take hand on his side.

Turkey, practically under arms since 1908, had her war with Italy in 1911. And from that date, with only two or three short intervals she was fighting steadily until 1918. Then, drained of her man power and beaten to her knees, she found herself once again at war - this time against the Greek invaders of Anatolia.

Mustafa Kemal, having made a name for himself at Gallipoli against the British had retired to Anatolia where slowly and stubbornly he was reorganising the national effort.

Suddenly his star shone out in the darkness. The Greeks were driven into the sea. The Turkish nation arose, and under its new leader, a fierce national consciousness came into being.

It is just ten years this month since the Gazi Mustafa Kemal, seized the reigns of power in Turkey and the Allied occupation ended. His guiding principles were nationalism, revolution.

He saw clearly that the new Turkey must be national. It must include so far as possible all the territory inhabited by Turkish speaking people, and it must have no designs against territories to which it could lay no claim on national grounds. This principle alone was not enough: by itself a nationalist Turkey would be but a miniature of its former self.

So the new leader planned the revolution. He turned the whole life of the country into new channels and forced recognition of this fact upon the Turks by a series of dramatic changes which focused the attention of everyone upon the new spirit he was inculcating.

One day at a stroke he abolished the fez; the next day, every man in Turkey appeared in European dress. That change alone shook the complacency of the older generation. Though no law was passed in the case of women, it was made known that the Moslem women's veils should disappear and that all should wear European fashions. As by a magic wand, this was done.

In the willar parts of Anatolia, it is true, you can still see peasant women in their baggy trousers, orange and red. But all the younger women look like the girls of London or Manchester or Glasgow (except that they are still in summer frocks and don't carry umbrellas and mackintoshes). a few of the more compromise by wearing instead of a hat a black scarf tied round the head, encircling the face.

But the restaurants are now filled with smart Muslim women. They work in the banks and other offices. You see them in the trams and in the cinemas.

Previously those girls would have been veiled, and probably by thirteen or fourteen, after which they would have spent the rest of their lives lolling about the house.

To-day they go in for swimming, gymnastics, winter sports.

So with religion. At one blow the Gazi declared, for the secular State. The Caliph, or religious head of Islam was removed. No one to-day is compelled to attend, or stay away from mosque or church. The priests are forbidden to participate in anything other than their own services.

Education too. In due time Mustafa Kemal decided that the Turks should write their language in the Latin characters used by Western Europe. Aged Turks began perforce to learn laboriously a literal A B C. The Gazi Himself went round with blackboard and chalk and himself taught the people how it should and could be done.

To-day, the older generation finds the Arabic script quicker to the pen, but all printings, all business letters all written communications are in the Latin characters. The principle is phonetic. Thus one gets a letter addressed "Mösyö". This looks strange but it is phonetic for "Monsieur". In the restaurants you can have a bottle of "stast" or a glass of "viski". The great organisation that does so much for travellers in Europe becomes Vagon-Li-Kuk. It is so easy that more foreigners are now learning Turkish than ever before. These changes, affecting the daily life of the people, drove home the fact that the revolution had come, that the Turks were now definitely a European nation, with a European culture.

The next step may be to make English (perhaps with an American accent) compulsory in schools as the second language to Turkish. The nation definitely wants Nordic rather than Latin culture.

Perhaps the greatest spiritual revolution was the moving of the capital from Constantinople.

As I write, the blue waters of the Bosphorus lie sparkling below me, stretching away past the islands into the Marmora. The ancient palace of the Sultans and the great dome and minarets and Saint Sophia stand out above the Golden Horn sharp against the sky. The hills on the Asiatic side are swimming in the heat haze.

I know now why Mustafa Kemal Pasha moved the capital of the country to Ankara - Angora we used to call it in our school days.

This Constantinople, now Istanbul, is too distractingly beautiful for hard work. There is too much tradition clinging about it, tradition of oriental sloth and luxury, of Byzantine decadence. And it is cosmopolitan, the least Turkish city in Turkey.



Ankara is pure Turkish, of the soil; and it is defensible as being in the middle of the country, whereas Istanbul might be open to any strong aggressor. Ankara lies in a strath, like Scotland's Stirling, dominated, like Stirling, by a hill with an ancient castle.

The new Ankara is remarkable. It is spreading out swiftly into fine suburbs. It is the only city in the near East with real drive in it. There is pep in the air. The city is growing like a young American city. Everyone in Ankara is filled with this keen spirit of zest and endeavour.

So it is from Ankara that the new Turkish life radiates. The foreign Embassies, for centuries built on the height of Pera, moved to Ankara, except for two or three months in the summer. Ankara is Turkey's focal point.

## No. 212

*Extract from Everyman of 27<sup>th</sup> October 1933*

### TURKEY

Sunday is Republican Turkey's tenth birthday. On October 29, 1923 Gazi Mustafa Kemal was elected first President of the Turkish National Assembly, and the ten years of his rule - he has the powers of a dictator - have seen revolutionary changes in the life and habits of the Turkish people. From a slow, lazy, oriental country, a by-word for corruption and mismanagement, Turkey has become an up-to-the minute Western nation, whose every step is watched and prompted by its go-ahead, stern, steely-eyed President. (His Excellency has never been seen to smile, even after a bottle of champagne or at the dances which he frequently attends).

A new, simple alphabet has replaced the Arabic script, totally unsuited to Turkish sounds, and enormous strides have been made in communications, industries, education, public security.

Kemal's foreign policy is no less striking. He has offered his hand - his curiously delicate, well manicured hand - to his late enemy, the Greek, whom he smashed so completely at the Sakaria; and it has been accepted with enthusiasm. The recently-signed greco-turkish treaty enacts a common foreign and defensive policy for the two nations. This treaty has sent Balkan potentates hurrying to Angora to sign friendship pacts with the "Grey Wolf". Turkey and Greece together command the Eastern Mediterranean and may be said to form a new great Power. The Turkish infantryman has strong knees: Greek sailors have been famous for 2000 years; lately they have been trained by British naval officers.

Mustafa Kemal's rehabilitation of Turkey is another triumph of personal leadership on the lines of modern efficiency, namely, the Corporate State.

Public services have been overhauled. Banditry, wholesale under the misrule of the Viziers has been completely proscribed. Even the remotest countrysides are safe. The Kurds have been put down, too bloodily perhaps. The Army, always one of the most formidable potential fighting forces in the world, is now properly equipped and regularly paid, thanks to the selection of Fevzi Pasha, chief of the General Staff.

The railway have been systematised and improved. New lines have been constructed. Angora is now linked up not only with Eskişehir (junction of Bagdad railway) but also with Samsoun on Black Sea. (Trains twice weekly).

But Turkey has not yet completely shaken off her past. A young English girl, married to a Turkish Prince and living in his harem at Angora as his first wife, aroused the jealousy of her rivals and has died mysteriously. One of the wives and her brother have been arrested on a charge of giving her poisoned chocolate.

Dilettante hankers after the picturesque now sigh in vain for the ordures and odalisques of fainéant Stamboul in the days of the Yıldız Kiosk. Pierre Loti could no longer loiter in ecstasy on the bridge of boats across the Golden Horn, midway between the vicious Montmartre life of Pera and the abominations of the bazars. He would be unceremoniously moved on by helmeted policemen, regulating blocks of motor traffic amid throngs of workers in ordinary Western garbs.

Gone are the beads, fezes, eunuchs, of the reign of Abdul Hamid. Steam launches, not caiques, put out for Prinkipo and the Sweet Waters. Polygamy has been banned. Sport is fashionable. Girls attend the University. The hookah lies idle in the demodé harem, for the Turkish paterfamilias is busy taking over industry and commerce from the grasping clutches of the Greeks and Armenians.

Turkey to-day is a nation to be reckoned with. Constantinople's corruption has capitulated to the galvanic Gazi. Angora generates achievement and activity.

### No. 213

*Extract from the Manchester Guardian of 27<sup>th</sup> October 1933*

#### THE OLD AND THE NEW TURKEY

From our own correspondent.

The Angora leaders have decorated all parts of the country for the anniversary of the foundation of the Republic on October 29 with a series of effective posters showing the differences of life in Turkey to-day from the life under the old régime. One displays "marriage as it used to be" or "one man to three wives." The Turkish male in old fashioned dress, with turban-bound fez, huge waistband, and baggy trousers, stands dominantly with his three marriage mates, whose faces are blocked

out by the dense oblong veil of white or black, and whose forms are hidden in the voluminous figure-concealing cape and skirt - it was really a one piece costume - so that nothing of their human physique is seen.

Another shows "Modern Justice and ancient Justice in Turkey". The parallel scenes point the contrast. Above is the old-time judge sitting cross-legged on his divan, the Koran close beside him on its stand, and his finger tracing the sentences of the Moslem law. Below is a modern court, the magistrates in gown and among them a woman magistrate. This reminds the people that both in civil and in criminal courts they can now see women sitting and acting as judges.

## No. 214

*Extract from The News Chronicle of the 27<sup>th</sup> October 1933*

### TURKEY REJOICES IN NEW ERA Rebirth of a Nation

From our own correspondent.

Turkey will celebrate Sunday the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Republic. Preparations are going on throughout the country for the last six days, and the festivities are now assured of an éclat and dignity worth of the régime, which may be said now to stand on solid foundations. Angora will be adorned for the festivities like a bride for her wedding and Stamboul, the old capital of the Sultans and the Caliphs will strive to outdo her in magnificence to dispel the doubts of the past and to demonstrate her Republican loyalty.

For three days, the 29<sup>th</sup> October and 31<sup>st</sup> nothing will occupy the population but ceremonies and amusement. Official departments and private businesses will be shut down. All buildings, public and private, down to the humblest dwellings, will be decorated with at least two flags, and put out three lanterns. The minarets of all the mosques will be illuminated and luminous inscriptions with Republic slogans will be hung from one minaret to the other. Angora will offer receptions to the special Delegation sent by the Balkan countries and in particular to the Soviet Delegation of 25 members having at their head Molotoff, Voroshilow and Karakhan who will present the congratulations of the Moskow Government. It has been expected that Mr. Litvinoff would be among them but this may now be prevented because of this projected mission to Washington. To prepare the way for the resumption of diplomatic relations between the United States and Russia. The new alliance between Turkey and Greece will account for the presence of a party of three hundred Greek Boy Scouts, who will travel from Athens to Angora to take part with their Turkish comrades in the great procession through the capital. In this three complete army corps and air squadrons, comprising 400 aeroplanes will

take part. With them will be a number of planes which the Moscow Government has presented to Turkey as a friendly gesture to mark the anniversary. Efforts have been made throughout the country to teach citizens the new hymn of the Republic and community singing will be the order of the day in all public places throughout the country.

The Gazi himself and numerous speakers have been appointed to deliver addresses and lectures on the blessings of the new Régime and these will be broadcast to the Turkish population by means of loudspeakers, set up by the municipalities in public squares and open spaces throughout the land. Six young play wrights have been engaged to write popular pieces exalting the Republic which are to be played more or less everywhere by companies of amateurs. For three days the schools will be closed and the railway shipping and transport companies will reduce their fares, from 50 to 80 %.

A general amnesty is expected to open the doors of the prisons to some thousands of their occupants. But men condemned for crimes committed after January first last will be included. It appears that at the beginning of the year when the amnesty was first taked of a certain number of individuals having accounts to settle with personal enemies, faught to settle them at the small cost of the minimum term of imprisonment, believing that they would be free under the general amnesty. Their deeplaid schemes have gone agley. (sic.)

A series of six postage stamps commemorating the anniversary will be put into circulation and it is planned that the administration hopes to do good business with these. The newspapers reminding philatelists to take steps to procure them immediately as they will shortly become rare. In the meantime, firms dealing in electric bulbs, flags and bunting have engaged thousands of workmen and work women, and are getting rid of their stocks, like hot cakes. It may be said indeed that flags to-day are selling as rapidly as bread. One notices the tendency to substitute for the old Turkish flag with the red crescent, the six white arrows favoured by the Kemalists and henceforth they will fly above both the Central Offices and the branches of the party as well as by all those who support it by the whole population of Turkey that is to say.

## No. 215

Extract from *The Times* of London of October 27, 1933

THE FESTIVITIES IN TURKEY  
SOVIET DELEGATION'S ARRIVAL

CONSTANTINOPLE, *October 26, 1933*

The Soviet delegation which is to attend the celebrations in Angora this weekend in honour of the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic arrive here to-day from Sebastopol in the Turkish steamer *Izmir*, escorted by two Soviet cruisers. M.M. Molotoff and Litvinoff were prevented from coming at the last minute, the former owing to indisposition and the latter on account of his coming visit to America. In their absence M. Voroshiloff, the People's Commissar for War and Marine, heads the delegation.

The visitors are receiving a very warm welcome in Turkey and their presence at this time affords further proof of the friendship between the U.S.S.R. and the new Turkey which began in the days of the War of Independence. During the passage of the visitors through Constantinople prominent members of the local White Russian community, which numbers about 1,500 persons, are being kept under police supervision.

In honour of the anniversary every householder is expected to illuminate and belflag his house according to his means. Triumphal arches are being built in every thoroughfare, public buildings are being flood-lit, and every village will send a man, a woman, and a child to the chief town in its vilayet, where they will be housed and fed for three days by leading householders. To-day the Grand National Assembly passed a Bill in virtue of which on October 29 an amnesty for the reduction of sentences will be granted to many political and civil offenders. Only the exiled members of the House of Othman, the 150 proscribed whose names are appended to the Treaty of Lausanne, brigands, smugglers, and official convicted of embezzlement will not benefit by the amnesty. The most notable among those who will receive pardons are Rauf Bey, a former Prime Minister, and Rahmi Bey, who was Vali of Smyrna during the Great War.

\*\*\* Rauf Bey distinguished himself as Captain of the cruiser *Hamidieh*, in which he raided the sea communications of the Balkan Allies early in 1913. During the European War he was engaged in propaganda in the Middle East, but had little success. After the War he became one of the first leaders of the Nationalists in Anatolia. He then represented them in Parliament in Constantinople, but was arrested and deported by the Allied High Command to Malta. After his exchange for British prisoners he went to Angora and was Prime Minister for a time. He then led the "Progressive Republican" Opposition, was accused of conspiracy, and in 1926 was sentenced in his absence to 10 years' imprisonment.

Rahmi Bey, who came of a distinguished Turco-Albanian family, was a prominent member of the Committee of Union and Progress. During the war he

was Vali of Aidin, the vilayet containing Smyrna, where he prevented any massacre of Armenians and treated the British, French and Italian colonies with humanity and courtesy. In spite of this he was deported after the War by the British military authorities to Malta in the company of some respectable Turks and numerous War-criminals. After his return to Turkey he was accused of plotting against Mustafa Kemal Pasha's Government and went into exile.

*F.O. 371/16983/E. 6477.*

## No. 216

*Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon*

*No. 400*

ANGORA, October 28, 1933

*(Received November 2)*

Sir,

Within the last two months Turkey has seen arriving as her guests the leaders of Greece, Yugoslavia, Roumania, Hungary and Soviet Russia. Angora has become an important political centre. The Turkish Government is courted by neighbouring States, on whom it bestows its advice, and whose differences it endeavours to compose. Although poor financially, and in its infancy as a modern State, Turkey may be said to have become the leader of the Near East, looked up to in the Balkans, and considered worthy of admiration and imitation in Arab countries. Internally, it seems, with impunity, to have ignored the laws of economics by basing its money not on gold, but on decree, and has kept it sound combination of bluff, carried to the uttermost limit, of menaces and flattery. The sheet-anchor of its policy is its friendship with Russia – a mutual partnership to which Russia contributes all the capital, and from which Turkey draws all the profits. The Gazi, with his inspiration and drive, seconded by Ismet, with his dogged pertinacity and loyalty to his chief, is Turkey. Tevfik Rüstü is but wordy whirlwind sent out from Angora to blow through Europe, eddying here and there and sweeping back to Angora with some new friendship for Turkey, or tribute to its prestige.

2. Possessed of a strong army and a disciplined people, and conscious of its ability to repel aggression, becoming every day more self-sufficing, Turkey considers it natural that not only its neighbours, but States further afield should recognise its pre-eminent position in the Near East.\*

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 371/16981/E. 6651*

\* Üzerindeki kayıttan anlaşıldığına göre, bu kısa fakat özül rapor, önemli görülerek, İngiltere Bakanlar Kurulu'na sunulmuştur. -B.N.Ş.



No. 217

Extract from *The Times* of 28<sup>th</sup> October 1933

## TEN YEARS OF REPUBLIC IN TURKEY

From our correspondent in Turkey.

On October 29, 1923, Gazi Mustafa Kemal suddenly informed the Grand National Assembly in Angora that he had decided to change the form of the Government. The Deputies sat aghast at such a revolutionary proposal. Before they rose however they had not only passed a Bill to make Turkey into a Republic, but they had also elected the Gazi to be its first President. Then unawares, they were carried off their feet by the forceful personality of the man who had but lately led them to victory over the Greeks in the war of Independence; but as soldier or statesman he had their confidence, and at heart they were well content to leave the future of their country in his hands.

Ten years have passed since that momentous day, and have shown that the Assembly's confidence was not misplaced. Throughout that time the Gazi's has been the guiding hand. That with no previous experience of the task which he so willingly shouldered he should have achieved such outstanding success is remarkable testimony to a very remarkable man.

The world at large is familiar with the more sensational reforms which have taken place under the Republic - the abolition of religious law, the abandonment of the fez, the emancipation of women, and the adoption of Latin instead of Arabic characters in Turkish script. Other changes which have contributed to an equally if not greater degree to the development of the modern State from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire have attracted less attention. Not least among these must be counted the changed lot of the Turkish peasant. During the long and troubled history of the Ottoman Empire much was heard of the Sultans and their harems, of the Greeks and their riches, the Armenians and their massacres, the Arabs and their periodical revolts; but the Turkish peasant, the real Anatolian Turk, was neither seen nor heard. Yet he it was who paid almost all the taxes and who by the sweat of his brow produced the country's wealth. Ever and ... he would be called away to wars which were none of his making, but he went uncomplainingly; and just when he should have been completely exhausted by years of incessant warfare and hardships, somehow he finds sufficient reserves of vitality to drive the Greek army out of Anatolia.

Like all agricultural countries, Turkey is suffering from the present surplus of world supply, but the Republican Government has seen to it that the Turkish peasants will never again lead the slavish existence which was formally their lot. No longer is the peasant at the mercy of the usurers who advanced money against his

crop at iniquitous rate of interest; to-day he is helped by the agricultural bank, which has increased its loans to peasants from LT 8,000,000 in 1923 to LT 34,000,000 for the current year, and by some 600 agricultural credit cooperative societies, which have come into being under the auspices of the Bank and supply further 77,000,000 Turkish pounds. While these institutions have been helping the peasant financially, the Government has feverishly built the railways and roads whereby the fruits of his labour may be distributed.

The Government has not however been content merely to assure the means of distributing the country's raw products; it has encouraged also the development of new industries peculiarly suitable to Turkey. Thus cotton goods are manufactured in the country, sugar is got from the beet, and local wines are taking the place of French and Italian imports. To-day the nation at large is beginning to reap the full benefit of the country's natural resources: at long last, the peasant is taking his rightful place in the nation. In the words of the Gazi "the master of this country is the Turkish peasant". Not only strategic reasons dictated the transference of the capital from Constantinople to Angora, a capital far removed from the centre of the "master's life" was an anachronism. Internal reform has not been the sole preoccupation of the rulers of modern Turkey. They early realised that domestic progress could never be achieved if the country was to be ever at war or on the brink of war as it had been for generations; and once the Republic was firmly established they set out to improve their relations with foreign powers. At first their closest friends were the Soviets, who had helped them in the war of Independence; but by perseverance and patience they have now succeeded in settling all their differences both with the Great Powers and with their neighbours.

Their greatest triumph in the realm of international politics is the rapprochement with Greece. The war in Anatolia left the two countries, enemies by tradition, farther apart than ever. Thanks however to the wise statesmanship of Ismet Pasha and Mr. Venizelos they finally buried the hatchet in October 1930, and signed a Pact of friendship and arbitration, a Treaty of Commerce and navigation, and a treaty for the Limitation of naval Armements. To-day their combined efforts are directed towards securing permanent peace throughout the Balkans, and Angora seems to have become the meeting ground of leading Balkans.

This much Republican Turkey has achieved in ten short years. Moreover, without financial assistance from abroad she has paid her way and stabilised her currency, no mean record from a country which 15 years ago seemed to be demoralised and on the verge of disruption. How proud the Turks themselves are of that record is being demonstrated this weekend. For three days the whole country is on holiday; every house and village is beflagged by day and illuminated by night; troops are being reviewed and aeroplanes are giving displays; speeches describing the achievements of new Turkey are being broadcast. Never before, Turkey has celebrated an anniversary which has meant so much to every man, woman and child of every class.

## No. 218

*Extract from The Times of 28.10.1933*

## TEN YEARS IN TURKEY

From to-morrow until Tuesday night the Turkish people will rejoice and make holiday in honour of the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the republic and the election of Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha as its first president. More fortunate than many other nations which have hailed revolutionary changes with enthusiasm to repent at leisure, happier than their predecessors of "Young Turkish" days, they have not been disappointed by the results of a laborious but constructive decade. They may not have expected much when their leaders broke with the past and proclaimed a Republic to the amazement of the West and the undisguised horror of many of the leaders of the Moslem world. Still breathless from their last but desperate struggle for their political and economic independence they could at last make stock of their position. They saw a land ravaged and depopulated by foreign war and internal strife, still further impoverished by the cruel though necessary surgery of the exchange of populations, taxed to the limits of endurance, and lacking practically all but the military organisation of a modern State. They had lost their conventional faith in the Caliphate for which generation after generation had been sacrificed in the alleged interests of Islam. They had lost their Empire. But they had regained their courage and they had found a leader. Pashas of an older school might fear his radicalism. Military and political adventures might condemn the cold realism that limited his objectives in the very moment of victory. But the sound instinct of the vast majority of the Turkish people bade them follow the soldier-patriot who has snatched triumph from disaster, who risked all for the cause, and in whom their faith rather than their knowledge discerned the statesman and the reformer. They asked little of him and of the Republic. Peace at home and abroad, security against brigandage, lighter taxation, some of the advantages and of the amenities enjoyed by neighbouring states - these were their modest desires.

Their hopes have been fulfilled, and more than fulfilled. But for the Kurdish rebellion of 1925, which was speedily suppressed, and some more recent frontier fighting which no large forces were involved, Turkey has been at peace at home. Brigandages, which was endemic in many parts of Asia Minor, has been ruthlessly suppressed, and there has been a great improvement in the general efficiency of the rural gendarmerie and the police of the cities. Still more important and significant is the astonishing change for the better in the relations between the Republic and foreign Powers. It is true that the Treaty of Lausanne which represented an agreed, and not an imposed peace, may be easier for Turkish statesmen to renew friendly relations with their former enemies, but even to their

success after such a series of fierce struggles, has been remarkable. The years ago, Greeks and Turks were still bitter enemies.

Turkish relations with Roumania were at best correct. The question of Mosul threatened to embroil the Republic with the British Empire and with Iraq. Affrays of the Syrian borders caused continual frictions with France and there were rumours of Italian designs on the coast of Anatolia. To-day the relations between Turkey and the great Powers are altogether friendly and the Turkish Republic is a valued member of the League of Nations. The Mosul question and the frontier difficulties with France and Persia have been amicably settled. Greeks and Turks are on the best of terms and whatever may be the precise importance of the new Pact of friendship and arbitration which their foreign Minister has been busily concluding with other Powers, they furnish the best evidence of the pacific intentions and policy of the Turkish Government. But the recent success of Turkish diplomacy striking as they have often been, are of less importance than the sweeping changes that have been introduced in the organisation of the State, in the social life and above all in the education of its citizens. The abolition of the Caliphate, swept away the last vestiges of the old theocracy. Islam is no longer the State religion. The Monastic orders, some of which had survived their utility, while others were politically suspect, have been dissolved; the clerical schools have been closed; and the religious law, the "Sheriat" which governed personal status and inheritance has given place to a secular code. In other departments, Turkish law and judicial procedure have been profoundly modified by the adoption of new legislation based upon the latest Swiss, German and Italian models.

In the financial field, much has been attempted by the Republic. The value of some of the changes which have been introduced, such as the establishment of a salt monopoly and the grant of state assistance by means of bounties to various new industries is disputable. Nevertheless, Turkey is only one of many States which are attempting to attain the largest possible measure of economic "autarchy". And her people are no longer dependent on foreign imports of many articles which her agriculturists can produce in sufficient quantities for the home market. Taxation has been rationalised to the advantage of the peasantry who have moreover gained fresh openings for their produce through the construction of roads and railways in Asia Minor. The policy of financing these and other public works so far as possible out of revenue instead of granting concessions to foreign capitalists, has its obvious drawbacks; but the history of foreign concessions in pre-republican Turkey and above all, of the foreign claim to political spheres of influence which they inspired fully explains it. What is most important is that the republicans have resisted the temptation to inflate the currency and have balanced most of their recent budgets. But the greatest victories of the Republic and in particular of its First Citizen have been in the fields of education and social reforms. The adoption of the Latin characters in the place of the Arabic alphabet which was altogether unfitted to

express the sound of Turkish has simplified elementary education to a remarkable extent by halving the time in which a normally intelligent Turkish child can be taught to read and write. The Gazi has played the leading part in promoting this revolutionary change which will unquestionably bring the Turks into closer contact with their kinsfolk in many parts of Asia, and has already increased the number of Europeans who can read and write Osmanli Turkish. The ban on the translation of the Koran into Turkish has been lifted; the religiously minded Turks can now read their own scriptures and the language has been purged of many of the absurdly highflown or euphistic Arabic and Persian words, and phrases which had nearly smothered it; and is being restored to its natural condition of a clear, precise and businesslike speech. The history now taught in the Turkish Schools is no longer confined to the records of the Moslem Turks, and, so far from emphasising the differences between Turk and "Gaur" lays particular stress on the kinship and the contacts of the Turks with many of the peoples of Europe before religious zele made them into a peculiar people.

Of all these planned departures from Moslem medievalism, or rather of these planned reversions to the social customs of the pre-Islamic Turks, by far the most striking is the astonishing change in the position of Turkish women. They are entering actively and successfully into almost as many departments of the national life as their European sisters; they have abandoned the veil in the cities, and are beginning to abandon it in the village; the Republic has no more ardent supporters. These great changes have not been accomplished without encountering local opposition and many western liberals still look askance both at the one-party system of Government and at the severity with which the opponents of reform, whether alphabetical, sartorial or social, have been treated by a highly authoritarian Government. But the critics of detail and method must at least admit that the life of the average Turkish man or woman of to-day is safer, freer, and fuller than it was under the police State of Abdul Hamid, or under the occult military tyranny of the Committee of Union and Progress and that, in the Gazi, realist and reformer, soldier and statesman, the Turks have found the leaders of their dreams.

No. 219

*Extract from The Morning Post of the 28<sup>th</sup> October 1933*

#### TURKEY'S TEN YEARS OF CHANGE

Constantinople, 27 Oct.

The tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Turkish Republic will be celebrated on Sunday with special display. It is a date that marks not merely the birthday of a new form of Government, but that of a new kind of people, and it is



the full achievement of the revolution effected by Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha that is to be honoured in two day's time.

In ten years the whole social aspect of the country has changed. It was the women of Anatolia, the women of the peasantry, who really won for the secluded harem women of the towns and great houses and palaces their free, open life of to-day. For in the nationalist war those peasant women had become voluntarily carriers of munitions and supplies to the improvised army of Kemal Pasha.

These women had proved that Turkish women need be neither slaves of the soil, nor slaves of the divans, which had so far been the alternatives. And so, when the Republic had come into being, their town sisters stepped out into full emancipation and into an active share of the busy life of the new State. Without any legislation, by force of example, from deputies' wives and school teachers, by the mere force that came from knowing the Gazi's wishes, Turkish women abandoned every vestige of oriental dress and walked out in Paris modes. The yashmak is dead. For a time a pretty semi-oriental cape and headdress was worn, but this soon went by the board. The women entered active life. They obtained the municipal vote and became municipal councillors. They went in for the law and sit as magistrates with their male colleagues on the same bench. In education they took over the girls schools and ultimately rose from the ranks of schoolteachers to being professors and specialists at Ankara. They became chief accountants in Government departments, post office clerks, typists, bank clerks, nurses. In the professions they became doctors, dentists, surgeons, lawyers. Socially, the new Turkish women let no form of activity alone. They filled the dancing halls. They took to civil aviation, and the first airwoman, Bedia Hanım is flying to the capital for the anniversary. They join the new skiing and hiking and mountaineering clubs. They wrote plays. They became cinema actresses and ballet dancers. They vied in swimming races with men. They walked out in beach pyjamas. In shorts and sweaters thousands of school girls held public exhibitions of eurythmic gymnastics.

If this revolution in the outlook of women has been the most far-reaching change in the society of the Republic, others have profoundly contributed to the novel aspect of Turkey. The latinised alphabet instead of the arabic, has been more than a change of script. It has brought about a new language as well as a higher standard of literacy. The present alphabet simply cannot transliterate many of the words formally used and so they have to be abandoned. Soon a "Turkish-Ottoman" dictionary will be put in the hands of the people and they will have to learn to call things by other names than those they used ten years ago. The speech is becoming short, crisp, quite desorientalised, and without Persian and Arabic terms and forms. In the course of this change the whole population was left to go to school again and to pass a standard of literacy in the new script. Nowhere in the country



can one see publicly a sign or word in the age-old writing. It has become a shorthand for private notes.

Dress - male and female - writing, language, sex outlook have just been totally transformed in ten years. This has been the sole work of Gazi Mustafa Kemal, but it has really been owed to one principle. This principle is the departmentalisation of religion, or what the Turks call the principle of the Laic State. It was the Koran that was supposed to forbid a headdress like the European, with a peak or vizor. The Arabic writing was the sacred Koran script. Polygamy - which Kemal Pasha abolished for monogamy, with legal divorce - was claimed as an irreversible custom from the Koran. The hodjas put in their misinterpretations everywhere and regimented life according to Koranic literalism. There was no chance for a new life in Turkey till they were sent about their business. Now religion has been departmentalised and put under State control. There is no state participation in religious worship and no pressure of official opinion making it a part of respectability to go to the mosques and to perform the devotions.

Economically and politically the changes have been no less enormous. The Turks to-day found and manage banks, they contract to build railways out of their own private capital, they run up to 2200 factories where there were only 130 a few years ago. They are found in every trade and business, showing an unexpected competence and reducing the non-Turk and foreign employment to a minimum. The State budget is balanced and has been for six years despite a large constructional programme. Over one thousand two hundred miles of new railroad have been built. The trade balance has been favourable for over three years.

## No. 220

*Extract from The Daily Mirror of the 28.10.1933*

### WHEN THE GAZİ FROWNS ALL TURKEY OBEYS

Angora has a new statue in commemoration of the most sweeping changes affecting the women of any country during this generation. It is a statue of a Turkish woman without the veil and the flowing chارشaf that have been worn in the towns for the last two or three centuries.

The sculptor has given it, instead, the kerchief, pantaloons and turned-up slippers which were originally worn by all Turkish women, but have survived in modern times only among the peasants.

Thus it is a reminder (in bronze) of the days before the Turks were converted to Islam, before the great Seraglio of the Ottoman Sultans gradually imposed upon upper - and middle-class Turkish women the seclusion of the harem and the obligation to use the veil.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha has purged the Turks of the last vestige of the secular usages of the old order, and forced the people back to the virility of the days before Islam flamed up from the Arabian desert. It has been one of the most impressive incidents in this return of the Turks to their purely Turkish past that their women have at last been released from the old shackles.

A Moslem domestic arrangement such as the harem is perhaps not a subject for unbelievers to venture into. Its outer appearance was familiar enough, for its windows, usually in the over hanging upper story of any Turkish house, were screened by close-meshed wooden lattices through which the women within could see but could not be seen.

The once compulsory veil was worn outdoors. It came to be as typically Ottoman as red fezes, creeping ox-carts and a cluster of delicate stalk-like minarets soaring round a great dome at the end of a crooked street.

The loose black veil was an impenetrable drop-curtain which covered even the eyes. It was of thinner stuff than the *cherchaf*, and its wearer could see through it without being seen - unless, as sometimes happened, it was a mere filmy transparency which only enhanced the effect of a touch of *kohl*, a henna-dyed curl and a play of lipstick and powder-puff.

Despite the evening wireless programme in every village coffee-house, peasant life changes slowly. But in cosmopolitan places like Istanbul, Smyrna and Angora, and in most of the lesser ports and provincial capitals, both the veil and the lattices on the windows of the harem have been missing for some years.

No law has been passed to make them illegal, but they are frowned upon by Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Gazi's frown has all the force of law.

More important, although perhaps less spectacular, than the vanishing of these picturesque bits of local colour is the disappearance of the Moslem family law, with its legal polygamy and its easy divorce.

Before the old Ottoman system began breaking down, family life - domestic service or matrimony - was the only life open to women. By banishing women to the harem the Ottoman system made over its world to the men who wore the red fezes, and that world was so exclusively a man's world that for women there was all the heartache and tragedy of insecurity.

A few, a very few were less work-worn and less conservative. Surrounded by the numerous servants of a wealthy harem they lived the idle lives which a few rich women live in all countries, or they used the time which hung heavily on their hands in more profitable ways. Persian, Arabic, French, English and German they took as a matter of course. Shakespeare, Nietzsche, Byron, Dante, Kant, Baudelaire, Zola, Sadi and Hafiz - all these contributed to their store of culture.

For the last twenty-five years economic pressure has been gradually forcing women out of the harem, with the result that you find them everywhere to-day earning their livings in the shops and offices and factories of the new peasant State of Turkey.

Sooner or later they marry as other women do. Polygamy is at an end. Turkey has adopted a form of civil divorce lifted bodily from the Swiss code. Turkish women enjoy family life which in law is exactly the same as that which Western women have.

Westernisation is, of course, not complete in all respects. Certainly, in the provinces, and probably in Istanbul itself, there are conservatives to whom it is still a sin to expose the face and hair to the gaze of strangers; in fact, the covering of the hair is still a widespread custom.

The same custom persists among large numbers of middle-class women and girls who still wear neat black kerchiefs, exposing no more than a stray curl in front of the ear. But the use of the hat is spreading, and where coloured hats are worn, the last memory of the shrouding black of the past seems to have vanished.

Streams of women now pour down the steep streets of the Bosphorus suburbs towards the tram lines and the ferry landings en route to their day's work in Istanbul every week-day morning; and every-where, with or without the kerchief, there are the same unveiled faces the black eyebrows, the large eyes and the sensitive features of a generation whose grand-fathers would have been exiled or even put to death if they had dared to hint at such an emancipation.

Except in one respect - the parliamentary vote - the transition from the old régime is now as complete as law and the Gazi's frown can make it.

No. 221

*Extract from The Yorkshire Post of 28<sup>th</sup> October 1933*

#### RE-BIRTH OF TURKEY

by H.E. Wortham

(Author of "Mustapha Kemal of Turkey")

Ten years ago this evening, Mustafa kemal Pasha invited some of his friends to Tchan Kaya, then a modest villa outside Angora, where the leader of the Nationalist Government has established his headquarters.

Angora at the moment, was buzzing with the talkative deputies who had been summoned to form the Second Grand Assembly National. Nationalist Turkey stood out triumphantly. The Greeks were smashed. The Sultan who had opposed

Mustafa Kemal was in exile; the Sultanate abolished. By the Treaty of Lausanne Turkey had recently obtained terms of peace from the Allies that were very different from those embodied in the Treaty of Sévres, which has been imposed upon the feeble Imperial Government in Constantinople.

The Turks were again the masters of their destiny. In many ways they were actually better off than before the war. The Greeks were no longer in Anatolia - an unassimilable and potentially dangerous element - and the capitulations with which Europe had long shackled the Ottoman Empire had been swept away. In October, ten years ago, Mustafa Kemal in fact had gained every single point in the nationalist program he had laid down during the darkest days of 1919 - except one. He had not secured Mosul.

With such achievements to inspire it, the Assembly indulged in the luxury of talk and the delights of intrigue. Mustafa Kemal was a soldier. He had deserved well of the State. He might be the figurehead of the Government in the amended constitution. The committee actually engaged upon drafting it, however, showed no desire to imitate Mustafa Kemal's political realism and make him supreme, and the opposition found a nucleus in the Caliph, Abdul Medjid, who after his relative Sultan Mohamed V had been deposed, succeeded to his spiritual powers.

Such was the situation when Kemal decided to act. "A strong lead, little discussion, and the realisation that existence can be secured only by struggling and force" - he followed his own ductum. His Chief of Staff, Fevzi Pasha, prepared the Army. Ismet Pasha the third of the trio which has governed Turkey for the last ten years was also in the secret that Mustafa Kemal divulged to his assembled guests. These drank the health of the Republic in sweet champagne and raki, and when at 2 a.m. the salute of 101 guns proclaimed that Turkey had adopted the Republican form of Government many at Tchan Kaya were in what Boswell would have called extraordinarily high spirits.

From that moment the Gazi Pasha - unanimously elected President by the assembly from which the 40 per cent opposition withdrew - has enjoyed an unquestioned supremacy. From the beginning of the new régime "in which sovereignty" he said, "belongs without restriction to the nation", this combination of the statesman, philosopher and oriental despot, at once orator, general and administrator, used the traditionnel Turkish methods of dealing with opponents. Arrest, an apology for trial; The hangman's rope were a familiar sequence in the infancy of the Republic. His excuse was that only an iron hand could have thrown the Turks from their old ways and induced them to change the whole structure of their life.

Mustafa Kemal began by getting rid of the Caliphe, the opportunity for this being given him by a letter from the Aga Khan and the Amir Ali asking that the

Caliph of Islam should allowed "the power and honour due to his position." Abdul Medjid went to Switzerland, the editor who had published the letter, to prison. And when a group of Deputies asked Kemal himself to assume the role of the prophet's successor he told them in his forthright way that for the Islamic States under which the Turks had lived for 20 generations, he meant to substitute a secular and "scientific" administration.

The various steps he has taken to implement this promise form the landmarks of contemporary Turkish history. The substitution of modern civil and criminal codes for the Sheriat, the system of Moslem law founded upon the Koran and the traditions, imposed itself. The dissolution of the dervish monasteries, each a potential source of conservative opposition was no less clearly necessary. But it required both imagination and courage to attack those time-honoured symbols, the fez of the male and the veil of the female Moslem.

Kemal's ruthless suppression of the fez, which counted many martyrs left no doubt of his intention to transform the whole of Turkey's social life. To show that women must emerge from their seclusion he and his young wife (whom incidentally he soon divorced) gave balls at Tchan Kaya. Propaganda, through the spoken and written word, he himself touring the country, through the school, theatre and movie - was directed towards the same end. The Turks must understand that henceforth they belong to the West - and to themselves.

The greatest change of all came five years ago, when Mustafa Kemal decided to make the direction in which he was travelling perfectly clear by adopting Latin script for the Turkish language. This vast reform, universally commended by philologists, was carried through in ten months. The campaign against Arabic and Persian influences in Turkish culture has also been marked by the adoption of Turkish as the language of prayer - which in itself caused a rising - and by the elimination of Arabic and Persian words from the vocabulary.

Thus, in ten years, under an unavoidably transparent veil of constitutional Government, reposing upon an universal male suffrage, for Mustafa Kemal, has always acted with the sanction of the Assembly, this extraordinary has transformed Turkey. In the Turkish Republic there are no non-Turkish races except the Kurds in the south-east who have once felt Kemal's heavy hand and do not wish to repeat that experience. The Armenians and Greeks everywhere have gone, except from Constantinople, and no other extraneous elements seriously disturb its racial unity.

The population to-day is 93 per cent Turkish. And if economically the picture is darker than it was under the old régime, the foreign policy of the Republic has been as conducive to peace as that of the Sultans was the reverse, and it is to-day one of the stabilising elements in the explosive Near East.

If only for this reason, we must wish the ten year old Republic well, coupling it with the hope that men will be found to carry on the work, so well begun by the genius of Mustafa Kemal.

No. 222

*Extract from The Western Mail, Cardiff, of 28<sup>th</sup> October 1933*

#### THE RE-BIRTH OF A NATION

Just ten years have passed since Turkey became a Republic under the robust and resourceful leadership of Gazi Mustafa Kemal, and in that period, the nation has been reborn. The Turkey of the Sultan - warriors, tyrants and incompetent - was submerged in the Great War: five years were spent in peace making, and then came the Republic, and, with it, a considerable degree of orderly progress. For that advantage, the country is indebted to Gazi Mustafa Kemal - soldier, statesman and law giver. The country is Republican in but a nominal sense, for the Grand National Assembly does little beyond registering Kemal's decrees and party opposition has been suppressed. Kemal is, in fact, a dictator, doubtless he realised from earlier experience, that a population unaccustomed to self-government, oriental in its inaptitude for politics, was not likely to elect a free Parliament which would take a useful part in the framing of National policy, but would more probably be a mere playground of faction: and it is to be feared that, despite the successful efforts in national reorganisation, and the spread of education, the country is still unfit for democracy. Kemal found that progress was possible without democratic aid and the age of democratic discontent has yet to arrive. His achievements are considerable. He has promoted industry and trade and constructed railways: he has also made liberal provision for education and has prepared the way for his country to share in the world's heritage of culture by abolishing the use of Arabic characters in writing and printing and replacing them with Latin letters. He has emancipated the women, but has also secularised the State.

The country is not rich in natural resources and the Turks, who made their way in the world as first class fighting men, are not so gifted by nature as to hold their own in other competitive affairs. One of the great events of Kemal's dictatorship was the expulsion of the Greek population and the repatriation of the Turks resident in Macedonia. He has now a fairly homogeneous national population, but the expulsion of the Greeks and the repression of the Armenians he has removed from the field of action those who would have been capable agents of social and political progress. Kemal has laid the foundations of reconstruction; how far, and how far with advantage, those foundations will be built upon, remains to be seen.



No. 223

Extract from *The Daily Telegraph* of 28.10.1933

TURKEY:

## THE MIRACLE OF TEN REMARKABLE YEARS

By Grace Ellison

Late in 1922, the Turkish Prime Minister arranged for me to go to Angora. Being the only European woman allowed behind the long line of bayonets which separated Angora from the rest of the world, I had many opportunities of studying Gazi Mustafa Kemal, the creator of New Turkey. In those days Mustafa Kemal was a generalissimo of the Turkish Army, created by himself from a band of brigands in open rebellion against the Sultan, and President of the newly opened Parliament, also created by himself. He was living in a modest house on the heights of Tchan Kaya.

Angora at that time was a fortified Asiatic village, renowned for its Seljuc and its Roman relics, and particularly the testament of Augustus carved on stone slabs which adorned some of the walls. As a village it was as primitive and non progressive as it was possible to imagine. A few dilapidated houses were thrown about here and there, according to the picturesque Turkish scheme. There were no streets, no numbers to the houses and no one was in a hurry, no one seemed to be working except the peasants and live slipped by miles and centuries behind the progress of the Western world. "We", said Mustafa Kemal, "are in the Middle Ages".

Then the people lived essentially by tilling the land. Huge carts with large wooden wheels drawn by buffalos squeaked over the roads, and the curious noise they made seemed the right accompaniment to the peasants' song. Trousered and veiled women for the most part tilled the land. It reminded me of what a witty pasha once said: "When four wives till the land for you there is some sense in polygamy, but not when they buy their dresses in Paris".

The roads were not roads at all. They were all bumps and holes and stones over which you yolted and danced and at night were as though as if you had been for a long gallop.

You travelled in primitive cabs, skilfully driven - see what perpetual practice they had on such roads! - by turbaned arabajés (coachmen), or in native yalis, long, springless carts, provided with mattresses which, when you had drawn the curtain, could serve as bedrooms by night. These were harnessed with cord, often very much worn, and the horses were tied up with blue beads as a charm against the evil eye. There were only two cars in Angora, both belonging to the Pasha, one of which he sometimes lent to me. It sprang up and down the banks and waded across

the bridgeless river as though it had been built for that special function. Now in Angora they have elegant taxis. In those days the only places where travellers could stay were the primitive haunts or inns. There was absolutely no provision for women. When they were bold enough to travel they had to take what they could get, and like myself, share a room which was already occupied by an American Missionary and the two sons of a Turkish Ambassador. The Ministries were glorified barns, the staircases of which groaned under my weight. I was lodged in the most important Ministry. With difficulty a mattress was procured for me from somewhere, and through a hole in the wall my neighbours, two friendly horses, popped their heads and talked to me as I stroke their glossy coats.

Now Angora has first class palatial hotels, with perfect sanitation which in those days was conspicuous by its absence, and Ministries which are as elegant as the buildings one sees in capitals like Bucarest. In those days the wise woman was medical adviser in the harems, and healed with charms and magics. Marshy swamps, thick with mosquitos, presented travellers including myself, with attacks on Malaria.

"Come back in five years", the Ghazi said to us, "and you will see a change!" In five years I went back and met him first of all at a Prime Minister's hole. Which was the first ball given for Turkish women as well as for European. Some of the women, it is true, were too shy to go without veils, and when the Gazi saw this he simply walked up and without saying one word, took them off. "Well", he said to me, "and what do you say now?" The whole of prewar Turkey, except the language, which has now followed, was on the shelves of the Museum! And to me, who had followed the life of the Turkish Woman from the day when I stayed as the guest of the Grand Vizir's daughter in his harem, the change was amazing. Angora to-day, built according to plan by a German architect, is a White stucco Western capital, the turquoise blue decoration circling the white buildings, being all that remains of the Orient of yesterday. Everywhere you see charming villas and imposing buildings. And well dressed men and women are seen walking together in European cloths, or dancing, playing tennis, or taking their exams in medicine and law, side by side as though they had lived in this way all their lives. What a driving force this creator of Turkey must have been not only to turn the country from an eastern to a western state, in so short a period of time, but to turn the delightful, exquisitely mannered lazy Turks of prewar days into industrious workers!

Angora is a capital of which not only the Gazi but every Turk is proud. They love Istanbul of course, but Istanbul is the old Constantinople, beautiful Byzantine heirloom, whereas Angora is their own creation built and paid for with their own money, far from the European interference, from which the Gazi has freed them for ever. All his life Kemal has worked for Turkey, beginning at the age of ten, when he circulated a paper among the school boys, written by himself, and made

speeches urging them to a rebellion. Thus he was preparing himself for what he likes perhaps best of all: the making of speeches - a pastime in which he indulged frequently. One of his orations took a week to deliver. To Mustafa Kemal as to every self respecting Turk the harem was a source of great humiliation and they smarted under the jokes of the stranger. In the days of the Sultans the separation of the sexes was strictly observed. When my friend's father the Grand Vizier, gave a dinner or a dance in the Selamlık (men's quarters) my friend looked at the proceedings through a latticed windows with weeping eyes. Everywhere we had our reserved places, the women's quarters in the trams, in the boat, in the train, in the restaurants. And in 1922, after the Greek debacle when so many of the Turkish trains were destroyed and the Turks were very short of trains the men travelled on top of the train, the women inside, not a very comfortable position, though it was according to the custom of the day. It is true also that the trains were driven by engines, stoked by wood, and that they crawled to their destination. Now they have an Angora express which goes from one capital to the other in less than twelve hours.

In the old days Mustafa Kemal wore a kalpak. This now is strictly forbidden. He dresses in elegant Western clothes with the correct crease down the front of his trousers, and in the evening dress clothes with no decoration, for these he has abolished. He wears only the simple medal of the War of Independence. He told me exactly how he had planned the remaking of Turkey. "Make up your mind what you want to do and do it," he said, "never be afraid, and never as a ruler let anyone accuse you of weak government. Choose the form of government best fitted for the people and instruct them carefully how to govern."

To Mustafa Kemal God is progress, the devil is ignorance, and history is the tribunal before which anyone worth while must pass. "And what will History say of you?" asked some of his admirers. "History will say" he answered, laughingly looking at his adoring henchmen, "that in spite of being hampered by a lot of rascals, poor Kemal did his best."

We spoke of women. "Your ideals about women," I said to him "are the ideals of a Christian." "Not at all," he replied, "they are based on common sense. You cannot have a true democracy, such as we intend to build up with half the country in bondage. Besides, women have got to take their share in the terrific work of building up this country. Harems, veils, fezes, lattice windows, separation of the sexes, polygamy, and all the nonsense of a retrograde civilisation have got to go. Women are going to be men's companions and equals with equal opportunity in education and works, and the nation is going to be built on the solid foundation of a home, and not a harem".

After freeing the women and ordering the men into hats, it was necessary to change the law of the land. That in itself was a gigantic reform. In turn there came

evening classes for the illiterate, the abolition of the old Turkish Eastern script, and the teaching of a new language, which Kemal did himself by travelling round the country with a blackboard and chalk and teaching the people. The Church and State were separated through religion is not abolished as some people pretend. And last, but not least, women are admitted to the University on equal footing with the men indeed. My Turkish friends tell me they are more advanced than we are, since they have a Post Mistress General and women are judges.

### No. 224

*Extract from The Financial Times of the 28<sup>th</sup> October 1933*

#### TURKEY'S TEN YEARS OF PROGRESS

From our own correspondent.

In the grandiose celebrations which the whole of Turkey is making on Sunday, 29<sup>th</sup> October, for the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Turkish Republic, the economic successes of the régime will be deservedly exalted. Though the social and political changes which the Republican leaders have introduced, are enormous, the economic differences from the past are no less great. Instead of a Government exploited by international loan placers in the interest of foreign powers, instead of a territory parcelled out among foreign concession holders, instead of a peasantry bled white to provide for the inefficient administration of useless distant regions, there is to-day a self-subsistent economic nation, under strict, capable and scientific management. The domains of finance, production, industry and trade have all been revolutionised in the decade; and whereas the Empire was pulled into dissolution but incompetence in these fields, the new Republic has pulled itself into shape and solidity by a contrasting competence.

Both state and people have become entirely different in economic mentality. Though it is undoubtedly the State example and the State insistence on sound finance, which has brought about the change, it is perhaps in the people that the difference is most remarkable. The state might have reformed its financial methods, and still the people might have remained as uninterested as ever in economic development. The contrary has been the case. As soon as the Republican Government was established and had made it clear that the new Turkey was to be for the Turks and that the old favours and advantages to foreigners and non-Turks were to be eliminated or reduced to a reasonable proportion the dedicated section of the people turned eagerly to finance, trade and industry. They quickly showed abilities which surprised their critics. Many of them had benefited and for a time still benefited by training in foreign banks, but it was not long before Turkish banks began to be founded in increasing numbers and to absorb the monetary

operations of the nations. They are capitalised and managed by Turks and their management has remained scientific, and sound in face of the Crisis. Indeed, during the decade of the Republic, it is only on one or two foreign banks that there had been temporary runs and panics.

The people's saving are now held in Turkish banks to the extent of L.T. 34.000.000, as against L.T. 4.000.000 entrusted to foreign banks and as compared with only L.T. 3.500.000 in national banks in 1920. The Central Bank of the Republic has taken the duties and functions of a central bank of issue which were previously a part of the concessionary rights of the Ottoman Bank. A similar revolution has occurred in the people's attitude to industry. Tobacco used to be almost the only industry. There were only 130 factories of various kinds when the republican leaders passed a Law for the Encouragement of Industry. Now there are 2200, 507 being at Istanbul (Constantinople) alone, 181 at Izmir, even 30 at Ankara. They consist principally of leather, leather foot wear, wool and silk textiles, hosiery and rubber goods, construction wood, plywood, and weener woods, sugar, cotton. Most of them are of private Turkish foundations but the Government has recently prepared to found, or had founded textile and sugar factories which will shortly supply the chief part of the needs of the population on these respects. It has also taken a planning and inspecting position over private industrial developments so as to avert undue competition in the same kinds of production and to spread industry according to the prospects and necessities of local areas and of the national economy. While Angora does not intend to go in for a full self-sufficiency in its industrial programme, it means to direct the present private industrial activity into nationally profitable spheres. It does not mean to allow the new Turkish venture into trade and industry to run ahead of capacity.

Thus the people are on all hands undertaking kinds of enterprise which were unknown to it under the old régime. It is the State which first gave the stimulus. As soon as the people realise that the Republic was not going on in the same haphazard financial way as of old, they responded and rushed into the new activity. The first thing that Gazi Kemal Pasha, and his Premier Ismet Pasha, with influence of finance and economy has been preponderant throughout the decade, insisted upon was a balanced budget. Only in this manner could the ridicule into which the finance of the former régime had fallen, be dissipated and credit restored both internally and externally. This was to be the sign that the Republic was really something new and not merely a new name. The task was difficult especially as the chief resource of taxation from the peasantry had been abandoned, and as a large constructional programme in building and railways had been undertaken. Nevertheless, it was achieved, and since 1926, there has only been a budgetary deficit in one year. This was due to the sudden incidence of the crisis, and as soon as it was observed, steps were taken to cut expenditure to below revenue. No exception to the principle of the real balance of the budget is allowed, even at the



cost of slowing down construction. Throughout the decade, the State receipts went up gradually to L.T. 224 millions, and after falling 169 millions last year are estimated to rise to L.T. 170 and a half millions this year. This has been attained by more scientific taxation, falling more heavily to-day on the non-peasants, salaried workers, than on the peasantry, and by more orderly collection.

As the same time the cost of living has been reduced, the Turkish pound has been stabilised and the population bears its burdens cheerfully owing to confidence of the financial direction of its leaders. Even with all these achievements the crisis might have fatally disturbed the economy of the State if the trade balance had not been taken in hand. For the first time in the history of Turkey it became favourable without any artificial action. In 1930 at L.T. 4 millions, was kept favourable in 1931 by the introduction of the quota system in the last two months; and in 1932 showed an excess of exports over imports amounting to L.T. 16 millions. Great efforts have been made by barter treaties and other export assuring agreements with foreign countries to keep up this record and despite the fall in the total value of trade by L.T. 112 million in the past two years and by L.T. 50 million in exports, it is expected that the balance will again be on the right side, without a further export diminution. At that the Republican leaders have reduced Turkey's share of the Ottoman Debt to L.T. 8 million gold instead of L.T. 107,500,000 gold, and that Turkey had only to pay annuities of L.T. 700,000 gold, and that efficient clearing arrangements are preventing the export of capital and it is evident that the balance of payment too has been brought within sight. So, at the tenth anniversary of the Republic, the New Turkey stands out as a solid economic structure with a people taking a large and increasing part in all economic activities.

### No. 225

*Broadcast Speech by Captain Ed. Walker  
Held on Saturday 28<sup>th</sup> October 1933 at 9.15 p.m.  
from the B.B.C. Studios in London*

To-morrow, all over Turkey, people will be celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Republic. Let us imagine that we have decided to go to Ankara the new capital, to join in the celebrations.

We take the steamer across the Bosphorus to Haydar Pasha on the Asiatic shore. This is the Terminus of the Anatolian railway, which the Turkish Government has purchased from the original concessionary company over 10,000,000 pounds. Under the Republican régime, the length of railway lines in Turkey has been doubled during the last ten years. We have got a night's journey before us in a comfortable sleeping car: only a few years ago the journey took two



days in a cattle truck. The Turkish maitre d'hotel of the restaurant car announces dinner. We begin with hors d'oeuvres, meat pates fried in vine leaves, then as fish, red mullet from the sea of Marmora. As a meat course, "kebap", the tenderest mussels of lamb grilled over a charcoal fire, as desert probably those marvellous figs for which Turkey is unequalled. Also some of the luscious and wonderful fresh fruit for which Turkey is famous. Next morning, we get to Angora. As we walk out of the railway station, we remember that it was in this building that Mustafa Kemal Pasha had his headquarters during the war of independence against the Greeks, as a result of this war, the whole history of Turkey was changed, and the country became a Republic.

We leave railway station and walk up a broad road with an avenue of trees in the middle and a shady park on the right. This is only one of the many new roads; as a matter of fact about twenty five thousand kilometres of new roads have been built during the last ten years. Smart taxicabs pass us instead of the broken-down "arabas" drawn by two starved nags which we used to see only a short time ago.

After about three quarters of a mile we come to the Turkish Parliament building, which, no doubt from reasons of sentiment, has been built next door to the school house where the Gazi convoked his first Parliament which gave birth to the Republic. To-morrow he's holding a review of his troops outside the Parliament building. He will be surrounded by his generals and the foreign diplomatic corps and the Turkish National Anthem will be played.

He will remember that on the same spot ten years ago, isolated from the rest of the world, officially declared an outlaw and a rebel with a price on his head, he reviewed the ragged but heroic remnants of his army before he sent them out to make a last - and, as it turned out victorious - stand against the Greeks on the Sakaria river.

As we wonder through the crowd in the streets of Angora we realise that we might be in any european capital. Gone are the picturesque costumes. The women wear the fashions of London and Paris, and so do the men, even the Hodjas have given up the fez and the turban. We shall see various institutions represented during the celebrations. School children and university students - the number of pupils has increased by fifty per cent during the last ten years - boy scouts, which movement has made tremendous strides lately, and many others.

Angora is a queer looking town. All round is the undulating Anatolian steppe, but the original Turkish town, with its ricke wooden houses, is built on a rocky hill which rises sheer out of the surrounding plain. The new town, where the public buildings and the residential quarter are, is built at the bottom of the hill. The architecture is of original style, very pleasant in appearance with flat red roofs and mosaics of brightly coloured tiles.

And now for the Gazi himself. He is one of the outstanding personalities in the world to-day. A brilliant general, an exceptionally brave man and a great administrator, under whose guidance Turkey has developed into a highly modern state, he has consistently followed a policy of peace during the last ten years. One of his greatest achievements was the treaty recently concluded with Greece put an end to years of bitter hostility.

Not so long ago, the Gazi remarked at a ball in Angora to the representative of one of the great powers "If I died to-morrow, there are a thousand Turks who could take my place". Sir George Clerk, the British Ambassador, hearing this remark, said "Your Excellency exaggerates a thousand times". Sir George Clerk was probably right. It is in the interest of European peace that the Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha should be long spared to carry on the good work which he has been doing for the last ten years.

No. 226

*Mr Morgan to Sir John Simon*

No 402

*Angora, October 28, 1933*

Sir,

The celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the declaration of the Turkish Republic will begin to-morrow and continue over the two succeeding days.

2. The Turkish Government have taken the greatest trouble to ensure that the celebrations shall be worthy of occasion, and for weeks past the public have been instructed, through the newspapers, in the manner in which they are expected to demonstrate their enthusiasm. Every householder, they have been told, it is to be display the national flag and to decorate the front of his house in a fitting manner. Sellers of the national emblem have been seen in their dozens in the streets of Angora and Constantinople, and, I doubt not, of every other town in Turkey. Nor have the country dwellers been forgotten. Every village is to construct a Republican Square, in which, on the day of the anniversary, speeches are to be made, flags and Government-supplied posters to be displayed, processions to march and the national hymn to be sung.

3. It Angora itself the greatest activity of preparation is evident. Along the 7 kilom. of road from the station to the Gazi's residence on the hill at Çankaya, standards have been erected from which streams the national banner, and across the main streets have been hung devices in red and white embodying the principal aims and achievements of the revolution. By these means the public is to be instructed, for instance that: "Balanced Budget, Regular Payments, that is the

Finance of the Republic," or warned to "Beware of Everything which may chill your ardor towards Self, Nation or Government; there is sure to be some intrigue at the bottom of it," or encouraged to self-congratulation by such texts as: "I am a Turk, how lucky for me!" Progress in the field of military preparedness is typified by a wooden painted chimney perched on a grandiose base decorated with rifles, bayonets and camouflaged guns, and bearing the symbol: "100... 1.000..." signifying the present and future increase in the production of munition factories. Military ardour is being inflamed by such devices as: "The soldier is the Marrow of the Nation." Fervour for the head of the State finds expression in an illuminated sign crowning the yet unfinished pile of the new Ministry of Interior, reading: "The Gazi is one of us: He is the greatest of us: He is the sum total of us all." And when finally the populace, exhausted by obedience to the admonition to spend the day walking in the streets and displaying a cheerful mien, retire for refreshment and repose to the cafés and eating-houses, they will still be able to absorb patriotic satisfaction from numerous posters hung on the walls illustrating the æsthetic and cultural superiority of Western clothing and civil weddings over Asiatic trousers, cummerbunds and veils, and the black magic of priestly ceremonies.

4. The plain is dotted with tents sheltering additional troops from the surroundings districts and marines from Constantinople who, together with boy scouts, school-children and university students assembled from all directions and temporarily lodged in the schools of the capital, are to take part in the monster parade which is to be held on the race course on the opening day.

5. The question of what manifestations of sympathy, apart from attendance at functions and receptions, should be shown by the Diplomatic Corps is actively exercising the heads of missions, and at the moment of writing unanimity is far from being reached on the point whether Embassies and Legations should be illuminated, or whether mere display of the national flag will suffice.

6. At all events, as far as the native populace is concerned, there is little doubt, given their natural docility and suggestiveness, the coming celebrations will be both fervent and general, whatever may be the mental reservations of the elderly and middle-aged.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

F.O. 371/16984/E 6653

F.O. 424/279, part.26, p.32-33, No.33.

## No. 227

*Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon*

No. 405.

*Confidential.*

ANGORA, October 28, 1933

*(Received November 2, 1933)*

Sir,

With reference to Sir George Clerk's despatch No.490 of the 30<sup>th</sup> December 1930, I have the honour to report that Hilmi Bey, Minister of Public Works, has resigned on account of ill-health, and has been succeeded by Fuad Bey, Deputy for Elaziz.

2. I learn from a reliable source that Hilmi Bey was personally averse from tendering his resignation, and wished to take leave in order to undergo a cure. Ismet Pasha was willing to accede to his wishes, and to retain him as Minister, but the Gazi declared that he must go.

3. My informant added that Fuad Bey would act as Minister of Finance during the continued absence of Abdulhalik Bey, who is also in poor health, and that he would succeed Abdulhalik if the latter did not make a good recovery. In that event, it would be necessary to find a successor for Fuad as Minister of Public Works, and the post would in all probability be given to Hikmet Bey, who lately resigned his post as secretary-general to the presidency of the republic in order to become Deputy for Manisa. The new secretary-general is Ruşen Eşref Bey, hitherto Deputy for Afyon Karahisar, a great friend of the Gazi and his Excellency's close collaborator in his linguistic and historical pursuits.

4. Little seems to be known about Fuad Bey, the new Minister of Public Works, except that he was chairman of the Budget Committee in the Third Grand National Assembly, though not chosen as a candidate at the general election of 1931. He was, however, recently nominated for one of two vacancies at Elaziz, and duly elected Deputy just before his elevation to Cabinet rank. A biographical record for inclusion in the list of Turkish personalities will be transmitted to you in due course.

I have, &amp;c.

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 371/16984/E. 6656**F.O. 424/279, part. 26, p.35, No.36.*

No. 228

*Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon*

No. 403.

ANGORA, October 28, 1933  
(Received November 2, 1933)

Sir,

In my despatch No.95 of the 18<sup>th</sup> March last I had the honour to report that, according to a statement made by the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Molotoff and M.Litvinoff would visit Angora for the celebrations in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Turkish Republic on the 29<sup>th</sup> October. This arrangement held good until quite recently, when it became known that neither statesman would be able to fulfil the engagement. In the case of M. Molotoff, the reason given was that, in consequence of an attack of influenza, his medical advisers had forbidden him to undertake the journey - whether the excuse was valid or not I have no means of knowing - while M. Litvinoff, naturally enough, has yielded to the superior attractions of Washington. Their places have been taken by M. Voroshiloff, Commissar of War and Acting President of the Council of People's Commissars, and M. Karakhan, Assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs. Other prominent members of the delegation, which comprises over twenty persons in all, are M. Boubnoff, Commissar for Public Instruction, and General Boudenny, member of the Revolutionary War Council and Inspector of Cavalry of the Red Army. Mesdames Voroshiloff, Boubnoff and Boudenny accompany their husbands.

2. The Soviet Delegation arrived at Constantinople on the morning of the 26<sup>th</sup> October, having travelled from Odessa on the steamship *Izmir*, which had been sent by the Turkish Government to convey them. Cordial wireless messages were despatched from the *Izmir* by Voroshiloff and Karakhan to the Turkish Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs respectively, and equally effusive replies were awaiting the visitors on their arrival at the Pera Palace Hotel, after they had been met by the Vali of Constantinople at Büyükdere, cheered by the populace massed, according to the press, on both sides of the Bosphorus, and greeted by the evolutions of a squadron of aeroplanes. Military honours were rendered at the landing-stage to the strains of the "Internationale."

3. The party entrained the same evening for Angora, where they arrived the following morning, and took up their quarters in the Angora Palace Hotel as the guests of the Turkish Government. From it they can admire a colossal wooden structure, which, whether intended to symbolise big guns or factory chimneys, is clearly meant, with its coating of blood-red paint relieved by the hammer and sickle in yellow, to convey a sense of solidity and fervour of Turco-Soviet friendship.

4. The Minister for Foreign Affairs entertained the visitors to luncheon, and the more distinguished of their number were received later by the President of the Republic. Tevfik Rüştü Bey and the Soviet Ambassador being present at the interview, which is stated to have lasted for three hours. The day's proceedings were brought to a close by a dinner-party given by the Prime Minister, followed by a reception and dance at the Angora Palace Hotel. The latter function was attended by the Diplomatic Corps and a large number of prominent Turks. A similar entertainment is being given this evening at the Soviet Embassy, and the climax, both of the Russian visit and of the national celebrations which occasioned it, will be reached to-morrow, the 29<sup>th</sup> October, when practically the whole of the day and night will be devoted to ceremonies in the open or indoors.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representative at Moscow.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

P.S. - It has just come to my knowledge that thirty to forty Tsarist Russians were incarcerated for the night when the Soviet Ministers and other guests passed through Constantinople. They included admirals and generals of the Imperial army. They expect to spend another night in jail on the return journey of the distinguished visitors.

J. M.

*F.O. 424/279, part. 26, p.34, No.34.*

No. 229

*Sir John Simon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, London,  
to His Excellency Dr. Tevfik Rüştü Bey, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Angora*

*Telegram.*

FOREIGN OFFICE, October 28, 1933

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the Turkish Republic I take pleasure on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in offering Your Excellency their most cordial congratulations. It is their sincere wish that, thanks to the achievements of these ten years, Turkey may under the guidance of her distinguished President enjoy ever increasing prosperity and happiness.

*F.O. 371/16983/E. 6389.*



## No. 230

George Clerk, à Son Excellence Gazi Mustafa  
Président de la République Turque

Télégramme

LONDON, Le 28 Octobre, 1933

En ami convaincu de la Turquie et en admirateur sincère de son progrès, je me permets de soumettre à Votre Excellence mes félicitations les plus chaleureuses à l'occasion du dixième anniversaire de la glorieuse renaissance de la patrie turque.

GEORGE CLERK

F.O. 371/16983/É.6389.

## No. 231

Extract from *Sunday Express* of 29<sup>th</sup> October 1933

TEN YEARS AGO TO-DAY KEMAL STEPPED TO POWER

This is what he has done.

by Francis Musgrave

"Mustafa Kemal; born Salonika 1880 (sic). Son of a customs officer. Imprisoned in 1909 for his part in the Young Turk revolution. Commanded Turkish Army in Gallipoli in Great War. Elected first President Turkish Republic in 1923."

In these, or equally prosaic words, your Encyclopaedia will outline the history of one of the outstanding political figures to-day.

Actually his career has been much more colourful. Indeed during the last ten years his story has been identical with that of the new Turkey. - a land without a faith.

Let us look at Istanbul as it was in 1923. Ten years ago the streets were full of the cosmopolitan crowd of fat, bearded Turks, rubbing their amber beads as they walked; tall handsome Beduins in flowing desert silks; allied officers in the uniforms of their respective armies; and hordes of Russians escaped from the Bolsheviks.

To-day the scene has changed. The kaleidoscope of fashion has taken on a sombre hue.

The fez is gone and in its place is a drab adaptation of the old flying corps cap. The Allied officers no longer grace the smart cafés of Pera, and the Russian have left for Prague and Berlin.

In short, Istanbul looks just like Birmingham or Stoke-on-Trent, without the pottery kilns.

Who has worked this metamorphosis? Mustafa Kemal, better known to-day as the Gazi. It is he who overthrew the Sultan and declared the Turkish Republic to be a fait accompli. It was the Gazi who freed Turkey from the dominance of Islam and gave the Turkish women complete equality with men.

Kemal set about educating his people to think for themselves. To accomplish this, he had first to teach the majority to read and write, and he quickly saw the necessity of abolishing the old Arabic alphabet and translating the language into Roman letters.

Then the Gazi turned his eye to the women and in them he saw a valuable ally. "Give them their emancipation and they'll give me their vote", was his policy, and events have shown him to be right, for without the huge backing of women at the polls many of his reforms could never have been accomplished.

For the Turkish woman of 1933 is no longer the veiled odalisque of the harem; she goes to market, visits her friends, and gives cocktail parties as naturally as any of Mayfair's Bright Young People.

Early in life, Mustafa Kemal rebelled inwardly against the backwardness of the people under the rule of the Caliphe. He joined the Young Turk movement, and in 1909, his progressive views earned for him a sentence of six months in a fortress at Istanbul.

When the Great War came, Mustafa Kemal was a general in the Sultan's army, and he commanded the forces that successfully defended the Dardanelles against the Allies. For this he was hailed as the liberator of the people.

To-day, he is second only to Allah, in whom young Turkey has lost much faith. His schools and public libraries have largely replaced the mosques as the Turks' place of instruction.

When ten years ago, the Caliphate was abolished the question was asked: "Will Turkey henceforth turn towards Asia, or will she lean to the West?" The Gazi answered that question himself, and saw to it that the Turkish people should follow his lead. He used the mailed fist when the spoken word would not avail.

The Kurds, always slow to admit reforms, were for a time a thorn in the Gazi's side, but he was firm - even brutal some maintain - and to-day, there is no trouble from that section.

No matter where one goes in Turkey, one sees the touch of Mustafa Kemal at every hand. In five years he succeeded in settling Turkey's internal trouble, and then he began to regulate Turkey's position in world politics and commerce.

He has a good, well-officiated army and air force; a well-disciplined police force, and, what is more important, a staff of efficient teachers to imbue the future citizens of Turkey with an idea of their place in the welfare of nations.

When he assumed power in 1923, Turkey's export amounted to 84 million Turkish pounds. To-day they amount to 300 million Turkish pounds. In 1923 Turkey exported only tobacco, opium and carpets. To-day, in addition to these, she exports camel hair, fruit (lemons, olives, figs and dates) oil, cotton and silk to all parts of the world.

Is Mustafa Kemal sincere? Have the Turks completely lost their faith in Allah? How kindly do they really take to wireless and european clothes? Who knows what goes on behind the latticed windows of old Istanbul?

Perhaps there are many who, in secret, wear the fez and at the appointed hours, pray Allah, the all-merciful and all-seeing!

#### No. 232

*Extract from The Observer of the 29<sup>th</sup> October 1933*

#### GAYANGORA

Angora is already caught in a wild fever of excitement, over the tenth birthday of the Republic, which officially takes place to-morrow. The arrival of the Soviet Delegation this morning under the Minister of War, General Voroshilov, was a signal for a huge demonstration on the part of the populace - a demonstration which reached its peak when the Russians passed under the mammoth triumphal arch decorated with the Russian Turkish colours. To-morrow there will be a march of ten thousand boy-scouts and girl guides, which will usher in the celebration-proper. Tens of thousands of people are pouring into Angora by airplanes, train and road, and it is calculated that by a to-morrow there will be over two hundred thousand people in the capital. Mustafa Kemal who has personally supervised the anniversary arrangements, will, early to-morrow, receive in the Turkish Parliament the collective congratulations of the diplomatic corps; Kemal will then drive in State to the race course, from where he will broadcast a rousing patriotic speech to the nation. Afterwards he will take the salute at the procession which will last at least five hours. At the end three hundred military planes will execute evolutions. Among them will be four planes which the Russians have just given to Turkey. The whole spectacle will be the most grandiose that Turkey has ever seen.

## No. 233

*Extract from The Daily Telegraph of 30.10.1933*

## NEW TURKEY'S DAY OF REJOICING

The Turkish Republic yesterday began the celebration of its tenth anniversary. The festivities will last three days.

At Angora, the capital, Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the man who in 1923 snatched the country from ruin and created modern Turkey, in the presence of 60,000 people, took the salute from a vast march-past of splendidly-equipped troops.

Sir John Simon has sent a telegram of congratulations to the Turkish Foreign Minister.

In an interview with a Daily Telegraph representative, His Excellency Mehmet Munir Bey, the Turkish ambassador in London, emphasised the Gazi's work for international peace.

## NATION'S SAVIOUR

Angora, 29.10.1933

To-day was a great day for the President of Turkey. As Mustafa Kemal, in his capital - which he himself conjured from the desert - received the foreign statesmen, diplomats, and military attachés, he could pride himself that it was due to his work that these men could no longer look on Turkey as the "Sick Man of Europe".

As he drove through the flag-bedecked streets of Angora to the racecourses, where the parade was held, he could hear continuous cheering for him, the maker of modern Turkey.

When, soberly dressed in European civilian clothes, his face impassive, he took the salute, the vast crowd roared "Saviour!" "Conqueror!"

Then came the eagerly awaited first public singing of the new National Anthem. Three hundred planes circled overhead, among them one flown by Miss Bedia, Turkey's first woman pilot - a symbol of the new era of emancipation.

The Soviet Government are giving Turkey five big fighter planes as a birthday present. A Soviet delegation attended the celebrations to-day.

The Turks have brought forth many conquerors, but none more remarkable than this frock-coated president who has turned the nation, which had become the

shuttlecock of the Powers into a great Power enjoying a status which it had not held for centuries.

His work, which has been a triumph over immense difficulties, is not ended. In his broadcast speech from the racecourse he urged the people not to rest on its laurels. More is to be done, despite the great achievements of the past ten years.

No. 234

*Extract from the Daily Telegraph of 30.10.1933*

GAZİ'S STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Ambassador's Tribute.

His Excellency Mehmet Munir Bey, the Turkish Ambassador in London, when offered my congratulations on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Turkish republic, readily agreed to give me a message for the Daily Telegraph, which might be an interpretation of the thoughts and feelings of the people of his country after a decade of reconstruction.

"It is enormously encouraging to read how the Press have marked the anniversary", he said, "and in particular the Press of Great Britain".

"It is fitting that a nation whose internal policy is to raise the standard of living for all and whose external policy is to vie with all peace-loving nations in the pursuit of permanent peace, should be so amply recognised on this occasion by so great a peace-loving and ordered country as Great Britain.

When I asked what he considered the most important achievements of the last ten years, he said:

"Looking back to ten years ago, I would point to the amazing success of the Gazi's internal struggle, but what was more important was that the success of the first efforts in reconstruction gave such a store of peaceful vitality that he soon gained the sympathetic interest of other nations - not only near neighbours, but of Great Powers, including those who administered former Turkish Territory. The crown of the efforts of course, was the entry of Turkey into the League of Nations.

The most important achievement however, to my mind, has been the change in the status and life of the women of Turkey. And with this goes the new life he has given, with masterly insight, to the youth of the country."

Asked to say something of the Gazi, His Excellency after suggesting that he was not in the position to discuss the great man, observed: "There is one thing which I feel more than justified in stressing. This great man, who understands the arts of

war, who has proved the soldierly qualities in successful campaigns, has been able to turn those same qualities and that fervent force which gained his victories, into the struggle for peace. No one treads the path of peace more eagerly than he, and no one gives this force more willingly in the effort to maintain friendly and peaceful relations between nations."

## No. 235

*Extract from The Irish Independent of the 30<sup>th</sup> October 1933*

### TURKEY'S TENTH BIRTHDAY

Ten years ago the Sultan fled from Constantinople and the New Republic of Turkey was born with the Gazi Mustafa Kemal as its first President and virtual dictator. Since then one of the greatest, and certainly the most successful of post-war revolutions has been marching ahead. The Turks have turned their backs on the East, bent upon becoming a modern state with a Western culture, finished for ever with the sloth and decadence of the past.

From the new capital, Ankara, - the city that once was Angora - Kemal has ruled his fourteen million subjects a benevolent despot. Only a fraction of the territory, and less than a ... of his people are in European Turkey. But Ankara has been extending like a well-planned American city. Kemal began well. With the Greeks and other traditional enemies he made peace. His policy commands an atmosphere of friendships not only at home but abroad.

The Turkish revolution has gone far deeper than political reforms. It has changed the whole social system of the people. Kemal himself, going himself about with his chalk and blackboard to teach the new latinised characters that had replaced the arabic script, was symbolic for the change. Turkey has been made more Turkish and more European. Factories have sprung up and railways have been built. The Turks no longer allow foreigners to do their banking and trading and manufacturing. Polygamy has been abolished, the women have been emancipated; they have thrown off the veil to come out as teachers, doctors, actresses, politicians, aviators, and to play as many parts as their sisters in other countries. The State religion has been swept away. A new language in literature is being created. The men of Turkey have not only taken to European dress but have with amazing rapidity adopted all the resources of modern civilisation, from motor cars to dictaphones. Education is surely overcoming the illiteracy that a few years ago was widespread in Turkey. The young Turk has a sense of national unity, unknown to his father.

Except for the opposition of the fanatical Kurds, the revolution has been peaceful. While Kemal's magnetic personality has achieved these miracles, he has



done what the Statesmen of older nations have failed to do. He has turned an adverse balance of trade into a favourable balance, and he has for years had a financial surplus, not withstanding his vast schemes of reconstruction. Kemal stands out as one of the great men of the age.

### No. 236

*Extract from The Edinburgh Evening Despatch 30<sup>th</sup> October 1933*

#### SUCCESSFUL DICTATORS

The dictators have been looking back during the week-end, Signor Mussolini in Italy and Mustafa Kemal in Turkey. They are men whose contribution to progress during the post-war years not even their most embittered opponents would seek to deny.

The world is more familiar with the work of Signor Mussolini, but the revolution accomplished by the Turkish dictator is still more remarkable. He has changed not merely the outward forms of Turkish life, but it would seem Turkish nature itself. The Sick Man of Europe has been Westernised and transformed beyond recognition. Probably never in any land has been so much accomplished in such a short space of time. And it has been accomplished without menace or brogadóccio. Though Mustafa Kemal is fond of making speeches, he does not in the exercise of his oratorical gifts hurt defiance at or issue challenges to other nations. Peaceful constructive development seems to engage all his energies and none of the various dictatorships at work in the world to-day can produce a more blameless and inspiring record. The Turks in their rejoicings of these days, will therefore be assured of general goodwill.

The Italian régime too, has become an integral part of world politics, and has abundantly justified itself by results. But Signor Mussolini like Mustafa Kemal, is not content to look back. He has even more in mind the hoped-for achievements of the future. He wishes to see Italy great both in the military sphere and in that of the intellect.

The master touch of these dictators is irresistible. The only question that arouses misgivings among their followers and admirers is what will happen when nature writes "Finis" to their life-work. In Italy and Turkey the question is asked from time to time, and it is a question to which history furnishes no very comforting answer. The dictator in the nature of things is irremplacable; as soon as he is removed from the scene of his labours the result all too often is rapid disintegration and retrogression.

## No. 237

Extract from the *Manchester Guardian* of the 30<sup>th</sup> October 1933

## THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

The tenth birthday of the Turkish Republic was celebrated yesterday with well-drilled enthusiasm. It is eleven years since Mustafa Kemal rode victor into Smyrna after the fierce campaign on which he demonstrated to the Allied Powers, their protégés, Armenians and Greeks that Turkey lived. Since then he has transformed his country by a revolution more surprising than any other history of Islam. It was not hard for the victorious soldier to expel the dynasty which was discredited by its acceptance of defeat and by its resistance to the national movement. It was not hard to write "republic" to the place of "monarchy". These surface changes might have meant no more than Abdul Hamid's willing acceptance of a Constitution in 1908. But Mustafa Kemal had not lived through the Young Turkish movement without learning lessons from its failure. He had been one of the original leaders of the revolution of Salonica. He had grown up as the colleague and rival of Enver Pasha and Talaat. He profited by the defeat of these men to supplant them as the leader of the Turkish National revival. He profited by their mistakes in the formation of his revival. They had made compromises with the old theocracy of the Osman House; they had played with Pan-Islamism and found in it uncalculable force. They used up strength and credit in a vain attempt to preserve the Ottoman empire. Their ruthlessness did not succeed. It only made them odious. Mustafa Kemal came to power as liquidator of a bankrupt heritage as well as victor in a war of liberalism. That was a great advantage for a statesman who could see things as they are.

One of the first acts of the Turkish National Assembly at Angora was to renounce all claim to former Arab territories of the Turkish Empire. The new Turkey is founded on a purely national, not a religious basis. Mustafa Kemal, like most other former young Turks, derived his principles at second hand from revolutionary France. He used his predecessor's methods to apply them with a logic which his predecessors never knew. Freed from Imperial responsibilities, this new and compact Turkey must be homogeneous. Over one million Greeks were therefore packed across the sea in circumstances of great cruelty. The "question called Armenian" was settled once for all. As Abdul Hamid and Enver Pasha had never managed to settle it. At most, it can be said for these things that they made an end. The Greek and the Armenian questions will never occur again. Greece has since 1930 made her peace with the new Turkey and by a treaty signed a month ago, the two countries are now committed to a common foreign policy. Those few Armenians and Greeks who still remain in Istanbul and other towns accept the new régime with a surprising loyalty. The Kurdish question still remains unsolved, but the repression of the Kurdish risings shows how Mustafa Kemal deal with Kurds

who refuse to become Turks. With the Imperial inheritance of the Osmanlı Dynasty went the Kaliphāt with its religious implications. The Gallic anti-clericalism which the little group of men round the Dictator has absorbed, accepted compromise as a first stage in the battle for the secular State. They could not touch Islam as much; it was too strong. But Islam is a legal, social and political system, as well as a religion. Their sweeping changes in the social and political fields implied a vast breach with the Islamic past.

Ten years ago, Turkey was still living on 17<sup>th</sup> century lines. There was no Law outside the Moslem Law, taught by the Mufti and his theologians; Capitulations dating from the seventeenth century gave foreign consuls jurisdiction over foreigners, the system of the "Millet" gave the Greeks and Christians virtual autonomy under their patriarchs. The peasantry received their education from tradition, as expounded by the wandering dervish and the leader of the Koran. Mustafa Kemal's group of Westernised supporters have changed all that. They have appealed to the awakening nationalism of a proud and virile people. Hence their success in sweeping ancient usages away without much opposition.

Considered the tremendous change implied in one reform alone. The Legal code of Switzerland has been substituted ready made for the Islamic Law. How were conservative peasants and towns men brought to accept this change? It is a part of the progress which brings Turkey on to the level of the other nations. It made the abolition of the capitulations possible as well as the destruction of the various Christian Autonomous "Millets"; it has gone with the substitution for the Turkish of the Arabic language; women have come out of seclusion into busy activities. That is a change apparent on the surface town life: it has made little difference to the habits of the country side, where women have from immemorial times worked in the fields and shared the freedom of their menfolk. The Fez has given place to the hard-brimmed hat. That shows how far the rulers, anticlericalism dares to go; for hard-brimmed prevent the forehead from touching the ground in prayer as Moslems custom orders. These things are symbols of an inward change, which has been long preparing but is still impressive. Acute observers have long noticed that the Turk was conservative rather than devout; the imitation of all foreign models by self-conscious nationalist, intellectuals who were also soldiers was bound to lead as it lead in Japan in the last century to a far reaching revolution from above. Mustafa Kemal does not like to be called "Dictator"; he is the victor - Gazi - not only over foreign enemies but over the inertia of his own people.

No. 238

*Extract from The Empire Review of October 1933*

## TURKEY OF TO-DAY

By Mettali

The tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Turkish Republic will be celebrated on October 29<sup>th</sup>. Extraordinary changes have taken place during the last decade. Till 1922 Turkey was ruled by a Sultan, the man who wore a fez and other articles of oriental attires, the women lived in harems with the other wives of her husband - and if of good society - followed by servants. Education of modern type was not to be had except in foreign schools. The country was overrun with brigands. To-day, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, as President, rules the country with the help of the Parliament called the Grand National Assembly. The men wear European dress, polygamy and harem have been abolished, women are as free as men, education is up to date in the state schools, and brigandage is completely suppressed. Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the creator of new Turkey was born in 1878. He rendered distinguished services to his country in Europe and Asia during the great war and in the Greco-Turkish war that follows. Immortalised himself by annihilating the Greek Army. By the Treaty of Lausanne, which was signed in the following year, he secured full independence for his country.

The maker of New Turkey is a man of simple taste and dislikes the pomp and splendor, generally associated with the rulers of Oriental countries. He lives in a modest house at Angora with little more than the barest necessities of life, works hard for the improvement of his country and seeks a relaxation in walking, riding, shooting and other military sports. Although he has risen to his highest position in his land, he has kept up his friendship with the friends of his humbler days. Knowing the great work he has done, and is still doing for the uplift of their country, the Turks revere him and think that he can never be wrong. This explains why there was, on the whole, so little protest when he introduced the roman alphabet and other sweeping changes in Turkish life. Not tyranny but confidence in the genuineness of his patriotism has won him the support of his people in all his reforms.

The modernisation of Turkey began in 1908 when Sultan Abdul Hamid the Second was deposed and the Constitutional Authority placed on the throne of Osman. But on account of the four wars in which Turkey was engaged during the following forty years, no time could be found for carrying out any appreciable number of reforms. But since the end of the War in Greece in 1922 she has been able to devote herself to the task and the progress made during the last decade, is perhaps greater than that which Russia under Peter the Great or Japan, after the restoration made during the same period.

Those who can compare the Angora of to-day with the Angora of 1918 are able to realise how Turkey has been metamorphosed over night, so to say. In 1918 Angora was a small, mediaeval town, with a population of twenty thousand souls. The railway station was small, unclean and without a book stall or restaurant. The houses were of mud and wood, the roads narrow and full of bumps and holes on which bullock-carts joted leisurely along. There were no buses, hotels, gardens and parks or any other amenities of modern civilised life. To-day the capital of New Turkey is a large town with a population of 100,000 souls, possessing a large clean railway station with well roofed platforms, book stalls and first class restaurants, many fine stone buildings, such as the Grand National Assembly Building, the Ministry of Public Health, the Ministry of National Defence, İsmet Pasha Institute, Bankes d'Affaires, Museum, Law School, and hotels with appointments equal to those towns in first class European hotels. Roads are broad and macadamised and taxes and motor buses ply from morning till night. In fact, there is an air of hurry and bustle, which one finds in the capital of European countries.

Perhaps the most striking change compared with pre-war days is in the position with Turkish women. The disability from which they suffered in old days are well-known to the Western world. To-day those disabilities have been removed. Turkish women have discarded the veil, wear European dress and go about by themselves to Government and business offices, dance halls, theaters, or restaurants, without exciting the least comment or criticism from their men folk. Education is compulsory for Turkish girls from the age of 6 to 10 and all educational institutions in the country are open to them. Marriage in Turkey is civil and women are given the right to divorce on the same grounds as men. There are to-day in Turkey women doctors, barristers, judges, painters, actresses, air-women, heads of business firms, taxi-drivers, typists and factory-workers. Women work in welfare centers and in societies for the protection of children which they have themselves started. They can vote for and sit in the municipality and are being trained for the Diplomatic service. The Turkish man of to-day is also very different from his predecessor a generation ago. Gone are his lethargy and fatalism. He works hard for the improvement of his country and looks to the future and not to the past for guidance. And he has become extremely nationalistic and race conscious. He thinks of the great past of his race and hopes that his future will be still greater. Turkish history is now viewed from a different angle, and it's pre-Islamic period is more particularly stressed. It does not now begin as it did a few years ago with Ertogrul and Osman in the thirteen century. It is much older, beginning with the dawn of mankind and claiming Attila, Genghiz Khan and Tamerlane as Turks. The Turkish language is also being purified that is, Arabic and Persian words have been eliminated. A Turkish boy is required to go to a Turkish school till he is thirteen years old. After reaching that age he can go abroad for further studies. Foreign schools which have come in the way of Turkish



nationalism and those remaining have been placed under the supervision of a Minister of Education. In these schools all text books are supervised by the State. Turkish language and history are taught by Turkish teachers and no Christian or Jewish propaganda for the ancient régime is allowed. To strengthen the sense of racial unity, Turkish immigrants from the Balkan and Russia are welcomed.

Education is now secular and compulsory for both sexes. Kinder-gartens, Primary, Middle, Secondary, Adults, Night, Normal and Technical Schools have been established all over the country. The progress made in education during the last decade may be judged from the fact that while in 1922 there was 90 % illiteracy to-day it is only 25 %.

In the new schools boys are taught democratic ideas and respect for women. They are also trained to observe, think and decide each one for himself. They are required to be able to read either English or French or German. Corporal punishment has been abolished and Western games, such as football, tennis, hockey and base ball introduced. At present there is only one university in Turkey at Constantinople. But it is proposed to establish in the near future two more new universities one at Ankara and another one at Diarbekir. A plan to establish a National Library at Angora and free public libraries with reading rooms attached to them, in all towns, is under consideration. The People's Clubs in towns and villages have decided to issue each month a broadsheet of current news. This "gazette" will be distributed among the people and posted on the walls of the villages. People who can read will talk to those who cannot, and thus news will spread. The Government has also decided to send a travelling educational exhibition, housed in three motor-wagons to the villages.

Painting, sculpture, music, acting, and other arts, which, for religious reasons, were formerly forbidden to the Turks, are now encouraged by the Angora Government. The teaching of music and drawing is now compulsory in all schools, and a number of arts and craft schools have been established. Turkish boys and girls are encouraged to study art and to go to Europe for that purpose and when they return they become professional artists. An Austrian artist, Professor Marx, has been appointed art counsellor to the Angora Government. Exhibitions of painting and sculpture are held and very frequently the Gazi gives prizes with his own hand for good work.

The Turkish judicial system and laws have been thoroughly reorganised. In place of the old courts and laws are substituted civil and criminal courts of the Western type with civil and penal codes based on the civil and penal codes of Switzerland and Italy respectively. The trials of the Europeans and Americans which have taken place in the Turkish courts since the abolition of extra-territoriality, have given satisfaction to the European and American court concerned. Agriculture is being brought up-to-date. The Government purchases



new agricultural machinery from Western countries and distributes it to the farmers through the branches of the Agricultural Bank. Irrigation has been extended and improved. L.T. 100,000,000 having been voted for irrigation work in 1929. The tithe has been abolished, and a model farm started on the outskirts of Angora. The Turkish village is completely changed. The villagers are now masters of their village and take a keen interest in its improvement. They build mosques, schools, roads and keep them clean according to the new laws. The village accounts are neatly kept in ledgers and a history of each village has been written. Nearly every village has also got its own court, with power to deal with thefts up to L.T. 50. penalty. The sense of communal responsibility has increased and thieves do not easily escape as in the old days. The Vali, once regarded as an enemy by the villagers, because they knew when he came to their village it was only to fill his own pocket, is now regarded as a friend. He sits and chats as an equal, and takes no money that is not due to the Government. Quick payment of taxes is rewarded with a reduction on the total. Schemes for constructing new water supplies for the villages are being discussed.

The Government is doing much to develop trade and industry. In pre-war days, business in Turkey was mainly in the hands of Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Western Europe. To-day the Turks are in business for themselves. Students are sent abroad at Government expense to acquire technical and commercial education. Silk, sugar, oilcake and aeroplane factories, cotton and saw-mills, cement works and breweries have been established. Chrome, zinc, manganese, ore, silver, lead, borax and copper are being mined. An act for the protection of local industrial enterprises has been passed, and as a result the number of industrial factories in the country has risen within the last three years from 370 to 2,200. New roads have been built and the railways are being extended. In 1931, the railway line length in Turkey was 3,619 miles road gauge and 359 narrow gauge. More than 3000 miles of the new railways have been built by Turkish engineers with Turkish money. In the early part of this year a concession was granted to a British Company for fifty years for the establishment of a train ferry system across the Bosphorus. A merchant fleet consisting of 215 steam and motor vessels, with a total tonnage of 132,784 has been created and a law has been passed reserving all coastal trade to Turkish ships. Economic conferences are periodically held to discuss what further steps should be taken to develop trade and industry. The Turkish currency is stable, although that of neighbouring countries is showing increasing weakness. The budget has been balanced. Turkey imports from the United Kingdom goods to the value of L. 10,361,400 and exports goods worth L. 10,850,161.

Turkish labour is not forgotten. A bill is soon to be introduced in the Grand National Assembly which will make a sixty-hour week-including an hour for rest and refreshment - compulsory. In mining a six hour day and the minimum age of

eighteen will be enforced. Night work for boys and girls under the age of seventeen is forbidden and no child under twelve is allowed to be employed.

Turkey has joined the League of Nations and has shown her willingness to co-operate in the suppression of narcotic trade. She has improved her relations with her neighbours - Soviet Russia, Greece, Persia, Iraq and is arranging conferences of the Balkan States to discuss their common interests and problems. At the beginning of this century Turkey was the most backward country in South-Eastern Europe. Today it is perhaps the most progressive.

### No. 239

*Address Given to the Near and Middle East Association by Captain Edward Walker  
on Monday, October 30<sup>th</sup> 1933*

*in Celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the Turkish Republic*

Yesterday was the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Turkish Republic, and celebrations lasting three days are being held in every town and village throughout the country. Special trains at reduced fares are being run to Angora where the main celebrations are being held.

Yesterday the Gazi held a review of the troops on the Angora race course after a triumphal drive through the gaily decorated streets of Angora. During the review three hundred aeroplanes circled overhead among them one piloted by Miss Bedia, the first Turkish woman pilot, this fact perhaps more than any other, marks the extraordinary progress of Turkey during the last ten years.

Twelve years ago, an outlaw, with a price on his head, yesterday surrounded by the foreign diplomatic corps, acclaimed by his people a "Saviour and Conqueror", perhaps the Gazi's thoughts went back to early days in Angora. His mind may have conjured up a vision of a squalid provincial town of rickety wooden houses, unpaved streets ankle-deep in mud, primitive country carts with solid wooden wheels drawn by oxen, creaking and growing through the streets, led by a peasant with baggy trousers, gaily coloured shirt, wearing a fez. On the cart was probably seated the peasant's wife with her face completely hidden by the "tcharchaf".

To-day he sees broad avenues, a well planned town with spacious buildings, smart taxicabs in which are seated men and women whose fashions are copied from London and Paris.

Future historians will find that of all the changes brought about by the war, the transformation of Turkey has been the most astounding especially when it is realised that this progress was not due to a mass movement of popular psychology but to the leadership of one single man.

I am going to try to give you some account of the reforms carried through by this astounding man in Turkey since the Republic was declared. In order that you may properly appreciate the difficulty which had to be surmounted, let me give you a résumé of the events which led up to the declaration of the Republic, taking as my starting point the end of the war.

The armistice with Turkey was signed on the 30<sup>th</sup> October 1918, so that to-day is the fifteenth anniversary. Beaten on all fronts, Turkey alone of all the defeated powers was forced to submit to the occupation of her capital and seat of Government by the victorious allied armies. She was completely desarmed, demoralised, and entirely bankrupt without any apparent hope for the future. Enver, Talaat, Djemal, etc., had fled the country and had been replaced by a weak and vacillating Sultan who was prepared to sacrifice his country's interest to any extent, provided his personal position was secured.

At this moment fate intervened. On the 15<sup>th</sup> May 1919, a young Turkish Brigadier General, Mustafa Kemal, who had distinguished himself in the Dardanelles campaign, where, more than any other he had contributed to the defeat of the British at Anafarta, was appointed as Inspector General of the Turkish forces in the Eastern Provinces of Anatolia.

During the British attack on Anafarta, the following story is told of him. He was sitting on the outward edge of a trench, when one of the English field batteries commenced to bombard it. The first shell fell exactly on the edge of the trench. The second shell also, only it was twenty yards nearer him. The third shell was twenty yards nearer still. One of his officers begged him to take cover but he refused saying, "It is too late now. I cannot give my men a bad example", and he lit a cigarette. It was a mathematical certainty that the fourth shell must hit the trench exactly where he was sitting. Everyone in the trench looked at him fascinated. Curiously enough the fourth shell was a blind and failed to explode.

Mustafa Kemal recounts that this incident made him a fatalist, and, as a result, gave him an inward conviction that he was immune to danger so that he might be spared to undertake an important task on behalf of his country. We may not believe in fatalism, but it is a curious fact that Mustafa Kemal not only came through unscathed in battle but through the various attempts which were subsequently made on his life.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> May 1919 the Greeks landed in Smyrna and it was this event which first enabled Mustafa Kemal to rouse the demoralised Turkish Peasants, starving and impoverished as they were, to action. The allies sent peremptory orders for him to return to Constantinople. His reply was characteristic of the man. "I shall remain in Anatolia until the nation has won its independence." As a result he was dismissed the army and declared an outlaw.

The next step was the conference of Sivas, which adopted the National Pact, the Magna Carta of Turkey, which pledged the Turks to fight till they had rid the country of foreign control and recovered its complete independence. The Sultan, convinced of the strength of the nationalist movement, agreed that the Turkish Parliament should be summoned to meet. The new Parliament contained an overwhelming majority of nationalists, who voted and confirmed the National Pact. As a result the British authorities arrested all the Deputies on whom they could lay hands and deported them to Malta. Mustafa Kemal had had the prudence not to take his seat in the Parliament and remained in Anatolia. As a result of British action Kemal immediately convoked a meeting of a National Assembly in the school house of Angora on April 23<sup>rd</sup> 1920. It must have been one of the most extraordinary meetings of a Parliament ever held. In tiny schoolroom, lit by two small paraffin lamps, late in the night, the first Provisional Government was declared by the National Assembly.

The publication of the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres sounded like a tocsin throughout Anatolia and rallied everyone to the nationalist cause. The Allies, lacking the necessary means, then utilised the Greeks to pull the chestnuts out of the fire. The latter advanced into Anatolia and Thrace. Kemal's forces, lacking equipment and munitions, had to fight barefoot. The Greek army was superior in numbers and well equipped by the Allies. The Turks were heavily defeated. Nevertheless, Mustafa Kemal refused to be discouraged.

At this critical moment Fate once again played into his hands, in the shape of a change of Government in Greece. King Alexander was bitten by a monkey and died of blood-poisoning. As a result, Constantine was brought back to Greece, and Venizelos fled the country.

Consequently the entente withdrew their support from Greece, whose armies launched a violent offensive, the object of which was the line of the Anatolian railway, the Nationalists' only line of communications. They were however, repulsed by the dogged Ismet, but attacked again with larger forces; the Turks fought well, but were everywhere outnumbered and forced to retreat, losing the important railway junction of Eskishehir. Kemal, sitting in a railway carriage, in the last train to leave Eskishehir for Angora, with the remnants of his Army retreating along side the Railway line, was reading his map by the light of a smoky oil lamp suspended from the roof of the carriage; his Staff seated around him were dispirited and weary. He sat motionless, playing with the beads of a tespih, a kind of rosary which the Turks still carry. Suddenly he looked up. "What does the railway matter? What does Eskishehir matter? Nothing. The Army is everything and it is still there." Then his face lit up as one inspired, and he said: "We shall have the enemy beaten in four weeks," he was right. He decided to hold the line of the Sakaria river, and the Turkish Army dug itself in. In a memorable speech to the

National Assembly he said: "I have never for a moment faltered in my conviction that we shall defeat the enemy. I proclaim this firm belief now, before this Honourable Assembly, before the Nation, and before the whole world."

Two days before the battle of the Sakaria began, Mustafa Kemal's horse fell with him, and he was dragged from underneath it with a broken rib. Then soldiers said it was a bad omen, whereupon, although in great pain, he addressed them and said: "It is a sign from Allah that here on this spot, where one of my bones has been broken, the resistance of the enemy will also be broken." So it happened. The Greeks, unable to drive the Turks from their positions had to retreat to the line of the Anatolian railway.

With the Turkish victory of the Sakaria, the Powers began to make overtures to Kemal. France went so far as to send Mr. Franklin-Bouillon to Angora to negotiate a secret treaty behind the backs of the other Allies. The change in the attitude of the Powers towards the nationalists caused Kemal to send Fethi Bey to London. He tried to see either Lord Curzon or Mr. Lloyd George. Both refused and he could get no further than a Secretary at the Foreign Office. The story runs that, as a result of this rebuff, Fethi Bey telegraphed to Angora the one word "Attack".

At the same time Kemal addressed a manifesto to the Powers, "We do not desire war, but peace. We ask for nothing more than the independence of the Turkish State within its own boundaries - a right already granted to other nations."

As a result of the failure of his mission in London, Kemal made preparations to attack the Greeks along the lines of the Anatolian Railway. His order of the day to his soldiers ran: "Soldiers, your goal is the Mediterranean. On to it." The attack took place on the 26<sup>th</sup> August 1922 and within a week the Turks were in Smyrna and the Greek army completely routed.

With the disappearance of the Greek army, the Allies found themselves face to face with the victorious Turkish Army right up against the positions which the Allied Armies of Occupation were holding round Constantinople and the Dardanelles and which had been declared by them to be neutral territory. Mustafa Kemal demanded free passage at Chanak in order to attack the Greeks in Thrace and drive them back on Athens. The Turks began to advance against the neutral zone, which was entirely held by British troops. Thus Lloyd George and Mustafa Kemal stood face to face. Mr. Lloyd George declared that if the Turks advance it would be an act of war against the British Empire. At this moment the Turkish Army, inspired by its recent victories was pressing Kemal to attack. The French and Italian suggested an Armistice. The Gazi then performed one of the greatest acts of statesmanship of his whole career. Many a lesser man might have suffered from a swollen head at this moment and committed an error which would have probably undone the work which he has accomplished during four years of unremitting



effort and sacrifice. Instead, he agreed to negotiate for an armistice. In the early hours of the 11<sup>th</sup> October 1922, the Armistice was signed. I was present at Mudanya where the conference took place when through two long and anxious days and nights, and where peace and war hung in the balance, one thought dominated my mind: "Thank God that at this critical moment we have as a negotiator General Harington." On the other side of the conference table, opposite to him, was General Ismet Pasha, and curiously enough the minds of these two men seemed to meet. Both were the essence of sincerity and fairmindedness, and out of these negotiations sprang up a cordial friendship between them which exists to the present day.

After the armistice of Mudanya followed the Conference of Lausanne. At this time the National Assembly voted the abolition of the Sultanate, but they retained the Caliphate. The Sultan Vahdettin fled from Constantinople on board a British battleship, and Prince Abdul Medjid, his cousin, was appointed Caliph. The peace conference dragged on for nine months, and the final treaty was not signed until July 24<sup>th</sup> 1923.

The next step was the declaration of the Republic. At six o'clock on the evening of the 29<sup>th</sup> October 1923, the National Assembly met and the Bill containing the new Turkish Constitution was submitted to the House. The State was to become a Republic, with a President to be elected for four years by the National Assembly. He was to nominate the Prime Minister, who would choose his Cabinet and submit it for approval to the Assembly. The measure was submitted to a commission of the House. It made one single addition, namely that Islam should remain the State religion of Turkey; this provision was struck out a year later. At half past nine at night, the Bill was passed, and Mustafa Kemal was elected First President of the Republic.

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1924, the Caliphate was abolished and Prince Abdul Medjid, together with the other Turkish Princes, left the country.

Many people at that time thought that the Gazi had brought about the abolition of the Sultanate and Caliphate with the object of having himself elected to these high offices. Judging by what one knows of the character of the man, I think it likely that the First Consul was ever tempted to become the Emperor. His situation at this time was not unlike that of Peter the Great. He was the leader of a vast illiterate peasantry, fanatically attached to a mediaeval religion, whom he had to educate towards the adoption of reforms. In addition he had been successful in purging the Army from politics, so that the latter was devoted to him as the chief who had led it to victory.

He formed a political party of his own, known as the people Republican Party, of which he retained the leadership, although elected President of the Republic.



For this he was much criticised, inasmuch as it was held that as head of a democratic State he should be above party politics. The truth is that he wisely realised that the young Turkish State could not run before it could walk. In other words that it was not yet ripe for full-blown democracy. His own words seem to justify his action in this respect:

"The public and the whole world are to understand, that so far as I am concerned, there can be no question of being politically neutral or standing above all parties. I declare adherence to the republic and that is also the creed of the People's Party. That Party is the protagonist of intellectual and social progress, and I cannot imagine that there can be any Turk who holds any other opinion on this vital point. Hence there can be no rival programmes, and no rival parties. The People's Party embraces the whole people, and its programme is the programme of the entire nation. I say expressly that it is a question of honour with me to remain both party leader and President of the State."

In November 1924, the Gazi had to face a serious internal revolution, in the shape of a rising of the Kurds in the Eastern Provinces of Anatolia, under their leader Sheik Said, even more serious was the formation of an opposition party amongst the intelligentsia; that he also dealt with a strong hand.

Another grave difficulty was the diplomatic tension which had arisen between Turkey and Great Britain over the Mosul question. Here again the Gazi showed his great qualities as a Statesman. The Army chiefs, elated by their victory, were anxious to invade the Province of Mosul in Iraq territory, and so settle the issue by force of arms. There is no doubt that from a military point of view the occupation of the Mosul Province would have been an easy matter, but the Gazi was too far-sighted to commit such an error. Desirous as he always has been for the attainment of Turkey's legitimate aims by peaceful methods, rather than by war, he persisted along the lines of diplomatic negotiation which, due to his far-sightedness and Sir Ronald Lindsay's patient diplomacy ended in a settlement satisfactory to both parties. Turkey renounced all claim to the vilayet of Mosul in exchange for an interest in the Petroleum royalties.

Owing to the disturbed State of the country, martial law had been proclaimed, and this, to a certain extent, enabled the Gazi to carry through the far-reaching reforms he had in mind, although it is certain that he would have accomplished them even without this advantage. Firstly he determined on a dress reform. In a speech to the inhabitants of İnebolu he said:

"Nations that persist in remaining at the intellectual stage of the Middle Ages are destined to disappear from the face of the earth. The Turk must become affiliated and this fact must be plainly shown in his external appearance. Civilised international garments are the only ones worthy of our nation. We shall wear lacing

boots, trousers, jackets, collars, ties and a head-gear with a rim or peak - I am naming the articles of clothing, and I shall even utter an ominous word - this form of headgear is called a hat."

The word was indeed ominous. The people which had blindly acquiesced in the abolition of the Sultanate and the Caliphate in the establishment of the Republic and in the separation of Church and State, revolted against the adoption of the hat in substitution for the fez. This reform was seized upon by the clergy as a pretext for rousing the people against the reforms which had largely deprived them of their former privileges. Serious disturbances broke out in the Eastern Provinces, but they were ruthlessly suppressed. This led to further reforms of the Church. In Turkey there exist various religious sects and brotherhoods, the chief of which was the Dervishes, whose ritual comprised a curious whirling dance which many of you may have seen in their mosque in Constantinople. "Could a nation", asked Mustafa Kemal, be considered civilised that allowed itself to be kept in leading string by a lot of sheiks, chelebis, babis and emirs, and entrusted its life and destiny to wizards, occultists, cheirromancers, sorcerers, diviners and amulet-sellers?"

The dress reforms were not confined to the men only. The women were gently persuaded by the Gazi's charm of manner to abolish the veil. However, they still persisted in wearing "tcharchaff", a kind of bandeau which completely hid the hair. Whenever the Gazi saw a Turkish lady in Constantinople or Angora attired in this form of head-dress, he would say: "You have lovely hair. Are you afraid to show it?" Along with the dress reform came a reform in social manners. For instance, it had always been considered wrong for a Turkish lady to dance in public with a man who was not a near relative. Thus at the balls which the Gazi gave in Angora and Constantinople, the men would group themselves on one side of the room and the women on the other. He would go up to the women and select a partner with whom he ordered the men to dance. Only a few years ago any Turkish woman who dared to show her neck and shoulder by wearing evening dress in public would have been mobbed. To-day any woman appearing at a social function in anything but european evening dress, would be an object of curiosity.

The next most important reform carried out was that of the legal system in Turkey. For the civil law the Swiss code was adopted, which in the simplest manner possible definitely abolished polygamy, because misconduct on the part of either spouse constituted grounds for divorce. This great reform passed almost unnoticed. The Italian code was adopted for criminal law and the German code for commercial law. Women were called to the Bar and admitted to the Faculty of Medicine.

Then came what is perhaps the most important reform of all, and one which has done more than anything else to bring Turkey into contact with the rest of the

civilised world. This was the abolition of the Arabic characters and the adoption of the Latin characters. Apart from the effect this reform had in reducing illiteracy, it has, of course, made it possible for foreigners to learn to speak, read and write Turkish as easily as any other foreign language. At the same time, the Turkish language was purged of Arabic and Persian words, thus considerably simplifying it. Since then the Gazi has ordered that all prayers in the mosques shall be recited in Turkish and that the Koran shall be translated into the Turkish language. When the Gazi first decided to adopt Latin characters, a commission was appointed to devise a new alphabet, which sat for six months without achieving any results. The Gazi evolved a new alphabet in one single night, after which, with a blackboard and chalk, he processed in the villages and towns to teach it to the people.

Perhaps one of the most astounding achievements was the rapid construction of the new town of Angora. The marshes have been drained and have been changed almost overnight into pleasant parks where the inhabitants of the town may take refuge from the summer heat. The analogy between Mustafa Kemal and Peter the Great in constructing his new capital and the draining of the marshes again recurs to our mind.

In preparing this address, I was advised by our Chairman, Mr. Keeling that the one thing to avoid was a recital of statistics. But at the risk of incurring his displeasure I feel constrained to mention a few, although I will make them as brief as possible. As regards the question of transport I think it is interesting to note that in 1923 the total length of roads in the country was 18.000 kilometres, of which more than 13.000 were in a bad condition. To-day Turkey possesses over 30.000 kilometres of roads suitable for all classes of traffic.

With regard to land, 237.000 acres of marshland have been drained and 500.000 acres have been irrigated.

As regards railway construction, nearly 2.000 kilometres have been constructed during the last ten years. The Turkish Government is working according to a definite programme of railway construction and further constructions will be undertaken in future years. The financing of this fixed programme of railway construction has been accomplished out of current revenue. And all payments have been promptly made without recourse to foreign borrowing. In addition to the railways which have been constructed, the Turkish Government has, during the last ten years, purchased from the original concessionary companies railways exceeding 1.600 kilometres in length for a total of 159.000.000 Turkish pounds.

Work was started with six locomotives only, and by 1927, the number had already increased to 208 and the number of passenger coaches and goods wagons increased to over 3.000. The total length of the State railways existing to-day is 3.500 kilometres, and will attain a length of over 4.000 kilometres next year.

The railway development during the last ten years has been amazing. When I first went to Angora in 1923, the journey took two days and two nights. The trains were unheated and overcrowded and there was no means of lying down to sleep. One had, of course, to take food for the two days. To-day, the Angora express runs in both directions every night with sleeping cars and a restaurant car. Travellers can book through from London to Angora. At present a special ferry service transfer them and their luggage from Sirkeci station in Istanbul to Haydar Pasha. Soon, however, there will be a train ferry which will take the Angora coaches of the Simplon Orient Express across the Bosphorus to join up with Angora express. The Government has progressively trained Turkish personnel to replace Greek, Armenian and foreign railway staff so that the central railways are now operated by Turkish personnel. This has had the effect of reducing operating costs by 20%.

As regards sea transport the total tonnage sailing under the Turkish flag was increased from 35.000 tons in 1923 to over 110.000 tons in 1933. During this period nearly six millions of passengers have been transported in Turkish ships and over 2.000.000 tons of goods.

As regards industry, there were in 1923 eleven concessionary companies operating works of public utility. To-day this number has increased to 29. Their invested capital amounts to LT 75.000.000 in addition to which the Government has invested over LT 4.000.000 of public money. The number of commercial companies has increased over the same period from 106 to 196 and in addition 113 limited liability companies have been registered under the new commercial law.

With regard to home industry the growth has been equally prodigious. Under encouragement from the Government the following industries have been developed: cotton goods, woollens, silk, sugar, leather, cement, soap and timber.

As regards the balance of trade, this has been converted from an adverse balance of LT 48.000.000 in 1925 to a favourable balance of LT 15.000.000 in 1932.

Just a word on public finances and banking: under the old régime there was always a deficit in the annual budget of from 5 to 6 million Turkish Pounds. The external debt was continually increasing and payments to Government officials and others were made with considerable delay. To-day, there is a budget surplus without recourse to foreign loans, and all Government payments are promptly met. A sinking fund has been establishing for the liquidation of the internal debt. The Republican Government has also taken over the service of the Ottoman Debt and settled outstanding coupons. The liquidation of the Floating Debt partially inherited from the old régime and partially contracted by the new Government, was begun in 1929 and the amounts paid out up to now exceed 50.000.000 Turkish pounds.

In order to facilitate currency circulation, the Government has recently decided on the adoption of a silver coinage. The number of credit establishments has increased from 10 in 1920, with a capital of LT 17.000.000 to 44, in 1933, with a capital of LT 75.000.000.

In the forefront of reforms has been that of education. At the date of the proclamation of the Republic, there were 4.000 schools teaching 336.000 pupils, to-day there are 6.000 schools teaching 542.000 pupils and half a million schoolbooks covering 400 subjects have been printed in the last ten years.

In the matter of public health, the number of beds in hospitals for the free treatment of disease has been doubled in the last ten years. Under the Ministry of Public Hygiene, steps have been taken to reduce infant mortality by the establishment of a training institute for midwives and to combat malaria and other diseases by the establishment of free dispensaries. Five million people have received hospital treatment in the last ten years during which time the annual expenditure on sanitary services has increased from LT 280.000 to nearly LT 4 millions. As regards postal services, over 2.000 kilometres of telegraph lines have been constructed under the Republican régime and the number of internal telegrams has increased from 8.000.000 in 1923 to 14.000.000 in 1932. Telephone service has been installed in 30 different towns from five of which direct telephone service with Europe has been established. As to wireless, there are two long distance receiving and transmitting stations at Angora and Yesilköy, with broadcasting stations at Angora and Osma. On Saturday night, I had the honour of broadcasting some remarks about the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Republic from the B.B.C. studios and arrangements were made for reception by listeners in Turkey.

As everyone knows, the main industry in Turkey is that of agriculture, and to quote the words of the Gazi: "The master of this country is the Turkish peasant." The Republican Government has done everything in his power to improve his lot. Figures given in an article which appeared in the Times on Saturday show that the agricultural bank has increased his loans to peasants from LT 8.000.000 in 1923 to LT 34 million in the current year. In addition, 600 agricultural credit cooperative societies have been instituted and supply a further LT 77 millions of credits.

In conclusion, I would like to draw your attention to the Gazi's work in the cause of peace, and the breadth of his policy in this respect. During the last ten years, the Turkish Government has concluded forty treaties with various states. All of them are treaties of friendship: one between Turkey and Persia is for friendship and security; that with Soviet Russia is a treaty of neutrality; that between Turkey and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes is a treaty of peace and friendship; that with Bulgaria is a treaty of neutrality and conciliation, as also with Italy; and many others include provisions for arbitration in case of disputes. Finally,



there is a treaty between Greece and Turkey, which is described as a treaty for an Entente Cordiale. This is probably the greatest achievement of all. For years, like Germany and France, Turkey and Greece had been bitterly opposed to one another, but the hatchet has now finally been buried by the signature of a most comprehensive treaty. This treaty is so important that I hope you will not mind if I give you its salient points. The preamble states that Turkey and Greece, faithfully attached to their policy of friendship, of understanding and cordial collaboration and decided to assure the constant development of this policy, the effects of which are so important in the national and international spheres of their activity, inspired with the spirit of the Briand-Kellogg pact and of other international acts which have signed, and desirous of giving fresh proof of their attachment to the cause of peace, have decided to conclude a pact as follows:

Article 1. To guarantee the inviolability of their respective frontiers.

Article 2. To consult each other on all international questions presenting a common interest.

Article 3. Is of special interest. It reads as follows:

"In all international conferences Turkey and Greece agree that the delegate of one or other is charged with defending the interests of both parties and they agree to arrange either that the delegates shall in turn represent both powers or in special cases where one of them is especially interested, the delegates of such power shall represent both."

Article 4. That the pact shall be in force for a period of ten years.

What a pity that the European powers cannot bring themselves to follow the example of Turkey and Greece.

In the words of the Gazi the policy pursued by the Turkish Republic may be said to be one of "progress at home and peace abroad."

During the Gazi's fight for Turkey's independence there were many who forecast that he would turn towards Asia rather than towards Europe, that he would pursue a policy of proud isolation rather than one of frank collaboration. These prophecies have been proved to be entirely falsified by his crowning act of statesmanship when Turkey entered the League of Nations in July 1933. Ever since Turkey's entry into the League, she has loyally cooperated in all the work both political and humanitarian of that body, especially in the suppression of the Traffic in drugs. In addition she has contributed a great deal of constructive work at the various international conferences, economic and political which have recently taken place.



So much has been accomplished in Turkey during the last ten years since the inauguration of the Republic, that even now it is impossible to view the events in their proper perspective. Only years hence will future historians be able to estimate at its true value the great work which has been achieved.

It has been a particularly happy task for me to contribute my humble share in joining in the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the Turkish Republic by giving this account to-night of what has been done in Turkey during the last ten years, during so many of which I was able to gain first-hand knowledge of these events in the country itself and to enjoy the hospitality of its charming people. It has naturally been impossible to cover all the ground in the short time at my disposal and I have consequently had to omit many matters in which some of you may be particularly interested, for which I hope I may be forgiven. I thank you most sincerely for the patient manner in which you have listened to me.

No. 240

*Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon*

No. 411.

*Confidential.*

ANGORA, October 31, 1933

(Received November 17, 1933)

Sir,

In continuation of my despatch No. 402 of the 28<sup>th</sup> October, I have the honour to report that the celebration on the following day of the tenth anniversary of the Turkish Republic passed off as successfully as the most ardent supporter of the new régime could have desired. The proceedings began with the reception of the Diplomatic Corps by the President of the Republic at the early hour of 9.15 A.M., when the Soviet Ambassador, as doyen, presented the congratulations of himself and his colleagues, laying stress on Turkey's cultural and economic progress in the past ten years. I enclose herein a copy of the Gazi's cordially-worded reply, which he delivered in clear tones and with a French accent which might have been envied by many of the diplomatists present. All then left the Chamber of Deputies for the race-course, where the review was to be held. There, after a rather long interval of waiting, the arrival of the President was greeted with great enthusiasm, considering the rather undemonstrative Turkish nature and the fact that the crowd was composed of stolid villagers from the surrounding country, as well as of townspeople from Constantinople, Smyrna and other urban centres.

2. The gazi was accompanied by Voroshiloff, Karakhan and the other distinguished Russian visitors, referred to in my despatch No. 403 of the 28<sup>th</sup> October, who were Turkey's guests of honour for the occasion, and after driving slowly round the race-course, for a preliminary inspection of the troops, the

presidential party took up their stand on the central tribune. The Gazi then opened the proceedings with an address to the Turkish people, which was audible to all present by means of loud-speakers and was also broadcast to the whole country. I enclose herein a copy of the French version, which was distributed among the Diplomatic Corps. The speech was delivered with much emphasis and spirit and received with frequent applause, though it was noticeable that the references to the cultivation of the fine arts aroused no enthusiasm. The speech was remarkable for the fact that 61 per cent. of the words used in it were taken from early and primitive Turkish, 33 per cent. were words in common use to-day, and 6 per cent. were "literary" words - possibly unintelligible to the man-in-the-street. After the speech a choir, which had been practising strenuously for days, sang a special tenth anniversary hymn set to music by Zeki Bey, leader of the Philharmonic Orchestra of the Presidency of the Republic. In this connexion it is curious to note that a competition had been held to decide on a musical version of the new hymn, and Zeki Bey, one of the competitors, had obtained that his version alone should be commended, by the simple method of rendering his rivals' versions outrageously when his orchestra was called on to play all the versions before the Gazi.

3. The hymn was followed by a review which was, fittingly, on a more imposing scale than in past years, and was indeed a remarkable proof of modern Turkey's organising powers, not a single hitch occurring throughout. The martial bearing and general smartness of the troops, some 10,000 in number, were even more conspicuous than on previous occasions, which is saying a great deal, while as regards equipment, there were several new and interesting features, including a number of diminutive tanks, which I understand are of Russian manufacture. Regimental standards were carried for the first time. After the seemingly interminable ranks of boy scouts and girl guides which followed the fighting forces came detachments of women nurses, male and female university students, wrestlers, fencing girls and other athletes, and girls from the Ismet Pasha Enstitüsü and similar State institutions, but the most novel feature of this year's review was the participation, at the rear of the three hours' procession, of crowds of villagers on horseback or on foot, in native or European dress, including some women (mostly partly veiled) and even a few hojas. Each contingent was preceded by a banner, displaying the name of the village, behind which walked or rode the mayor, followed by the members of the village council. It was noticed that the Gazi, who was in excellent form throughout, acknowledged with special satisfaction the acclamations of these humble representatives of the nation, many of whom had no doubt served in the War of Independence under his command. At intervals during the review some eighty-odd aeroplanes came up from the distant horizon in moderately good formation and flew low over the heads of participants and

onlookers, but, fortunately for all concerned, refrained from any attempt at "stunts" of a dangerous nature.

4. I will reserve for a subsequent despatch some account of the ball at the Angora Palace on the evening of the 29<sup>th</sup> October and of the ceremonies, connected with the anniversary celebrations, which took place on the two following days.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

F.O. 371/16984/ E. 6978

F.O. 424/279, part. 26, p.38-39, No.41.

Enclosure in No. 240

*Reply of President of the Turkish Republic,  
to address by the Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps.*

Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, je remercie chaleureusement l'honorable corps diplomatique des félicitations et souhaits qu'il a bien voulu m'adresser par votre entremise. Je vous remercie aussi tout particulièrement des paroles aimables par lesquelles vous avez bien voulu accomplir cette mission.

Nous fêtons aujourd'hui le Dixième Anniversaire de la République.

Vous avez assisté personnellement, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, à la naissance de ce régime et à son évolution. Je suis donc heureux de saluer en vous l'éminent doyen du corps diplomatique et l'ami éprouvé de notre pays.

Il m'est particulièrement agréable d'être entouré, à cette occasion, par les membres du corps diplomatique, que je salue cordialement.

Messieurs, notre politique extérieure ne s'est jamais départie de la ligne de conduite qu'elle s'est tracée dès le début. Elle a toujours visé au développement du pays, dans la paix, génératrice de la prospérité des peuples. Ce développement, nous le souhaitons, plein et entier, à toutes les nations.

Messieurs les chefs de Mission, je vous prie de transmettre à vos gouvernements l'expression de toute ma gratitude, avec les remerciements du peuple turc pour les souhaits qu'ils vous ont chargés de m'apporter ici, et pour l'amitié que vous voulez bien témoigner à notre égard.

Je tiens aussi à vous exprimer, Monsieur le Doyen, toute ma satisfaction pour vos efforts personnels de concorde et d'amitié.

Messieurs, la Révolution Turque est constructive. Elle est l'oeuvre du patriotisme, allié à un idéal hautement humanitaire. Elle enseigne à ses enfants l'art de voir toutes les beautés, toutes les grandeurs, en même temps que celui de compatir à toutes les misères.

Comme un artisan fervent et convaincu de cette Révolution, je regarde le monde avec franchise, loyauté et amitié.

Je ne peux mieux exprimer mes sentiments à l'égard de vos pays qu'en vous donnant cette assurance sincère en ce jour d'enthousiasme et d'allégresse.

*F.O. 371/16984/E. 6978*

*F.O. 424/279, part. 26, p.39, No.41/1.*

### No. 241

*His Excellency Dr. Tevfik Rüştü Bey, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ankara,  
to Sir John Simon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, London*

*Telegram.*

*ANGORA, November 1, 1933*

*(Received November 2, 1933)*

Je prie Votre Excellence de recevoir personnellement et de transmettre au gouvernement de Sa Majesté britannique les plus vifs remerciements et l'expression de la profonde gratitude de mon gouvernement pour les félicitations sincères du gouvernement de Sa Majesté, ainsi que pour les vœux qu'il a bien voulu former à l'adresse de la Turquie à l'occasion du dixième anniversaire de la république.

Son Excellence Monsieur le Président de la République a été très sensible aux vœux exprimés dans votre télégramme. Il me charge de présenter au gouvernement de Sa Majesté ses meilleurs remerciements.

Votre Excellence peut être assurée que ces nobles sentiments du gouvernement de Sa Majesté britannique, auxquels nous sommes infiniment sensibles, sont dignement appréciés chez nous et que le bonheur et la prospérité en paix de la Grande Bretagne est un des plus sincères souhaits du peuple turc.

*F.O. 371/16983/E. 6635.*

## No. 242

*Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon*

No. 412

ANGORA, November 1, 1933

*Confidential.**(Received November 17, 1933)*

Sir,

In continuation of my despatch No. 411 of the 31<sup>st</sup> October, I have the honour to report that the official ball given at the Angora Palace on the night of the 29<sup>th</sup> October, in honour of the tenth anniversary of the Turkish Republic, was remarkable only for the more than usually dense crowds which thronged the rather limited space available, making dancing and indeed movement of any kind all but impossible. It had been intimated to the Diplomatic Corps that they would not be expected to attend in uniform, and as, moreover, the usual official dinner was omitted on this occasion, there was no possibility of a recurrence of the famous "fez incident" of last year. The omission got over the difficulty of satisfactorily seating the distinguished Soviet guests and the members of the Diplomatic Corps, and taken with the permission given to diplomatists not to wear uniform must have been a cause of relief to the Gazi himself, who may well have felt that, with the best will in the world, he might not be able to contain himself at the sight of the Egyptian Minister's offending headgear while in the condition necessitated by the joyousness of the occasion.

2. The Gazi arrived at the ball after midnight, accompanied by the Prime Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Voroshiloff, Karakhan and the other principal Russian visitors. As the Gazi entered arm-in-arm with Voroshiloff, it seemed to many that Turco-Soviet mutual support was indeed a necessity in the particular circumstances. The Gazi was, however, able to perform with a fair show of dignity the betrothal ceremony of Tefik Rüstü Bey's daughter with a promising young official from her father's Ministry. The President emerged later from the buffet, leaning heavily on his Russian guests. After a rest in the room of the manager of the hotel, his Excellency was seen to leave the building at the unusually early hour of 3 A.M., with a much steadier gait than would have been thought possible a short time before.

3. The celebrations of the anniversary were continued over the two following days, during which the town remained gaily decorated by day and brilliantly illuminated by night. Meetings were held everywhere, and the achievements of the republic were explained to the public by hundreds of orators. The walls were eloquent with posters pictorially representing the superiority of the new régime over the ancient, and the press came out with 60-page editions describing the work of the past ten years. On the 30<sup>th</sup> October the new Agricultural Institute was formally opened, the large attendance including members of the Diplomatic

Corps. On the same day the General Staff gave a tea-party at the Military Club in honour of the Russian visitors, and broke with their tradition of unfriendliness towards foreigners to the extent of issuing invitations to the whole Diplomatic Corps. The General Staff went further, and ordered that an after-noon party be given to foreign naval attachés on board the *Yavuz*, anchored in the Bosphorus. The principal event of the 31<sup>st</sup> October was the inauguration of a new hospital, a building equipped with the most modern fittings, regardless of cost, but possessing for the present only one nurse, a German. A permanent feature of the celebrations was an educational exhibition held in the Ismet Pasha Institute under the auspices of the Ministry of Public Instruction.

4. During the whole period of the celebrations messages of congratulation from every State poured in, and were given grateful publicity. The message from you, Sir, was one of the first to arrive and evoked a very cordial response. Great prominence was given to the *Times* article on the tenth anniversary of the republic. Special delegations from Germany, Hungary, Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Roumania brought the good wishes of their respective nations, and the participation of official and non-official bodies in celebrations at Turkish diplomatic missions abroad were fully reported and acknowledged with great satisfaction.

5. In the universal chorus of congratulation and commendation the precocious young republic must have felt that in the short time of its existence it had arrived at man's estate, that it has attained a recognised prestige, and that it can take its place on equal terms among the nations of the world.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

*F.O. 371/16984/E.6979.*

*F.O. 424/279, part. 26, p.39-40, No.42.*

## No. 243

*Extract from The New Britain of the 1<sup>st</sup> November 1933*

### TRANSFORMATION IN TURKEY

Turkey has been presented by the Moscow Government with six Aeroplanes as a friendly gesture to mark the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Turkish Republic. The celebrations took place on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday of this week, after more than two months of preparations. The metamorphosis through which Turkey has gone under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal is one of the greatest achievements of modern statecraft. Ten years ago Turkey was in a chaotic



condition with no hope for a future. It was graft-ridden corrupt, and nothing but a fragmentary remnant of a decayed nation. To-day Turkey is an almost European country. How rapid was the emancipation for women illustrated by the fact that the country has now women judges, and a post mistress general. Some thousands of political prisoners will be released as the result of a general amnesty.

## No. 244

*Gazi Mustafa Kemal, Président de la République Turque,  
à Son Excellence Sir George Clerk, Londres*

*Telegram.  
En clair*

ANKARA, Le 2 Novembre 1933

Son Excellence le Très Honorable Sir George Clerk, Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Britannique, Foreign Office, London.

Je remercie vivement Votre Excellence de son aimable télégramme et je lui envoie mon souvenir amical.

GAZİ M. KEMAL

F.O. 371/16983/E. 6635.

## No. 245

*Mr. Morgau to Sir John Simon*

No. 413.

ANGORA, November 2, 1933  
(Received November 17, 1933)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the annual ceremony of the opening of the Grand National Assembly was performed, as in previous years, on the 1<sup>st</sup> November. A French translation of the speech delivered by the President of the Republic on this occasion is enclosed herein.

2. The speech differs from the colourless utterance of a year ago in that it contains more or less cordial references by name to all the countries whose leaders have visited Turkey in the course of the last few months - Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Roumania, Hungary and Russia. The Russian visit, though last in point of time, was given first place in the speech, and the Gazi's cordial references to the Russian friendship evoked instantaneous and hearty applause. In the case of Greece the cheers came noticeably late, but were hearty enough when the Deputies realised what was expected of them. The country which came off worst,

both in the speech and the reaction of the Assembly, was Bulgaria, whose obdurate refusal to sign pacts with her neighbours has caused considerable resentment in political circles in this country.

3. Other points of interest in the speech were the Gazi's emphasis on the necessity of completing the industrial equipment of the country, and of taking a firm resolution to produce a balanced budget, and also the stress he laid on the importance to be attached to the means and the forces of national defence.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

F.O. 371/16984/E. 6980

F.O. 424/279, part. 26, p. 40, No. 43.

No. 246

*Extract from The Liverpool Post of the 2 November 1933*

#### PROGRESS IN TURKEY

An interesting summary of the progress and achievements in the first decade of the Turkish Republic since the proclamation of October 29, 1923, and the election of Mustafa Kemal to the presidency, has just issued. The publication embraces all departments of the State and includes informative and useful statistics, illustrating the tremendous advances, made under the Republican régime.

Chapters are devoted to the fundamental changes introduced into the Law of the country; the great developments in education, public works, agriculture, trade, transport and social relief work; and the reorganisation for the national defence services.

"The Turkish Army," it is pointed out, "the greatest pride of the nation, which has secured the independence of the country under tremendous difficulty and privations is to-day well organised, and disposes of the most modern and efficient arms and ammunition. The Turkish Navy has been strengthened by the building, in European ship yards of a number of destroyers and submarines."

## No. 247

*Extract from Glasgow Evening News of November 3<sup>rd</sup> 1933*

## TURKEY TO-DAY AND TEN YEARS AGO

By Jenny H. Hanson

To the man in the street with no political horizon beyond the sea-girt shores of Britain, the fact that the Turkish Republic celebrated its tenth anniversary on the last Sunday of October, may have made no impression. Turkey may conceivably spell to many only carpets, confits and cigarettes, though as a nation we were tragically conscious of its existence from 1919 to 1922 when that Near Eastern adventure, the Greco-Turkish war was in progress!

Yet the history of this laborious decade, under the leadership of Gazi Mustafa Kemal is perhaps the greatest epic in modern history. This Turkish Gazi is indeed an embodiment of the soul of the Turkish people to-day and has lifted the country from the morass of mediaevalism to the regeneration of peaceful independence and material and moral progression. Here is a man who was ready for his cue on the stage of history and who still plays a hero's part among the men of his time! He saved a nation from humiliation and has literally made the desert blossom like the rose. Ankara is now the permanent head-quarters of the Republican Government.

Before he came into power this abandoned treeless, flowerless, unwatered village of the Middle Ages, was but a hamlet amid naked hills, deserted fields, and marshes! To-day, it is a modern city in the heart of Anatolia with magnificent buildings, great avenues, and parks! He has combated the negligence and indifference of the old regime with regard to the architectural and technical developments of other Turkish towns as well. And here the pioneer Scot has had a hand in this work of construction and exploration. Modern Constantinople (now Istanbul) possesses a unique type of dwelling called the "unit" house, which can be added to in mathematical proportion in the fashion of the combination bookcase!

It was the late Mr. Charles Mackintosh, of the Glasgow school of art, that was very much responsible for the development of this style of architecture. Another Scotsman, Mr. F. Douglas Watson holds a name of high repute in Turkey to-day as he built up its telephone service, and his successor in this work of remarkable growth in the postal services under the Republican regime is of the same nationality!

And to have glimpses of modern Turkey through the eyes of another Scotsman one has only to view the stimulating work of that rising Cambuslang artist, Mr. Graham Murray. For his exhibited pictures of Istanbul will do more than any written word to make this city of ancient mosques and modern buildings clear to the mind's eye!

Diplomatically too, Scotland holds its own in this land of the Crescent and the Star. A Glasgow writer, Mr. J. Burns-Cameron, of Blythswood square, is the present Honorary Consul for Turkey, in Scotland. He reports that the trading relationships between this Republic and our own country are on the friendly increase. Turkish banking directors paid a visit quite recently to Glasgow and intimated their appreciation of our banking methods and their sincere desire to foster better relationships between their country and our own. Incidentally, Turkey was first in the field in introducing an "exchange control" for the purpose of eliminating speculation and regulating the monetary policy. To facilitate currency circulation too, its Government has recently decided upon the coinage of silver.

At present, Turkish capital and labour are becoming more and more predominant and powerful in foreign trade, and the activities of special organisations and bodies established at home and abroad have considerably contributed to an enlarging of trade relations with other countries.

Turkey is a material market as well as an inspiring story of social evolution. All is grist that comes to the mill of commerce. Thousands of empty hundredweight bags were recently requested to be shipped from this city to Turkey to be used for their own transport use! But linoleum, rubber goods and Singer sewing machines are among the goods which Glasgow ships to this Near Eastern Republic, and Galashiles sends woollen manufactures.

Cement, soap, leather, cotton goods, woollen goods, corn and flour, are Turkey's industrial treasures. Coal, chromium, emery, lead, lignite and copper are its mining wealth. Factories have been started for the extraction and purification of olive oil and other vegetable oils, for the manufacture of biscuits, metal works and paper.

What then, has this Turkish soldier, Gazi Mustafa Kemal done for his country? He has torn the veil from the face, his countrywomen has removed the screens behind which Turkish women travelled in trams, and has lifted the fez from the heads of the men. He has brought about a fundamental change in justice, he has made possible cultural education by means of normal, kindergarten, high schools and universities; he has established an agricultural institute, he has built bridges, roads and canals and he has utilised water currents and drained marshes. The Gazi has awakened his country.

Now railways have come into existence, electricity exists, in all the principal towns, the deplorable sanitary conditions of Turkey under the old regime have been improved and the establishment of post offices and an air line, telegraphic and telephonic services, have made a new Western State in Europe.

The Turkish Army is the greatest pride of the nation, and its Navy has been strengthened by the building in European shipyards of a number of destroyers and

submarines. There is also now a Turkish airforce. To-day, the policy of the Turkish Government is "peace at home, peace abroad". Would that all nations, from Turkey to Thibet, might move towards the divine event of international peace as swiftly as this oriental Republic has moved in the last ten years from the shackles of the Middle Ages to a position of prestige and power among the people of the world.

### No. 248

Extract from *The Spectator* of November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1933

#### THE REGENERATION OF TURKEY

Of all the possible and probable causes of war in Europe, twenty five years ago, none was more scandalously conspicuous than the state of the Turkish Empire. The rejoicings which have accompanied the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Turkish Republic remind us that a once constant danger to world peace has been definitely removed - the apparently insoluble Turkish problem has been solved. The fate of the pivotal territory between two continents has been settled, and settled satisfactorily. No longer would it be possible for ambitious Central European Powers to look for an outlet to the Aegean or privileged access to Asiatic markets by dismembering Turkey or wringing concessions from her Government. The old Turkey has already been dismembered; it has ceased to be an Empire; and from its heart in Asia Minor has sprung up a nation compact, confident, strong within its borders but unaggressive, with the promise of a sound social and economic life of its own. To those who knew the country before the war, modern Turkey is a miracle, whose happening is an unqualified blessing to the whole world as well as to herself.

A great part of the credit for this remarkable transformation - which appears to involve a change in the soul of the people no less than a change in government - must be given to one man, the Gazi Mustafa Kemal. A long chain of circumstances over which he had no control provided Turkey with the heaven-sent opportunity; but his was the genius which recognized it, diving the causes of weakness in the past, and the measures immediately available for removing them. The supreme defect of the old Turkey was that it was an Empire - an unnatural, ill-assorted jumble of territories, races and religions. The Gazi saw that the salvation of Turkey lay in dropping the empire and abandoning all ambitions to retain or regain it, and becoming a small but compact nation. The greatness of his scheme lay in its modesty; the magnificence of its contribution to social regeneration sprang from its sacrifices.

The old Turkey was a constant cause of intrigue among the Powers because it was so obviously tottering. It was held together by nothing but the military supremacy of the Sultan and his power of appealing, in the capacity of Caliph, to Pan-Islamic fanaticism. There was no supreme nation, no vocal public opinion, no check upon corruption. The whole Empire was ground down by taxes because corrupt and incompetent government is expensive and huge armies were needed to keep the rebellious Greeks, Bulgars and Serbs of Macedonia, to cow the Armenians and suppress occasional insurrections in Arabia. Turkey was declared to be rotten to the core. The rottenness was not removed by the Young Turks. Fired with enthusiasm for Liberty and Reform, they were hailed as Saviours in 1908, when they captured the Army, and set up a Parliamentary Constitution. But the rule of the Young Turks, for all their fine talk, was no better than that of the Sultan. In the nature of things, it could not be. For the Turkish Empire, as an Empire, had no *raison d'être*; it had no organic life; and the Young Turks were even more imperialistic than the Sultan himself. They lost Macedonia in the first Balkan War, and the rest of the Empire fell to pieces in the Great War. Worn, battered, helpless, what was left of Turkey in 1921 seemed faced with a dismal future. Yet in 1922, appealing, as the Young Turks had never done, to the Nationalism of the Turks of Asia Minor, Mustafa Kemal defied both the Constantinople Government and the Powers, swept the Greek armies out of Asia, and in 1923 re-started Turkish History by abolishing the Sultanate and the Caliphate, and proclaiming the Republic from the purely Turkish city of Angora.

In a sense that was only the beginning of his work. But he had started right. The accident which compelled him to begin as the opponent of the old gang at Constantinople served to reveal to him the destiny of the new Turkey. She was to strip herself of all those grandiose pretensions based on fifteenth-century conceptions of conquest which had survived in the Ottoman Empire as the most monstrous anachronism in Modern History. Abolish the monarchy, abolish the Caliphate, get rid of the whole paraphernalia of Pan-Islamism on the one side and, on the other, friction due to the presence of Christian minorities. The Greeks of the Asiatic littoral were bundled out of the country into Macedonia and Thrace, and Turks from Macedonia were brought back in their place - perhaps the biggest deal in population-exchange that has ever been made.

The task to which he turned next was that in which he was to prove that no nation ought to be regarded as irreclaimable; that the defects of sluggishness, superstition, lack of initiative and Fatalism which many friends of the Turks had believed to be ingrained in the Turkish character were in reality the consequences of bad government and a rotten system. The man who had defied the Powers and cleared out the Greeks proved strong enough to do something more difficult still - to abolish the fez, to rescue women from the disguise of the *yâsmak* and the seclusion of the harem, and substitute a system of civil law for the old religious law



of Islam. He reformed the alphabet, introducing the Latin in place of the Arabic script. He set up secular schools and universities for young persons of both sexes, and has lately insisted on greater attention to the teaching of English. The peasant farmers have been set on their feet by loans from agricultural credit co-operative societies and railways and roads have been constructed for the transport of their produce. By balancing his budgets and avoiding borrowing he has made it possible for foreign Powers to use, as of old, the leverage of debt as an excuse for interference in Turkish affairs.

Turkey, under Mustafa Kemal, has ceased to be a danger to herself and to others. It has been an extraordinary piece of good fortune for her that at the time when she had a genius in charge of her affairs the policy of her principal rival was for the most part under the direction of another genius - M. Venizelos. M. Venizelos had that imaginative statemanship which enabled him to divine the purpose of the Turkish ruler. The grounds of difference had been removed when the exchange of populations was complete. A Greece friendly with Turkey would be far more secure than a Greece constantly at variance with her. A Treaty for limitation of armaments, a Treaty of arbitration, and commercial treaties have been concluded between the two countries. Secure at home, unincumbered by debt, on good terms with Greece, whilst always cultivating a diplomatic friendship with Russia, Mustafa Kemal has been in a position to develop a constructive foreign policy in relation to the Balkan States on the West and Asiatic States to the South and East. The "Sick Man of Europe" has disappeared, and in its place has appeared an efficient State, which would have gratified President Wilson as a worthy embodiment of his hard-worked doctrine of self-determination.

## No. 249

*Sir P. Loraine to Sir John Simon*

No. 962.

CAIRO, November 4, 1933

(Received November 13, 1933)

I have the honour to inform you that the Turkish Minister celebrated the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Turkish Republic by giving a soirée at the Legation on the 29<sup>th</sup> October last. Invitations were issued to the Residency, the Corps Diplomatique, the Cabinet, to some high Egyptian officials and to a number of notables. I attended with Lady Loraine and was surprised to find that there were no Egyptian Ministers present. The Turkish Minister made no secret of his indignation at what he regarded as a deliberate boycott. According to him he had not only sent out invitations to all the Ministers, but also to twelve members of the Foreign Office. Yet not a single Egyptian official put in an appearance, except one minor Chamberlain of the Palace, who did not come as the representative of the

King. Şevki Bey was quite convinced that his *soirée* had been deliberately boycotted on instructions from the King. He insisted that such universal abstention could not be fortuitous.

2. In view of the trouble which had arisen over the *tarbouch* incident last year I thought it advisable to approach the Prime Minister with a view to seeing whether anything could be done to smooth over matters between the Egyptian Government and the Turkish Legation. I therefore instructed the oriental secretary to tell him that I had been surprised to find no Egyptian Ministers at the *soirée*, that the atmosphere was obviously troubled, that evidently the Turkish Government would not be pleased by the absence of any Egyptian Government representative from this important *fête*, and that I would, therefore, like to know what the Prime Minister proposed to do with a view to conciliating the Turkish Minister. The Prime Minister stated that the absence of the Ministers was purely accidental and was due to the fact that they had been in Alexandria since the 26<sup>th</sup> ultimo, where, on the 29<sup>th</sup> ultimo, there had been a Cabinet Council under the Presidency of the King. It was pointed out to Abdel Fattah Yahia that he and at least one other Minister had returned to Cairo at 10 o'clock on the night of the *soirée*. Anyhow, it was suggested to him, a national *fête* on this significance to which the Ministers had been invited some time beforehand was sufficiently important for the Government to make arrangements for its representation at it.

3. The Prime Minister admitted the reasonableness of this criticism, and remarked that the head of the Protocol should have kept the Cabinet up to the mark. He had sent the head of the Protocol to Şevki Bey to express his regrets and to explain the situation. By way of amends he was arranging that some of the Ministers should go to the *soirée* given by the Turkish Société de Bienfaisance that evening, i.e., the 30<sup>th</sup> ultimo, and that he himself should be represented by Salih Samy Bey. Owing to a heavy cold he himself could not go out that evening.

4. In fact, the Ministers of Finance, War and Waqfs, the Governor of Cairo, one of the Under-Secretaries for the Interior and a junior Chamberlain, officially representing the King, attended this second *soirée* which was being given by the Société de Bienfaisance under the patronage of the Turkish Minister. The Turkish Minister came in rather late, shook hands with the Egyptian Ministers and officials who were all sitting together and then passed on and sat at a distant table as an ordinary guest. Discreet efforts of the oriental secretary to get him to go and talk to the Ministers were quite unsuccessful. He declared that this was not his party, that his party had been on the previous evening and had been boycotted by the Government. He had shaken hands with the Ministers on his arrival and he considered that he had fulfilled the requirements of courtesy. The head of the Turkish colony, the chief host, came up and told Şevki Bey that the Chamberlain had pointed out that, as he was representing the King, he would be put in a

difficult position if Sevki abstained from sitting with him. Sevki returned a categorical answer to the effect that he would not go as this was not his party.

5. Fortunately, Zia Bey, the son of the former Turkish Ambassador in London, rather adroitly combined a simultaneous move to the buffet of the two tables at which the Ministers and Sevki Bey respectively were sitting. This resulted in a general contact with the Ministers, and Sevki finally was seen plunged in a long conversation with the Chamberlain. It is to be hoped that the Chamberlain was able to soothe him a little. Sevki Bey had previously told the oriental secretary that he was going to report the matter to Angora and that he did not know what his Government would do.

6. I can only hope that Sevki Bey's wrath will have cooled before he composes his report and that Angora will not take things tragically. It cannot be denied that the Egyptian Government, intentionally or unintentionally, have been guilty of an act of formal discourtesy. The head of the Protocol assured the oriental secretary that the abstention of the Egyptian Ministers and officials from attending the soirée at the Turkish Legation was purely fortuitous, but obviously it is not easy to make this appear credible to the Turks, who already have a prejudice against the Egyptian Government.

7. I am forwarding a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Embassy at Angora.

I have, &c.

PERCY LORAINÉ  
High Commissioner

F.O. 424/279/E.6879.

F.O. 424/279, part. 26, p.36-37, No.39.

No. 250

*Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon*

No. 433.

*Confidential.*

ANGORA, November 10, 1933

(Received November 17, 1933)

Sir,

In continuation of my despatch No.403 of the 28<sup>th</sup> October, regarding the arrival in Turkey of a considerable Soviet delegation for the purpose of returning a visit paid to Russia by the Turkish Prime Minister and his suite in 1932, and of taking part in celebrations on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the Turkish Republic, I have the honour to report that the delegates stayed in Angora from the 27<sup>th</sup> October to the 1<sup>st</sup> November, and then

left for Smyrna via Eskişehir, Kutahya and Balıkesir, in which last place they halted for less than an hour. While at Smyrna, a visit was made to the historic ruins at Bergama. On leaving Smyrna, the delegation visited the Dardanelles battlefields and Troy, and arrived in Constantinople on the 6<sup>th</sup> November. After a short excursion to Mudania and Brusa, the delegation returned to Constantinople, whence it sailed early in the morning of the 10<sup>th</sup> November for Russia. With it went a Russian aeroplane detachment, which had come to Turkey, under the command of Air General Ilin, to present four aeroplanes to the Turkish army. (A local newspaper, reporting on one of these aeroplanes, stated that it could carry fourteen passengers.) After delivering the aeroplanes at Angora the air detachment, flying twelve aeroplanes, visited Eskişehir, where there is an aviation school and repair shops, and rejoined the main delegation at Constantinople, carrying with it a promise that a Turkish air flotilla would visit the U.S.S.R.

2. The enthusiasm of the Turkish authorities during the stay of their Soviet guests was extreme, their hospitality lavish and continuous, and their welcome of the warmest. The Soviet guests rose to the occasion with an ever-increasing affability. Utterances on both sides were of the most flattering and amiable character. The Turkish press went early into ecstasy and remained there. Tevfik Rustü Bey lived with the delegation day and night and accompanied them everywhere. The Ministry of Defence threw off its reserve, lifted the veil of secrecy and showed the Soviet delegates its army, navy and air force, its military establishments, its military factory at Kırık Kale and its aeroplane school at Eskişehir. It organised social functions to enable Turkish officers to fraternise not only with the Russians but with other foreigners, and lodged the Soviet officers at Angora in the Turkish officers' club. Fevzi Pasha, Chief of the General Staff, Ali Sait and Fahrettin Pashas, Inspectors of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Armies respectively, were in constant touch with the delegates, and İzzettin Pasha, Inspector of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Army, accompanied them to the Dardanelles and showed them over the battlefields. The Soviet delegates declared themselves much impressed with all they saw, and especially admired the discipline and strength of the defence forces and the quality of the defence organisation.

3. The civil authorities conducted the Soviet mission to Turkish schools, museums, cotton mills at Smyrna, an agricultural institute and a model hospital at Angora (both fully equipped with the most up-to-date German apparatus), a sugar refinery at Eskişehir, exhibitions of fine arts, commerce and education at Angora, and silk factories at Brusa, and thus gave striking proof of Turkey's cultural and economic progress.

4. As was to be expected, at every international function during the festivities connected with the anniversary of the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the presence of the Soviet Delegation overshadowed all else. At the review of troops on

the 29<sup>th</sup> October the Soviet delegates took the place of honour near the Gazi, and saw 10,000 Turkish troops pass before them, followed by boy scouts, girls guides, athletes, university students and villagers. Little was seen on that occasion of the delegations of highly-placed Germans, Hungarians, Bulgarians and Greeks, of the Yugoslav journalists and the Roumanian Moslems who had come to Angora to join in Turkey's rejoicings. At the opening of the Grand National Assembly on the 1<sup>st</sup> November, where the representatives of the U.S.S.R. occupied the presidential box, the Gazi's reference in his speech to Turco-Soviet friendship, "tested through fifteen years, and an important factor in international peace," was welcomed with exceptional applause. On the 29<sup>th</sup> October the usual official dinner to the Diplomatic Corps was omitted because the Protocol Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs could not solve the problem of seating Soviet representatives and diplomatists to the satisfaction of both. So the diplomatists went hungry, while the Russians dined with the Gazi in the presidential house.

5. Public speeches were delivered by İsmet Pasha and M. Voroshilov at the official banquet given to the Soviet delegation at Angora on the 28<sup>th</sup> October. İsmet Pasha kept to generalities. He recalled that Kemalist Turkey had established its first international contact with the U.S.S.R., and that the friendship then established, based on a respect for each other's institutions, had developed into closer rapprochement, and into collaboration for mutual good. He prophesied a brilliant future for Turco-Russian friendship. M. Voroshilov's reply was less vague. He said that the fact that Turkey and the U.S.S.R. were bound in the bonds of the closest friendship was universally known and gave rise to no suspicions in any quarter. Their friendship was tested during the years of effort of both nations to protect the cause of peace against dangers which threatened it. The U.S.S.R., fighting for its existence against the armed intervention of foreign imperialists, followed with sympathy Turkey's struggle with enemies aiming at the destruction of its independence. Turkey's victory was regarded as a success of both countries. Their friendship would grow more intense, their economic and cultural association would become closer in coming years. Their rapprochement would be a valuable contribution to the cause of universal peace. But all friends of peace must take all steps to protect their peoples from sanguinary wars. The efforts of Turkey and the U.S.S.R. for peace would be ineffective unless backed by a firm resolution to defend at all costs their own independence. Neither had any ideas of conquest; the armies of both were factors for peace, but both must continually consolidate the defensive capabilities of the two countries, and develop and improve the strength of their two armies. In the economic and cultural field, the U.S.S.R. which is now successfully executing its second quinquennial plan, notes with joy Turkey's successes, and announces that it is determined to give a wide expansion to Turco-Soviet economic cultural and scientific collaboration.



6. I enclose the text of a Turkish communiqué, issued on the 3<sup>rd</sup> November, on the conclusion of the Soviet visit to Angora. It emphasises that the Soviet delegation has come to return the visit made by Ismet Pasha to Moscow in 1932, and that the collaboration of the two countries has as its sole aim the consolidation of peace.

7. On the occasion of the final departure of the delegation from Constantinople, Ismet Pasha made a declaration to the Anadolu Agency to the effect that the U.S.S.R. representatives had been received several times by the Gazi, who had had official and semi-official conversations with them on all the questions which were of interest to the two countries. The result of these conversations was that Turco-Russian friendship was closer than ever, and would become still closer in the cause of peace.

8. The tenor of the affirmations of both sides is that there will be a mutual strengthening of friendship for the purposes of world peace. There is no reference to any fresh agreements between the two countries. Undoubtedly the military character of the head of the Soviet mission and the visit to the Dardanelles have given rise to the suspicion that a military collaboration has been arranged, and that support has been promised for Turkey's proposal to remilitarise the Straits, but I can find no proof that such results have proceeded from the visit. As I reported in my telegram No. 32 of the 1<sup>st</sup> November, Tevfik Rüşti Bey denied that any fresh Turco-Russian understanding had been come to. The counsellor of the Embassy of the U.S.S.R. also confirmed Tevfik Rüşti Bey's denial. He added, it is true, that the friendship of the two countries was such that formal agreements were unnecessary and fresh pacts could add nothing to that friendship. The Roumanian Minister, deeply suspicious, thinks, nevertheless, that the U.S.S.R. and Turkey can hardly be so cynical as now to enter into a military understanding which would discount, so shortly after their conclusion, the value of the agreement recently made between Roumania and Turkey, and of Roumania's approach to Russia following on her adherence to the pact defining an aggressor.

9. There is no doubt that, short of a military understanding, and taking into consideration Tevfik Rüşti Bey's often repeated declarations that Turkey intended to be on friendly terms with all nations and to enter into entangling alliances with none, Turkey's friendship with Russia could hardly be greater, and the two countries could hardly be in more close association. The long stay of the Soviet delegation in Turkey and its tours in the country may be considered to be due to the desire to show an adequate appreciation of the 1932 Turkish visit to Russia, which lasted about a fortnight. The close association of the two countries needed no publicly advertised inspections of Turkish military establishments and military points of interest to reveal its character. A friendship which manifests itself by presenting even a few guns, tractors, tanks and aeroplanes needs, as far as its utility



10 Turkey is concerned, no formal agreement indications in Turkish official circles of sympathy with the U.S.S.R. vis-à-vis of Japan are symptomatic of the friendship. This friendship is a fact to be taken into consideration. Its confirmation by a formal agreement would definitely fix Turkey's position in the world grouping of Powers - a situation which Turkey hardly yet feels strong enough to desire. Until the time comes - and Turkey is rapidly growing in strength and prestige - Turkey is likely to take all the Russian help it can without committing itself, and in the meantime will aim at strengthening its forces so as to be able, if it so desires, to choose neutrality, and ensure it in any conflict involving its Russian neighbour.

10. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador in Moscow.\*

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

F.O. 371/16979/E. 6992.

F.O. 424/279, part.26, p.44-46, No.47.

\* Bu rapor üzerine, Foreign Office'in üst düzey görevlilerinden G. W. Rendel, Türk-Sovyet ilişkileri konusunda kendi yorumlarını içeren şu notu kaleme almış:

\* This despatch is interesting, as it indicates a closer rapprochement between Turkey and the Soviet Union than any of the numerous other rather spasmodic and rather artificial rapprochements which have occurred between them during recent years. Even if no pacts of agreements were actually concluded, it looks as though the results of the visit might be to give

Turkish international policy a somewhat more Russian orientation in the immediate future than it had in the immediate past.

"But this enthusiastic reception of the Soviet delegation seems to be symptomatic not only of a possible slight modification in the direction of Turkish foreign policy but also of a growing sympathy between the two nations in other directions. Both are rigidly materialistic in their political philosophy, and both aim at the creation of a severely standardised State with no room for any individualist variations. Both seem to me to be temperamentally militarist, even if the development of their political theories renders a period of peace necessary in each case. The racial intolerance of the one and the sociological intolerance of the other seem to me to make them both potential dangers to the rest of the world. On other hand, the Turkish political and social system is organised on such different lines from that of the Soviet Union, and Turkey is becoming so committed to the policy of Balkan peace and balance that there may be a reasonable hope that the natural and growing sympathy between the new Turkey and the new Russia will not develop into a real political danger at least for considerable time.

G.W. Rendel

## No. 251

*Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon*

No. 440.

*Confidential.*

ANGORA, November 11, 1933

*(Received November 17, 1933)*

Sir,

I have the honour to report that Herr Nadolny, until lately German Ambassador to Turkey and chief German representative at the Disarmament Conference, recently arrived at Angora as special German delegate, in order to be present at the official celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Turkish Republic. Herr Nadolny was received by the Turkish President on the day of the anniversary itself, despite the formidable demands on the latter's time which the celebrations must have entailed, and presented to his Excellency a cordial personal letter of congratulation from President Hindenburg, a French translation of which, as published in the press, is enclosed herein.

2. According to several Turkish newspapers, Herr Nadolny stated on this occasion that Germany was not arming, and that the propagandist assertions to the contrary emanated from those who wished to maintain the *status quo* of Versailles.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin.

I have, &amp;c.

JAMES MORGAN

F.O. 371/16784/E. 6998

F.O. 424/279, part. 26, p.46-47, No.48.

## Enclosure in No. 251

*Letter of Congratulation from President Hindenburg to President of the Turkish Republic on the Occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the Turkish Republic.*

*(Traduction.)*

M. le Président,

A l'occasion du dixième anniversaire de la République Turque, je présente à votre Excellence et à la nation turque mes félicitations les plus cordiales et celles du peuple allemand.

Tout le monde allemand, avec moi-même, a suivi avec un profond intérêt la consolidation, sous votre haute direction, de l'Etat turc moderne. Nous avons vu, avec une grande admiration, comment vous avez éveillé le nationalisme turc.

comment vous l'avez fortifié et de quelle main avisée vous avez ouvert, à votre nation laborieuse et progressive, la voie pour son élévation politique et économique, qui attire l'admiration du monde entier.

Il m'est un besoin d'assurer à votre Excellence que le peuple allemand n'oubliera jamais l'amitié qu'il a rencontrée, en des temps d'épreuves, chez la nation turque; au contraire, il la gardera toujours, il l'approfondira.

Je souhaite à votre haute nation un avenir encore plus heureux avec un progrès pacifique et une solide administration d'État.

Profitant de cette occasion, je forme les plus grands vœux pour votre bonheur personnel et je vous prie d'accepter ma haute considération et ma sincère amitié.

VON HINDENBURG

F.O. 424/279, part. 26, p.46-47, No.48/1.  
F.O. 371/16784/E, 6998

## No. 252

*Extract from Newcastle Journal of 13. 11. 1933*

MUSTAPHA KEMAL

**His task as Creator of Turkish Republic  
STORY OF TEN YEARS' RULE**

*By T.B. Martin, M.P.*

The Turkish Republic recently celebrated its tenth birthday. On October 29, 1923, it was proclaimed to the world that the struggle was over and the child was born: the Ottoman Empire had passed away, and a new Republic had inherited what was left of its territory and culture.

The man who had made this Republic possible Ghazi (meaning "conqueror", "leader"), Mustapha Kemal Pasha was unanimously elected the first President. He is still President.

Some years ago, in conversation with an important Turkish lady, I referred to Mustapha Kemal as the Mussolini of Turkey. "Oh please, she corrected me very politely, "you should say that Mussolini is the Mustapha Kemal of Italy! Our Ghazi came first you know;"

It was true. Discounting the Bolshevik dictatorship of Lenin, the President of the Turkish Republic was the first of the line of dictators whose activities have been watched with the greatest interest by democratic Britain. He was the founder and

the inspired leader of the new Turkey, and has been the chief architect of the amazing edifice, the ten-year-old Republic of Turkey.

Properly to understand the significance of the events of the past decade in the former and of the sultans then, it is necessary to look into the life-history of this remarkable man. He began life as a soldier, and he early became an outstanding young officer under the old régime.

#### FRUITS OF STUDY

He was always dissatisfied with the state of this country, and early in life he made himself troublesome to those in authority; but throughout these years he read widely and pursued with vigour and intelligence his military studies. The literary faculties he developed proved a useful ally to the statesman after his military genius had brought him successfully through his campaigns for the liberation of his country.

After a decade of study and activity, he found himself at Sofia as military attaché, when the Great War broke out. The great Enver Pasha held sway in Constantinople, and the entry of the young officer into active service marked the beginning of a feud between them which ended only with the defeat of Enver. The Dardanelles campaign brought Kemal a great military reputation. He was responsible for the defeat of the Allies in the memorable effort to win that road to Constantinople.

When the war ended he realised, to use his own words, that "in reality the very foundations of the Empire had broken down. Its existence was coming to an end. Its territory was partitioned. There was nothing left but a 'home' sheltering a handful of Turks. Ottoman Empire, independence, Padishah-Khalif, Government - all that was no more than idle words."

What was to be done? "Gentlemen," he said, "in that situation there was but the resolution to be taken: the creation of a new Turkish State, based on the national sovereignty, enjoying an independence without any limitation.

#### FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE

That was in the spring of 1919. The thrilling story of the following few years is an epic of a people's fight for independence. He gathered together the remnants of the battered Turkish forces in the high plateau of Anatolia, and made Ankara his head-quarters. It is now the capital of the Republic.

He fought the Italians and the Greeks, and even faced the British with success at Chanak. The millions of sturdy peasants, the backbone of the country, rallied round him with enthusiasm, and endured extreme hardship with amazing fortitude because they believed implicitly in the man who had made himself their leader.

Finally he came to power. The Sultan fled - on a British warship - and with him went the Caliphate. That fact is one of the most remarkable in history. The Caliph, the All-highest in the world of Islam, was deposed, and all the world wondered. India - all the East - was affected by this convulsion in the birthpangs of a new nation.

Having made the rebirth of Turkey possible, what has been achieved since the declaration of the Republic? What is the tale that can be told after a decade of recuperation and reconstruction?

Law and order has been established. The man who had dreamt of a new Turkey, who had "snatched triumph from disaster," a soldier statesman, was not too particular how order was established. Ruthlessness was frequently evident. Opponents were often met by the subtle cruelty which they themselves had used against opponents, and opposition was gradually silenced.

But order and peace was established, and the new virility of the nation was directed to the modernization of the State. A new legal code was worked out, and the law courts reconstituted. The old Arabic characters in Turkish script were replaced by the Latin. The Ghazi led the older generation in the return to the class-room, and people of all sections of the community learnt the new alphabet with enthusiasm.

#### FREEDOM FOR WOMEN

The lot of the peasants was enormously improved; they were delivered from the hands of ubiquitous moneylenders, and an Agricultural Bank was established to help them to re-equip themselves. New schools were established and a new technique of education adopted. Girls as well as boys were catered for, and the old segregation of the sexes disappeared.

The change in the position of women in the State is perhaps the most amazing and important of all the Ghazi's reforms. For all the young women of this new Turkey, and for any of the old who wish, the harem and the yashmak (veil) are things of the past. The mothers of the future generation live a full open life like their sisters of the West.

It is a colossal achievement on the part of the Turkish President. No wonder that the youth of Turkey worship their leader! He has given a new meaning to the lives of the young people of the nation, and has made it possible for them to take their place among the nations of the West.

And last, but most significant, the Ghazi has given the country peace and the passionate desire for peace abroad as well as at home. With their old enemies, Greece, and many neighbouring countries he has concluded treaties of conciliation and arbitration, and has made 27 trade agreements. From the very modern capital in the Anatolian hills the former victorious general devotes to the cause of peace that ability and ardour which he devoted to war and the rebuilding of his new Turkey.

## No. 253

*Viscount Chilston to Sir John Simon*

No. 629.

MOSCOW, November 18, 1933

*Confidential.**(Received November 24, 1933)*

Sir,

With reference to Mr. Strang's despatch No. 585 of the 24<sup>th</sup> October, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a translation, extracted from the *Moscow Daily News*, of telegrams sent by Kalinin to Mustafa Kemal and by Molotov to Ismet Pasha on the occasion of the return to Moscow of the delegation sent to Turkey by the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to take part in the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Turkish Republic.

2. The visit has aroused considerable enthusiasm in the Soviet press. In an article in the *Pravda* of the 14<sup>th</sup> November stress is laid upon the mutual interests of the two countries and the similarity of their recent development. The national elements of Turkey gained their victory against a backward, clerical and autocratic Administration, against the *Entente* and against Anglo-Greek intervention. They drew their strength from a legitimate hatred of two oppressions - plutocracy and foreign imperialism. It was the October revolution that destroyed their ancient enemy, Russian imperialism. The Soviet delegation saw with their own eyes the results of ten years of labour in the new Turkey; but the first thing they saw was the immense prestige enjoyed by the Soviet Union among the toiling masses of Turkey. The hospitable welcome accorded to them proved how deeply friendship for the U.S.S.R. has permeated the mass of the Turkish people.

3. I beg leave to enclose herein a translation of an article by Karakhan upon Soviet-Turkish relations, which appeared in the *Izvestiya* on the 28<sup>th</sup> October, in which special stress is laid upon cultural relations between the two countries.

4. In all Soviet press comment the fundamental differences between the Constitution of the Turkish Republic and that of the U.S.S.R. are calmly ignored, and it is probable that the ordinary uninstructed Russian reader is under the impression that there is little, if any, difference between the two.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Angora.

I have, &amp;c.

CHILSTON

F.O. 371/16979/E. 7195

F.O. 424/279, part 26, p. 48, No. 50.



Enclosure in No. 253

Extract from "Moscow Daily News" of 17<sup>th</sup> November, 1933**Kalinin Sends Messages to Turkish Government**

Kalinin, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR has sent the following telegram to the President of the Turkish Republic Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha:

"On the return to Moscow of the delegation sent by the Central Executive Committee and the Council of Peoples Commissars of the USSR to participate in the celebration of the 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Turkish Republic, I beg you to accept my deep gratitude for the friendly reception and the hearty welcome which you personally, the Turkish Government and the Turkish people have accorded the Soviet Government Delegation.

"This visit to the Turkish Republic, during one of her most glorious anniversaries, has given the Soviet Delegation an opportunity of observing at close range the magnificent achievements of new Turkey in the domain of politics, economics and culture, attained through the heroism of the Turkish people and your brilliant leadership.

"The warm regard shown to the Soviet Government Delegation which participated in your 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations was in the nature of a demonstration of Soviet-Turkish friendship, the foundations of which were laid during that period when, under your leadership, new Turkey entered into the most heroic stage of its struggle for independence.

"The unforgettable impression which the Soviet Government Delegation has carried away after its visit to Turkey confirms the correctness of the historical path of development of the peoples of both countries, a path which has brought them to complete mutual understanding, close cooperation and unswerving friendship.

"I am deeply confident that the visit of the Soviet Government Delegation to Turkey and the warm welcome it received, will tend still further to cement this friendship and will contribute to the fruitful cooperation of our two countries.

"Please accept, in my sincere and best wishes to the Turkish people and to you, personally.

MICHAEL KALININ  
Chairman of the Central Executive  
Committee of the USSR"

A similar telegram was sent by M.I. Kalinin to Khazim Pasha Chairman of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

V.M. Molotov, Chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars of the USSR sent a telegram to İsmet Pasha, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Turkish Republic, as follows:

"Kindly accept my very sincere thanks for the exceptional attention and the deeply friendly nature of the welcome accorded by the Turkish Government in the person of yourself, to the Soviet Government Delegation on its visit to your country.

"In your person I wish to congratulate a brilliant statesman of New Turkey, the memory of whose visit to Moscow has left an indelible impression and fostered a wider understanding and cooperation between the governments of our two countries.

"I am convinced that the personal contact which has been established between the Soviet Government Delegation and the statesmen of New Turkey, as well as the Soviet Government Delegation's participation in the celebration of the 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Turkish Republic, will lead to the further development and strengthening of the friendship and cooperation existing between our two countries, in the establishment of which you, personally, have played a prominent part.

V.M. MOLOTOV  
Chairman of the Council of  
Peoples Commissars"

(F.O. 371/16979/E. 7195)

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(Gazi Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) adı, cildin hemen  
her sayfasında geçtiğinden bu dizine alınmamıştır).

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## **TIPKI BASIMLAR**

(No. 287.) *Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson. — Received July 28.)*

(No. 287.)

Sir,

*Constantinople, July 24, 1930.*

I HAVE the honour to regret that I took the occasion of a flying visit from the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the President of the Republic at Yalova to have an interview with his Excellency before his return to the capital to-night.

2. Our conversation was mainly taken up with current business, and the only points of any importance, apart from the treatment of ex-King Amanullah and Teyfik Rüşto's alleged irritations at Iraq's support of the Kurdish movement, as to which I have already telegraphed to you, raised by his Excellency were the following:—

3. Teyfik Rüşto said that, now that the Kurdish question was to all intents and purposes liquidated, all that remained to be done being the mopping up of Kurds on Mount Ararat, a slow but inevitable process, he intended to insist on the Persians either showing practical proof of their ability to prevent anything of the sort occurring again, or if, as was highly probable, that was out of their power, then agreeing to a rectification of the Mount Ararat frontier in favour of Turkey so that she could ensure order and tranquillity in that region.

4. His Excellency also showed great eagerness to know what was the real situation in Egypt and what were the intentions of His Majesty's Government. I said that I could tell him no more than he himself had seen in the press, for that was all that I myself knew, but I could assure him that His Majesty's Government intended to maintain complete neutrality in the internal affairs of Egypt, and that any action on their part would be solely directed to fulfilling their international responsibilities, including the protection of foreign lives and property, if the Egyptian Government failed in their duty in this respect. Teyfik Rüşto asked me whether this meant all foreigners, and I replied that I could not imagine His Majesty's Government making any distinction between the various nationalities. He seemed relieved to hear this, as he had some apprehension as to the possible safety of his nationals.

5. Lastly, Teyfik Rüşto came out as definitely opposed to Pan-Europa. In his view, though the implications in the scheme were possibly unconscious, it amounted to an attempt to form a United States of Europe directed against America on the one hand, and Russia and Turkey on the other, a policy to which he could never agree. Smarter than that he would prefer to see Italy and Russia brought closer together with the help of Turkey. Nor could he imagine how Great Britain could fit herself into Pan-Europa. As his Excellency's time was very limited and my American colleague was already waiting to see him, he was unable to develop his interesting thesis further, but it is clear that M. Beudon's proposal will get little support from Ankara.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

#### TIPKİ HASIM

İngiliz Büyükelçisi Clerk, Dışişleri Bakanı Teyfik Rüşto ile görüşmesini Londra'ya rapor ediyor. Bakan, Avrupa Birliğine karşı olduğunu söylüyor.

(Değer 15'in tepkisi)

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson. — (Received August 3.)*

(No. 288.)

Sir,

*Constantinople, July 29, 1933*

I HAVE the honour to report that, according to the press, Memduh Sebek Bey, Turkish Ambassador at Tehran, has resigned nominally on grounds of ill-health.

2. Memduh Sebek Bey is to be succeeded by Husrev Bey, who since 1926 has represented Turkey at Sofia and until a few days ago was generally regarded as Ambassador-designate to Warsaw. He is some forty-five years of age, tall and good-looking though inclined to be ultra-European. A soldier by profession, he was military attaché at Athens in 1914, and during the war served with the Caucasian army.

3. Husrev Bey was one of the closest and closest friends of Mustafa Kemal during the national struggle, was a member of Bekir Sami Bey's mission to London in 1921, and in 1924 was rewarded by being made Minister at Budapest, whence he went later to Sofia. He has throughout maintained his friendship with the Czar, and is generally regarded as the most capable and successful of Ankara's diplomats.

4. There seems little doubt that the removal of Memduh Sebek Bey is a direct result of recent events on the Turco-Persian frontier, though it is possible that Sir R. Clive may be able to throw some light on this point. The choice of Husrev Bey as his successor seems to show that the Turkish Government attaches considerable importance to its representation at Tehran in the immediate future, and there is every reason to believe that the primary object of his mission will be to endeavour to secure for Turkey a substantial modification of the 1913 frontier.

5. In receiving Husrev Bey at Yalova, the President of the Republic is reported as having said to him that his mission would be to solidify Turco-Persian collaboration on the basis of existing friendship. The Turks wished to see their Persian brothers living in a strong country where security was complete. He was sure that Riza Shah shared these sentiments and that His Majesty would join in settling frontier incidents. The task entrusted to him, the Czar concluded, was a very delicate one, and for that reason he had chosen one of his earliest collaborators and one in whom he had the fullest confidence. He would so inform the Shah in Husrev Bey's letter of credence, and he had no doubt that the mission would achieve complete success.

6. I have sent a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Tehran.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

#### TIPKI BASIM 2

Büyükelçi Çelik, Türkiye'nin, İran'la ilişkilerini birleştirmek için verdikleri bildiriye, Tahran'a atanan  
Büyükelçi Husrev Bey, 1913 sınırlarını değiştirilmesi için uğraşacak.

(Belge 16'nın tipki basımı.)



[E 4444/3476/44]

No. 56

*Mr. Helm to Mr. A. Henderson. — (Received August 15.)*

(No. 317.)

Sir,

*Constantinople, August 14, 1930.*

I HAVE the honour to report, with reference to my despatch No. 312 of the 18th instant, that Fethi Bey's new Liberal Republican party has now been constituted, and that application has been made to the competent authorities for its registration. The secretary-general of the new party is Nuri Bey, Deputy for Kutahya, and old schoolfellow of the Gazi, and still one of the latter's closest friends. I have, indeed, repeatedly heard it said, that he alone of all the President's entourage can say what he likes to the Gazi, and that, in the latter's wildest moments, Nuri Bey alone has any influence over him. The three members of the administrative council of the party are also friends of the President.

2. The programme of the party was published yesterday, and I have the honour to enclose a copy of it herewith. It is confined largely to internal problems, and is on the lines indicated in my despatch under reference. It includes, as will be observed, a proposal to grant women's suffrage. From the point of view of foreign affairs, the chief point in the programme is the 10th article, which suggests that, if and when the new party comes to power, Turkey will seek closer collaboration with the League of Nations.

3. When in Angora yesterday, I found that less was known there than here about the birth of the new party. For the first time in ten years an important Turkish political development has taken place outside Angora. But Angora is pleased, and, like Constantinople, is convinced that the Gazi is behind the new organisation. Unlike Constantinople, it does not anticipate a change of Government before the elections next summer, and is already looking forward to lively proceedings in the Assembly during the winter.

4. Tevfik Rüşti Bey, whom I saw last evening, showed no disposition to discuss the formation of the new party, and I did not therefore raise the matter. The Soviet Ambassador has been seeing him daily, and is, I was informed in the capital, much exercised at the turn which events have taken. The accession to power of Fethi Bey would, it is supposed at Angora, be a greater blow to the influence of Italy than to that of Russia, whom Turkey could never afford to ignore, but it is thought that France stands to gain most. It may be for this reason that, during my interview with him, Tevfik Rüşti Bey let drop a number of very broad hints that he was very displeased with the French.

I have, &c.

A. K. HELM

TİPKİ BASIM 3

İngiliz Mutasarrıfı Helm, Sırbistan Cumhuriyeti Ankara'ın kuruluşunu rapor ediyor.

(Beş 22'nin tpkibası)

Extract from the "Milliyyet" of August 13, 1930

# LE PROGRAMME DU PARTI RÉPUBLICAIN LIBÉRAL

Il y aura Réduction sur les Impôts. Le Monopole des Affaires du Port sera supprimé. La Production agricole et celle du Pays seront protégées. Des Débauches seront traitées à nos Articles d'Exportation. De l'Importance sera donnée à l'Enseignement à l'Industrie. Une seule Génération n'aura pas à supporter toutes les Charges. Les Elections se feront au Suffrage universel avec la Participation des Femmes.

Article 1. — Le parti républicain libéral est lié aux principes républicains, nationalistes et laïcs et son idéal est de les consolider éternellement.

Article 2. — Les impôts seront établis de façon à ne pas ébranler la capacité de paiement du contribuable et de ne pas dépasser la limite de ce que peut supporter la population.

Article 3. — Le parti veille à ce que les revenus de l'Etat soient consacrés à des œuvres profitables et éviter que des dépenses consacrées à des œuvres d'utilité publique soient supportées exclusivement par une génération.

Article 4. — Le parti désire prendre des mesures pour relever sans retard la valeur de notre monnaie et d'ouvrir ainsi la voie aux capitalistes étrangers qui veulent faire des affaires dans notre pays.

Article 5. — Le parti n'admet pas tout ce qui constitue une invasion gouvernementale d'ordre économique qui finissent et qui porte entrave au bien-être des citoyens. Il est le protecteur de toutes les initiatives visant le développement du pays dans le domaine économique.

S'il est remarqué que dans les entreprises d'ordre économique que l'on est obligé d'entreprendre dans l'intérêt de la République l'Etat individuel ne suffit pas, le Gouvernement intervient d'office.

Le monopole des affaires du port sera supprimé.

Article 6. — Un des buts principaux visé par le parti est de veiller à ce que le paysan et le cultivateur trouvent de l'argent à des intérêts modestes et grâce à une méthode simplifiée de livraison de l'œuvre qui porte atteinte à la structure économique du pays. Il est ainsi comme principe de mettre la Banque agricole, créée par des sacrifices consentis par les cultivateurs, à même d'assurer les besoins du pays en ce qui concerne les crédits agricoles.

Article 7. — La vitalité à donner aux industries du pays en lui assurant un prompt développement est un des buts principaux que le parti désire atteindre. La loi sur l'encouragement à l'industrie sera appliquée sans restriction. La protection et les facilités que ses dispositions octroient seront au besoin élargies. Les opérations de la Banque industrielle et minière seront développées et ses capacités financières accrues.

Des mesures seront prises pour la protection de nos produits nationaux et pour leur assurer des débouchés à l'étranger. Les tarifs des transports et du port seront établis en conséquence.

Article 8. — Dans les départements gouvernementaux on donnera avec la plus grande célérité et sans vouloir des débordements suite aux affaires des particuliers. Une lutte sans merci sera engagée contre les abus et les pots de vin.

Article 9. — Des inspections fréquentes et suivies seront faites pour assurer la prompt expédition des affaires des tribunaux. Les lacunes relevées dans l'appareil judiciaire seront comblées en conséquence.

Article 10. — Le parti dans sa politique étrangère veillera à ce que la République turque entretienne des relations d'amitié et d'opinion de sincérité avec les pays voisins et avec toutes les Puissances et à ce que la collaboration avec la Société des Nations soit plus étroite.

Article 11. — Le parti plaidera la cause de l'adoption du suffrage universel et de l'octroi à la femme turque ainsi du droit politique.

TIPKİ BASIM 3'ün Eki

Serhiit Cumhuriyet Fethi'ün Fransızca programı.

(Helge 22'ün çinin Tıpkıbasımı)



Sir G. Clark to Mr. A. Henderson. — (Received September 12.)

(No. 358.)

Sir,

*Constantinople, September 10, 1930.*

1. In my despatch No. 355 of the 8th instant I had the honour to report the latest developments of the Opposition movement instigated by Fethi Bey.

2. Since my return recently from leave I have been trying to get at the real meaning and importance of this event, but I confess I find it very difficult to present you with a connected story, for much of it is guesswork and there are many cross-currents; but I hazard the following picture, confused though it is, as possibly not being very far from the truth.

3. For some time the Gazi has been chafing at Ismet Pasha's policy, and last year matters nearly came to a head. Fethi Bey was here at the time and, though professing an ordinary name, was really, and indeed expected, to be called to the presidency of the Council. Faced, however, with the situation that would arise if Ismet Pasha suddenly fell from power, with important questions, such as the settlement of the debt and the Turco-Greek negotiations, left in the air, the Gazi gave way, but the breach was only closed for the time.

4. Since then Ismet Pasha has developed his insistence on the constitutional nature of the Turkish State. The Gazi represents, but the Government governs. It was in this spirit that, when the Gazi left Ankara for the summer this year, Ismet Pasha kept all the Ministers at the capital and insisted on Turkish representatives abroad, when they came home on leave, going to Ankara to report there before seeing the Gazi.

5. Another and quite recent development, which may well have arisen from a belief among Ismet Pasha's staunchest supporters that a clash between the Gazi and Ismet and the downfall of one of them is inevitable, has been that some of the more daringly thoughtful Turkish political leaders have admitted to themselves that perhaps the Gazi's work is done. Being the Gazi, he can never in this country hold any other position than that of President of the Republic, but he cannot, like Marshal Pilsudski, descend from his lofty eminence to the political arena. Thus some minds could even go so far as to hold that it would not be so great a disaster to the country if one of the Gazi's striking partners ended in his sudden demise. I do not mean that there has ever been any suggestion or idea of assassination, but some of these men have a feeling that the Gazi is too young and energetic to remain content to be a figure-head, while his intervention in the administration of the State can only hamper the constitutional development of the country.

6. But the present issue of a licence to an open and "official" Opposition is mainly due to two other factors. Under the existing regime all debate and discussion takes place in the meetings of the People's party. Decisions are taken there by majority vote, and party discipline exacts that thereafter in the Assembly itself there shall be unanimity. During last winter criticism grew in volume at the party meetings, and some of the leaders must have foreseen the day when party discipline would no longer control the proceedings in the Assembly. Since, then, opposition, though as yet suppressed, existed and must one day inevitably find voice, possibly in a form that would lead to riot, if not to revolution, it was clearly desirable to create a safety valve. Moreover, the Government could not expect to live for ever, and, as the Government is now constituted in this country, its disappearance would mean chaos and the power in the hands of the most successful and loudest-voiced mob leader. From what Tefik Rastu has told me himself, it seems clear that some members of the Government asked Ismet whether it would not, therefore, be better

#### TIPKI BASIM 4

Büyükelçi Clark, Fethi Bey'in Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası hakkında yorumu spekülasyon yapıyor.  
(Belge 26'nın tıpkıbasımı)

to foster an official Opposition the members of which would be as imbued with republican ideals as the present Government. Public opinion would be placated by having a legitimate channel for criticisms; and at the same time a potential Government, to take over the administration of the country smoothly and constitutionally when in the course of nature the present Government had to disappear, would be being trained.

7. Concurrently with the growth of this idea among the responsible leaders of the People's party, the Gazi was feeling more and more the increasing weight of İsmet Paşa and at the same time hearing more and more of the criticisms of the Government that were finding voice. Moreover, it is natural to suppose that he, too, looked to the day when he would no longer be here to guide the country. Both factors would almost inevitably lead him to consider the advantage of encouraging the institution of a reasoned Opposition.

8. This summer the differences between the Gazi and İsmet Paşa increased and came to a head during the presence here of both Fethi Bey and General Kemalettin Sami Paşa, Ambassador in Berlin. I have it from a very confidential and trustworthy source that the quarrel between the Gazi and İsmet Paşa went so far that the Gazi asked Kemalettin whether he would replace either İsmet Paşa or Fevzi Paşa, the Chief of the General Staff—a proposal which the general wisely declined, for it was probably only a "boutade" of the President in a fit of irritation. But the Gazi returned to the charge as regards Fethi Bey. İsmet categorically refused to yield his place to Fethi Bey, except constitutionally. The latter must become a member of the National Assembly and build up his own political party and obtain the votes of the majority of the electors. Although probably the Gazi's position in the country is great enough for him to have carried the day had he insisted, he apparently decided not to do so, whether because he felt that he would be risking his own position too much if, as was probable, Fethi proved little better than İsmet, or from a genuine respect for the Constitution, it is impossible to say. In any case, he accepted the position, and the result was the creation of the Liberal Republican party.

9. As for the prospects of that party, it is difficult to prophesy. The events of Sunday last Thursday and Friday show that there is a place for it in the body politic of Turkey, and, wisely led, it might well develop into a serious and capable Opposition, ready and fit, when the time comes, to take over the government of the country. It is, however, handicapped by the circumstances of its birth and has, in my opinion, unfortunately started in the wrong set of rails. Fethi Bey himself, I hear, now feels that he would have done better to have resigned his Embassy and sought election as a Deputy first and then have started his opposition in the Assembly itself. Moreover, he has not been too fortunate in the associates whom he has chosen, or who have been thrust upon him, to build up and direct the new party. It is true that Nuri Bey, the secretary general of the party, is the Gazi's greatest friend, and his appointment can be, and doubtless by many has been, read as a measure of the Gazi's direct interest in the party. But Nuri's reputation is not of the best, and his influence over and constant association with the Gazi have long been deplored by the most decent elements in Turkey. When Fethi Bey's intentions were first announced, many of the more serious-minded and intelligent Turks welcomed the news, and would probably have adhered to the new party, but the nomination of Nuri Bey as secretary general, as well as a natural reluctance to show their hand until it was seen on which side the scales were weighted, deterred them. They felt that İsmet Paşa's policy might be open to criticism and a less narrowly nationalistic policy might be better for the country, but sooner İsmet with his narrowness and obstinacy, but also with his admitted personal honesty, than a Government of which the strings would be pulled by a man of Nuri Bey's doubtful reputation.



10. Again as before, the Government spent their own money by appointing Fethi as the champion of the minorities. There may be—indeed, there certainly are—Turks broad minded and farseeing enough to realise that Greeks, Jews, Syrians and Armenians can be more beneficial to the economic prosperity of Turkey than they are allowed to be to-day, but there is no Turk consistent enough to admit that that calls for political equality in the first place.

11. Furthermore, Fethi Bey, already looked upon by many here as too devoted to France, was ill-served by the local French organ and the public and rather injudicious civilities of the French Embassy. Bezier Lamei and his mistakes and his patriotism than a heaven-sent genius, if he is to take his directions from the *Quai d'Orsay*.

12. Lastly, there is one most formidable obstacle for Fethi Bey to overcome, though it is never even whispered. The Grand National Assembly is not a Parliament where the conduct of the State and the measures of Government are debated and discussed, but the instrument created and used by the organisation (the Popular party) which runs this country to give the necessary legal and constitutional polish to its acts. And a seat in the Assembly is merely the well-paid reward for party merit, given on condition of strict obedience to party discipline. A Deputy gets 500 liras a month from the public funds and a substantial monthly allowance from the party funds, besides other material and pecuniary advantages, including special fees for attendance at the various commissions which are supposed to examine the Government's draft laws. This is not a position to be lightly given up on the faint chance of getting it again as a follower of Fethi, nor has the latter the funds to produce the monthly supplementary allowance, even if he were to leave the country. It may be true, as I have heard, that the Gazi, realising that Fethi must have a party chest if he is to make any show at all, has given him 150,000 liras from his own presidential fund, but this will not go very far to cover the expense of organisation, production of newspapers, and so on, and a good deal of it will, anyway, have to be earmarked for the sixty existing Deputies who, many of them possibly against their will, are, as Tevfik Rüstü informed me, to be told off to adhere to the new party. The Foreign Minister said: "We are so rich politically that we can now afford ourselves the luxury of an Opposition." Lamei Pasha's confident attitude appears to rest on a solid basis.

13. None the less, the day that Fethi Bey's letter was published in the Turkish papers marks a momentous date in the history of modern Turkey. The principles of criticism and free speech have been asserted and sanctioned, and they will grow in spite of all efforts that authority may make in the future to suppress them. This date can also be reckoned as that which records the beginning of the end of the present dictatorship of the Gazi. Behind the scenes that dictatorship has, as I have said above, already been challenged by the Government, which, however, was merely substituting its own in place thereof, but to the country at large the Gazi's will was still supreme, and, indeed, it may seem to remain so for a long time yet. But the grant of a right to live to an official Opposition means that, short of civil war or *coup d'Etat*, the ruling of Turkey will sooner or later leave Cankaya for the National Assembly. Whether this will happen in Fethi Bey's time is another question.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

SECRET - NO TO BE RELEASED WITHOUT PERMISSION

No. 8.2.0.  
(21/1/21)

British Embassy  
Constantinople  
October 6, 1901.

E. 5123

5 303 105

My Lord,

In continuation of my despatch of the 24th October, relative to an alleged Armenian plot to assassinate Enver Pasha, I have the honour to report that Mr. Devonsdale's informant has now expanded and made more definite the suggestion referred to in the last sentence of that despatch. He has told Mr. Devonsdale that the Deshuk "recruit" incident took place on the 24th September, although the authorities insisted on keeping it secret until the Deshuk was of course informed it was, had got away from the neighbourhood of Constantinople, where he had been spending the winter, and that this was the cause of his supposed criminal return to Smyrna on the 26th September. By deferring the publication of the news of the episode until the 1st October, the authorities prevented the general public from suspecting that the affair had had the effect of frightening Deshuk's Kiosk away from his winter quarters.

It certainly seemed fantastic that this "head-hill" if he really wanted to kill Enver would take the unnecessary risk of going there via Istanbul, while the surveillance of the local authorities and the War this country.

Levish ....

Mr. C. H. Devonsdale  
Inspector of Revenue, G.O.S., S.W.I.,  
etc. etc. etc.

TIPKI BASIM-5

İngiltere Büyükelçisi Clerk, İsmet Paşa'ya karşı bir Ermeni suikasti ortaya çıkarılmış olduğuna rapor ediyor.  
(Belge 110'nun tipkibasımı)

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laying passed of five hundred liras given to the two soldiers who stated the Armenians would agree with an attempt on the Gazi having been frustrated. In any case it appears that the President had a consultation with the Prime Minister, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of the Interior, who came to the conclusion that the Gazi had braved the comparative insecurity of Istanbul and its environs long enough, and that a return to the strictly guarded precincts of the Presidential villa at Çankaya was advisable at the present time.

3. Although this story may sound somewhat fantastic, I have ventured to report it to Your Lordship, since it throws a possible light on the Gazi's unprecedentedly sudden departure from Istanbul some weeks before there appeared to be any need for such a move, and at a time when the climate here is more delightful than at any other season.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

Wachib Sarvant,

Gary V. Clark

TIPKI BASIM 5'in 2. sayfası

*Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading—(Received November 9.)*

(No. 439.)

My Lord,

Istanbul, November 1, 1931.

I HAVE the honour to report that the first session of the fourth Grand National Assembly was opened to-day by the President of the Turkish Republic, who pronounced on this occasion a speech of which I enclose a copy.<sup>(1)</sup>

2. It will be seen that the Gazi referred to the necessity for economy, confidence in the Government and peace at home and abroad in face of the international crisis; and that, in speaking of Turkey's foreign relations, he declared that Turkey's object was, through a policy of peace, to assure her own security. I have attended many sessions of the Assembly and for the first time I gathered the impression that the faint applause which was occasionally heard during the speech was entirely perfunctory. Half-hearted during the Gazi's references to the visits of Ismet Pasha and Tevfik Rüşdi Bey to Athens and Budapest, it was conspicuously absent when he mentioned the visits to Turkey of King Faisal and M. Litvinoff, although opportunity was given the Deputies to express audibly their feelings if they so wished. It seemed as though their interest in foreign countries was entirely lacking, and that even the presence of the President stirred them to little enthusiasm in the ceremony.

3. Fethi Bey, ex-leader of the defunct Opposition, and Mine Fethi Bey occupied the presidential box. They are at present staying with the Gazi, from whom it is reported that Fethi Bey receives an allowance to console him for the loss of his diplomatic and parliamentary emoluments.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

<sup>(1)</sup> Not printed.

#### TIPKI BASIM 6

Büyükelçi Clerk, Cumhuriyetkane Gazi'nin Dördüncü dönem TBMM'yi açılış konuşmasını rapore ediyor  
(Belge 118'in tipkibasımı)



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TURKEY

November 8, 1931.

CONFIDENTIAL

Section 2.

Z 3250/1226/34

No. 1.

*For G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading.—(Received November 9.)*(No. 381. Confidential.)  
My Lord.

Ipswich, November 1, 1931.

MY Despatches Nos. 333 and 336 of the 29th October and the 1st November have received the outward form of the official visit of the Soviet Commissioner for Foreign Affairs to Turkey. The inner meaning of the event is harder to ascertain, and I can only give a personal impression, which is that M. Litvinoff has gone away rather unregretted than otherwise.

1. Although a visit like this cannot be exactly arranged just March, I am fully confident that it will become a certainty—from the Russian side, a necessity—after the striking reception given to the Earl of Athlone and Her Most Highness Princess Alice in April, and, as a counter-visit, it has fallen naturally due. True, the press has paid its full quota of lip-service, but no amount of cleverness could disguise the general attitude as other than apathetic. If I received confirmation of this, I had it half an hour ago, when I was listening to the Gait opening the first session of the Fourth Grand National Assembly. Mr. Dozhanov's warm allusion to the visit of M. Litvinoff and to Turkey's "gratitude" to Soviet Russia, was listened to in complete silence by the Deputies, seemingly only too eager to take the Gait's signal for a matter of indifference.

2. Again, I have reason to believe that M. Litvinoff's supposed confidential disapproval of Turkey's flirtation with the League of Nations was received in such a way that was far from satisfying him, while, in one instance, of a Grand proposal, namely, that Turkey should close the Dardanelles if Russia were at war—I am told from a good source that he met with a direct refusal. Lastly, the general rumours at home certainly threw a shadow over the situation, at least so far as M. Litvinoff was concerned. Mr. Buzuluk, colleague, who was for years in Moscow and in close personal relations with M. and Mme. Litvinoff, told me that he latter, evidently entering her husband's called the election a tragedy for Russia, and he observed that M. Litvinoff, when he saw off on Friday, left her depressed and in a bad temper. I should be justice add that M. Litvinoff's friend M. Litvinoff was critical about the condition of things in Russia, so that his attitude may not have been entirely due to disappointment with the visit to Ankara, but it is probably equally true that he found little here to cheer him up.

3. By what I have written above I do not wish to convey that there has been any serious weakening of the friendship between Russia and Turkey. What I think has happened has been that M. Litvinoff has learnt that Turkey is definitely not Russia's long-standing ally, and that he does not like it.

4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador in London.

I have, Sir,

GEORGE R. CLERK.

[215 1-5]

TIPKI BASIM 7

Büyükelçi Clerk, Litvinov'un Ankara ziyaretine yorumluyor.  
(Belge 119'un tipkibasımı)

*See G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading. — (Received November 9.)*

(No. 304.)

My Lord,

Angora, November 1, 1931.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 423 of the 4th November, 1930, I have the honour to report that the annual celebration of the national holiday of the Turkish Republic took place on the 20th ultimo. M. Litvinoff, Soviet Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, and Mme. Litvinoff were present at the celebration as guests of honour of the Turkish Government.

2. Following the reception of the members of the Diplomatic Body by the President of the Republic, detachments of the land, sea and air forces and of boy scouts passed in review before the Gazi. The sturdiness and virility of the troops were as impressive as usual, while the alignment and marching were better than last year. New features were a battery of Bofors mountain guns and four Vickers anti-aircraft guns drawn by caterpillar tractors and the formation flying of the numerous aeroplanes, while there was happily no repetition of last year's aerial acrobatics. The boy scouts were more numerous than in previous years, perhaps to emphasise the peaceful side by side with the warlike activities of the State. After the passage of the boy scouts, the presidential patience, as usual, gave out, and the schoolgirls and others who, year by year, wait to take their part in the review were again frustrated in their hopes. The effect of the review on the spectators is thus summarised by a writer in the "Hakimiyeti Milliye":

"M. Litvinoff beheld with profound satisfaction this awe-inspiring manifestation of a friendly and neighbouring State. In the Ambassadors' stand there reigned a silence of appreciation and of close attention while each detachment came in for its separate share of the applause of the deputies of the nation."

3. The Gazi drove away from the review with Fethi Bey, as leader of the short-lived Opposition, and in the evening was present at a dinner to M. and Mme. Litvinoff and the Diplomatic Body at the Angora Palace Hotel. The dinner was followed by a ball at the hotel given by the Republican Popular party, and this lasted until the early hours of the morning. I profess no judgment of feminine fashions, but if the dress of its women is one of the measures of a country's standard of life, even my ignorant eye can see a steady

advance in modishness from year to year, though Angora may still be far from Paris. The fact that Mme. Litvinoff was much impressed by the well-dressed appearance of the ladies present at the ball, while a Brazilian secretary, fresh from the cabarets and night clubs of the West, declared that he had rarely seen so many people badly attired, shows fairly exactly the degree of "smartness" that the ladies of Angora have reached.

4. The Gazi, as usual, outstayed most of the guests, and took occasion at a late hour of the presence of the British and French military attaches to let them know in all solemnity that their respective countries had conquered most of the world, but were at present acting against humanity, and that he hoped they would not persist in such a course. His Excellency, as he was leaving, enjoined on Major O'Leary to remember every word that he (the Gazi) had said, whereupon Fethi Bey, who had been doing the translating, said sotto voce that, for himself, he trusted Major O'Leary would forget every word. On which, at 7 a.m., the celebration of the National Day drew to its close.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

TIPKI BASIM 8

Büyükçü Clerk, Litvinov'un Ankara'da uğurlanını ve Cumhuriyet Bayramı törenine katılmasını anlatıyor  
(Belge 129'nun tipkısının)

E 5900/1906/45

No. 44

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon. — (Received November 28.)*

(No. 74. Constantinople.)

*Angora, November 26, 1931.*

(Telegraphic.)

YOUR telegram No. 50.

President of the Republic, knowing that I am just young on leave, sent the Turkish Ambassador at Berlin, who is staying with him and very much in his confidence, to see me yesterday evening with a personal request to impress upon you as soon as I got home his earnest hope that the British and Turkish Governments would make common cause in this question of the Islamic Conference,

which he felt was as potentially menacing for us as for Turkey. President considered that the vital interests of Turkey are so closely involved that he had made up his own mind as to the policy he would have to adopt in their defence if he had to act independently, but he made it clear that this was said without any idea of forcing our hands. For the Turkish Ambassador at Berlin said that the Gazi much hoped it would not come to this, for he believed His Majesty's Government to be as alive to the situation as he was, and his real wish was to see His Majesty's Government and his own Government united on this question. The Gazi would not take action until he knew the definite attitude of His Majesty's Government, but he was naturally anxious to learn it as soon as possible.

I shall be very grateful for the earliest possible intimation of which of the two alternatives set forth in Colonial Office telegram to Palestine No. 262 is decided upon. Meanwhile I shall be seeing the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs this afternoon to take leave, and I shall inform them that the views of the Turkish Government on this question are receiving your most [I group omitted] and sympathetic consideration.

#### TIPKI BASIM 9

Büyükelçi Clerk, Gazi'nin bir girişimini rapore ediyor. Gazi, bütün konferansı konusunda Türkiye ile İngiltere'nin birlikte hareket etmelerini önermiştir.

(Belge 127'ün tıpkıbasımı.)



[E 5050/1906/65]

No. 48

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon.-(Received December 2.)*

(No. 397.)

Sir—

*Agaza, December 1, 1931.*

I HAVE the honour to report that, on receipt of your telegram No. 81 and 62 of the 28th November regarding the coming Islamic Congress in Jerusalem, I asked for an interview with the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs for the purpose of communicating to him your decision, which he had been awaiting with interest, and saw him late on the 29th November.

2. I recalled to him that he had asked to be informed of the attitude which His Majesty's Government would adopt in regard to the congress, and also that the President of the Republic had, but two or three days previously, expressed a similar wish. I added that the telegram containing the decision of His Majesty's Government had been despatched from London before the arrival there of news of the Gazi's enquiry. I then informed him as follows:—

As a result of conversations which have taken place between the High Commissioner in Palestine and the Mufti of Jerusalem, His Majesty's Government do not anticipate that political issues will be raised during the proposed congress, which has neither the support nor the encouragement of His Majesty's Government, or that the proceedings of the congress will be such as to cause embarrassment to the Turkish Government. In particular, the mufti has given specific assurances that the Caliphate question will not be raised.

For these reasons, and taking into consideration the important Moslem interests of the Empire, His Majesty's Government, whose guiding principle is not to take any action which might be represented as interference in Moslem religious matters, has decided that it will maintain an attitude of complete detachment towards the congress.

I added that this attitude of detachment was conditional on public security in Palestine not being threatened.

3. Teyfik Rüşdi Bey was distinctly disconcerted, and somewhat cross and resentful on learning the decision. He expressed the fear that the congress would threaten not only security in Palestine, but throughout the British Empire. He was inclined to question the complete "detachment" of His Majesty's Government as he knew that great preparations for the congress were being made throughout Jerusalem, but agreed in the end that these were to be ascribed to the local authorities. He then said that it was now Turkey's duty to let her own people know through the press that the congress had no support from the Turkish Government nor, as he knew, from those of Persia and Afghanistan, and that it was, as it were, a parochial gathering, at the invitation of a person of no great authority, of Moslems from different Dominions and mandated territories. The harmful influence of the congress might thus perhaps be checked. Turkey would watch the proceedings of the congress closely. It seemed to him inevitable that it, for instance, the Society

TIPKI BASIM 10

Büyükkelçi Clerk, Filistin'de toplanan İslam Konferansı'nda Halifelik konusunun gündeme gelmeyeceğini

Teyfik Rüşdi'ye bildirmiştir.

(Belge No. 124'ün 10'ncü kısmı)

(Moslem Canon Law) were discussed, there might arise a situation which would possibly constitute an interference in Turkish internal affairs, for the prescriptions of the Seriat in regard to civil and penal matters were incompatible with those of the Turkish codes, and the decisions of a Moslem congress might unsettle Turkish minds.

4. I gathered from Tevlik Rüşâ Bey that he had confidently anticipated that His Majesty's Government would prohibit the congress, firstly, in their own interests, the appeal to Moslems to rally to the cause of religion being a retrograde step in these modern days, and forming also a potential menace to Great Britain and Europe; secondly, for international considerations, in view of the possible reactions in foreign countries against His Majesty's Government for permitting the holding of such a congress in a country under British mandate, and finally, out of friendship to Turkey. It appeared to me that he thought it an easy matter to prohibit what purported to be a pan-Moslem conference summoned by a minor religious dignitary of a town of secondary social importance who had no standing for issuing invitations to Governments, and that the anti-British and anti-Jewish character of the meeting's initiative would have afforded sufficient cause for the suppression of the congress. However, the decision in the matter, he said, lay with His Majesty's Government and had now been taken.

5. The Minister for Foreign Affairs mentioned that he would, of course, communicate the decision of His Majesty's Government to the President of the Republic and to Ismet Pasha. He, as hinted by Tevlik Rüşâ Bey, the order is given that a campaign of belittlement of the congress should be begun in the Turkish press in the pious hope that the Turkish people will be led to attach little importance to its proceedings. It is to be feared that His Majesty's Government will not escape criticism of its attitude, or accusation of responsibility for, or association with, the congress. In any case, the question is likely to cause a check on the friendly feelings of late manifested by Turkey to Great Britain, and it certainly indicates the great importance which Turkey attaches to any movement that may stir up dormant religious feelings in Turkey and thus unsettle Turkish minds and lead to discontent with the present régime.

I have, &c.

(For the Ambassador).

JAMES MORGAN

TÜRKİ BASIM 10'un sonu

Raporu Büyükelçi Clerk adına Müsteşar Morgan imzalanmıştır.

(Belge 124'ün 2. sayfasıdır)



*Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon. (Received December 16.)*

(No. 419.)

Sir,

*Lugano, December 9, 1934.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 400 of the 2nd December, regarding the official visit of the Bulgarian Prime Minister to Turkey, I have the honour to report that, after a four days' stay at Angora, Mr. Moushanoff left on the 5th December for Constantinople and Bulgaria. During his stay here two receptions attended by the Diplomatic Corps were held in his honour, the usual banquets were given by the leading Turkish personalities, the Gazi received Mr. Moushanoff in an audience lasting some two hours, and finally the Gazi and his Bulgarian guests attended an excellent concert of chamber music played by the Gazi's band.

2. The visit passed off in an atmosphere of great cordiality. The Turks were really pleased to have an opportunity of showing hospitality to the Bulgars, whom they respect, and in whose presence they feel neither an inferiority nor a superiority complex, and they found no difficulty in following the lead of the Gazi, whose friendly behaviour towards the visitors was based on his recollections of happy times spent in Bulgaria before the war, and of agreeable contact with his Bulgarian allies during its course. On their side the Bulgarians were pleased to be in Turkey, where they are treated as equals and with consideration, and where there is unqualified sympathy for their present unhappy situation.

3. As far as I can gather the visit had no other object than to maintain and strengthen friendly relations between the two countries. Bulgaria is no doubt pleased to have in Turkey a friend who may be counted on to use her influence to smooth over Bulgaria's difficulties with her Balkan neighbours, and Turkey, in pursuit of her present policy of peace abroad, is glad to have a friendly Bulgaria as neighbour. The Greek Minister hinted to me that Turkey was now trying to persuade Greece to settle all her differences with Bulgaria. The French Ambassador, while inclined to look on the visit with suspicion, could find little to comment on except that it was strange that the members of the Italian Embassy were showing no tendency to take up the rôle of presiding genius over the manifestations of Turco-Bulgarian friendship. It was remarked by all, in the course of one of the receptions, that Mr. Neshitch, the Yugoslav Minister, engaged the Bulgarian Prime Minister in earnest private conversation for nearly three quarters of an hour.

4. The speeches exchanged between Ismet Pasha and Mr. Moushanoff, and the official communiqué, issued after the visit, refer to the natural affinity of the two peoples, the identity of their interests, their mutual, cordial and friendly feelings and their desire to give a wider development to their economic relations. Mr. Moushanoff was evidently thinking of Bulgarian minorities in other countries when, in reply to Ismet Pasha, he said that thousands of Turks in Bulgaria were an element of order in the country, and lived on terms of fraternity and harmony with their Christian fellow-subjects, and again when he went on to say that the Bulgarians had lived for centuries under a Turkish domination which had respected their nationality and culture.

5. The Turkish press expressed admiration for the heroism and endurance of the Bulgarian nation. The "Yakit" hoped that Turco-Bulgarian and Turco-Greek friendship would be followed by Greco-Bulgarian friendship. The "Akşam" is astonished that the visit has caused anger in Yugoslavia and France. Both these countries wished to know whether there was a question of an alliance between Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria against Yugoslavia, i.e., against France, but there was, according to the "Akşam," no need for anxiety, as Turkey's only desire was to live in peace with her nearest neighbours. The "Milliyet" is also astonished at Yugoslavia's anxiety, and affirms that Turco-Bulgarian friendship will contribute generally to peace and tranquillity in South-Eastern Europe.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representative at Sofia.

I have, &c.  
JAMES MORGAN.

#### TIPKI BASIM 11

İngiltere Başbaskanı Morgan, Bulgaristan Başbakanı Mışanov'a Ankara ziyaretini rapor ediyor.  
(Belge 125'in tipkbasımı)



*Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon.—(Received June 3.)*

(No. 177. Confidential.)

Sir,

Angora, May 21, 1932.

I HAVE the honour to report that the President of the Republic gave me an audience to-day for the purpose of handing to him the specially bound volumes of the official history of the Dardanelles campaign, which had been presented to him by His Majesty's Government.

2. When I originally applied through the Protocol Department for an audience for this purpose, the matter was treated with a good deal of official fussiness, and I was all the more agreeably surprised to find myself received by the Gazi alone, without any paraphernalia of Ministers, "chef de protocole," or official interpreters. On previous occasions when I have had the honour of speaking with the Gazi, he has sometimes grown bored with, or suspicious of, his interpreters and, as he warmed up, carried on the conversation himself in French or even in German, but this is the first time, so far as I know, that he has received a foreign representative alone or held the conversation in French from the beginning of the interview.

3. After explaining to his Excellency that the purpose of the history was to provide the military student and posterity with a clear, true and impartial account of the inception, execution, and final failure of the attempt to force the passage of the Dardanelles, I said that my Government hoped that a work of such interest, both from the military point of view and for the witness it bore to the magnificent efforts and the immortal courage of the troops on both sides, would be welcome to his Excellency, whose intervention at the decisive moment had counted for so much in the result of the battle, the issue of the campaign, and the future of his nation, and I asked the President to accept the book as an expression of the sentiments which my Government felt towards one whom they held, in the words with which they conveyed the gift to him, a great general, a noble adversary and a generous friend. The President was manifestly touched by the happy and chivalrous idea of His Majesty's Government, and he replied by asking me to convey his most cordial thanks and appreciation.

4. I then brought in Major O'Leary, my military attaché, and handed the volumes over to the Gazi, who at once pulled up a table, opened out the map of the Anafarta region and described to us his own actions during the critical days of April and August 1915. I enclose a note which Major O'Leary has made of the Gazi's interesting reminiscences of those critical days. His Excellency then went on to talk on general topics, and seemed to be ready to continue for a long time, but after an hour I felt that I could not put any further strain on his Excellency's French and asked leave to withdraw.

5. The Gazi was suffering some pain from his teeth, but otherwise appeared to be in excellent health, and nothing could have been pleasanter or more charming than his attitude throughout the interview. He was obviously touched by the grateful thought of His Majesty's Government, and he showed a simple and genial side of his character, very different from the pose of pig-scratching utterer of divine truths which he usually adopts before the Turkish people.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

#### TIPKİ BASIM 12

İngiliz Büyükelçisi Clerk, Çanakkale Savuşuyla ilgili İngiliz resmi tarihini Gazi'ye takdim etmiştir.

Gazi pek duygulanmıştır.

(Belge 136'nın tipkibasımı)

Enclosure in No. 49.

*The Gazi's Observations on the Gallipoli Campaign.*

I WAS originally commanding all the troops in the Gallipoli Peninsula, but some time before the landing of the British the southern sector was taken over by Colonel Sami Bey, who was senior to me, but who was quite incompetent. I was then commanding the 19th Division, and my headquarters were north of Malda. The Corps Commander was at Gallipoli.

I kept my division occupied with training parades. One day, when I had a regiment out on a tactical exercise in the direction of Jong Bair (Chunuk Bair), I climbed that hill, alone with one of my staff. Suddenly I saw a line of Turkish soldiers coming towards me from the direction of Ari Burnu (Anzac). "The enemy is approaching," they said. "What enemy?" "The English—they have landed." They added that they were retiring, as they had no more ammunition for their rifles. I ordered them to fix bayonets and to lie down. The leading English troops, not understanding what was happening, did the same. Meanwhile I had called up the regiment, who fortunately had ball ammunition with them. This was the beginning of the struggle for the Jong Bair ridge, which is the key to the whole peninsula.

Before the August landings I persistently pointed out to the Higher Command that the English, being checked on both fronts, would certainly try a flanking movement, and that the only place for such an attack was the Suvla area. They refused to accept this view and the Corps Commander, Ferzi Bey, came himself to my command post, to point out to me on the ground that a landing at Suvla was impossible. Later on they became uneasy, and repeatedly asked me what I thought should be done. "Take the necessary measures," I replied: "give me the command of the whole front." "Surely that would be too much." "No," I said, "it would be too little!" Liman von Sanders was ready to do this, but Enver Pasha would not allow it.

When the attack came they rang me up to know if I had heard of any British troops at Suvla. "How can there be," I answered, "you yourselves said it was impossible."

The situation was critical, as the enemy at Ari Burnu had succeeded in gaining the heights of Jong Bair, and my junior commanders there told me they could not hold out any longer. "You must hold out for one day more," I said, "till I have stopped the enemy in front of Anafarta." I hurried across personally and saw the British troops in columns near Suvla Bay. I had few troops here, and we could not have held if they had attacked, but they waited. I am told that General Hamilton himself came to Suvla to order an attack. Meanwhile I had ordered a counter-attack, and then directed our troops to hold on, while I hastened back to the other front, where we were successful in turning the British off the heights again.

All through the campaign I had two battles to fight—one with the enemy, the other with the Higher Command.

*Çankaya, May 21, 1932.*

TIPKİ BASIM 12'nin Eki

Gazi Çankaya'nın müdâricelerinin nâid başlanış olduğunu İngiliz Büyükelçisine anlatıyor  
Belge 136'nın Eki



Ankara, November 2, 1932.

Sir,  
IN continuation of my immediately preceding despatch I have the honour to report that the usual dinner to the heads of missions and the annual ball given by the Popular party duly took place at the Ankara Palace Hotel on the 26th October.

2. The Gazi arrived almost on time, but dinner was delayed while he discussed the events of the day with the two senior Turkish generals and M. de Chamberlain and myself over several rounds of indifferent cocktails. In fact, the President was already fully primed before we sat down to dinner, and, as the accident of placing put me next but one to his Excellency, I observed with dismay that the process was being continued. As a rule on those occasions the President observes long periods of silence broken by intervals of more or less formal conversation with those in his immediate neighbourhood. This time he began to talk from the moment he sat down, eating nothing, smoking endless cigarettes, and drinking raki steadily. He began by saying to me, pointing to the Soviet Ambassador, who was on the opposite side of the table, that Comrade Suritz was a real and sincere friend of his and his oldest friend amongst the foreigners here, but that he had one other friend whom he put in the same class, namely myself. He liked the others well enough, but we two were in a special category. As there was the usual hush that occurs whenever the Gazi speaks, everyone heard his words, which no doubt made their impression on my colleagues, though those of them who understand his Excellency will have realised, as I do, that this was his forcible way of saying that the policy of His Majesty's Government towards Turkey since the Mosul Treaty had convinced him of our sincerity.

3. The Gazi then turned to his right, where the rest of the Ambassadors were seated, and addressed each of them in turn. He was very cordial in his references to France and to M. de Chamberlain's work which had culminated in the agreements that had just been concluded. He congratulated the Polish Ambassador on the regeneration of Poland, which was now once again a great country ready to play a worthy part in the progress of the world. He thanked the American Ambassador for his numerous public references in glorification of Turkey, added, with a touch of irony, that Mr. Sherrill, who has just been delivering a series of lectures on the Gazi in America, was even more than American Ambassador in Turkey, the Turkish Ambassador in the United States, and asked him to make a speech in reply. Greatly to the surprise of his colleagues, Mr. Sherrill refrained.

4. It then came to the turn of the new Italian Ambassador, who was making his first acquaintance with a Turkish public occasion. The Gazi asked him point-blank what were his impressions of Turkey. M. Lajoneco seized the opportunity to emphasise the particular intimacy of Turkey and Italy by saying that the great pleasure which he felt on coming here was enhanced by the natural and mutual attraction between two young nations, and he was considerably taken aback when the Gazi, fresh from proving the antiquity of the Turkish race and the Turkish nationality of Adam, pulled him up short and observed that no one coming from Rome should dare to speak of Italy as young, whilst as for Turkey, it was as old as humanity. The Gazi then alluded to the recent speech of M. Mussolini at Turin, and said that no doubt the representatives of England, France, Germany and Italy had been pleased at the Duce's assertion that if these four Powers collaborated they could ensure the peace and prosperity of Europe and the world. But he, the Gazi, was not pleased.

"I tell you that he is wrong. The future of my country of 14 millions cannot be influenced or settled at the ruling or by the co-operation of any four Great Powers, nor will it be. Only the co-operation of all the Powers can restore peace to the world, and I, who want peace, and not war, wish this method to be followed. Let all combine to assure peace and fraternity."

His Excellency then stood up and raised a rather unsteady glass to the unity

TIPKI BASIM 13 Sayfası

İngiliz Büyükelçisi Clerk, Cumhurbaşkanı Bayramı yemeginde Sovyet ve İngiliz Büyükelçilerinin  
doğru gösterdiğini, İtalya geçtikten de Mian Vekilinin fesim çıkartığı anlatıyor  
(Belge 152'nin tipkibasımı)

5. After a most embarrassing time for all, and not least for the Turks present—Kârim Pasha, President of the Grand National Assembly, had through-out the dinner tried to restrain his chief—the Gazi led his guests to the ball-room and on passing the Egyptian Minister, who was wearing his fez, tapped it and said:—

"Tell your king that I, Mustafa Kemal, have instructed you not to wear your fez for this night."

He then called a waiter, to whom the Minister, gentle and universally liked, handed his tarboosh to avoid further scenes, and the noxious headgear was borne aloft before the President into a lane of mystified guests awaiting the emergence of the Gazi from the dining-hall, and consigned to outer darkness. The Egyptian Minister withdrew at once in deep distress. Numan Bey, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, going at midnight to apologise, waited vainly on the doorstep. Fevzi Rüşti, following next day, was admitted to present apologies to the Minister. Until the reaction of King Fuad is known, the incident can hardly be considered closed.

6. Issuing forth from dinner the Gazi slowly progressed, pouncing here and there on all and sundry. The Japanese military attaché was hailed forth from the back rows, admired, shaken and kissed. The giant form of a Dutch attaché attracted the notice it deserved, but earned for its occupant a rebuke for its not being in uniform. Holland again, in the person of the first secretary's good-looking wife, was prominent, when the Gazi showed himself uncertain as to whether to salute her by kissing her hand, which was gloved, or her cheek. Baroness Breugel-Douglas was saved by the timely intervention of the French Ambassador, to whose staff attention was then transferred. The French naval attaché, short and stout, was tapped on his plump cheeks, and scolded for his lack of symmetry, and though kissed by the President was publicly informed that his corpulence incurred presidential displeasure and was unbecoming to a fighting man. While the naval attaché withdrew in high dudgeon the Gazi looked about for fresh material, and found the wife of the United States Ambassador, from whom extravagant compliments called forth equally extravagant rejoinders, in the course of which Mrs. Sherrill, in a clear, penetrating voice, announced to Mustafa Kemal that her husband was convinced, and lost no opportunity of saying, that Turkey's ruler was a super-Mussolini. The Italian Ambassador, posing as the Duce, whom he faintly resembles in face, behind Mrs. Sherrill, was shaken out of his calm and blinked twice before he could resume his pose. He can console himself by the knowledge that the two countries concerned have the same standard for measuring greatness.

7. Supported by Marshal Fevzi Pasha and the Soviet Ambassador, the Gazi at length reached his private alcove, where gentle disintegration set in. Vitality flickered again about 4 A.M., when all the middle-aged Turkish ladies who, arriving early, had settled down round the walls for a night's enjoyment, were rudely torn by the Gazi from their pleased and placid contemplation of foreign antics to perform these same antics themselves with strange and unknown

8. It may seem unnecessary, and indeed unfitting, to report at such length in an official despatch the words and acts of one who was obviously at the time not completely master of himself, nor altogether mindful of his great and responsible position. My reason for troubling you is that every word that the Gazi utters on such occasions and in such a condition is not, as might be thought, an unguarded expression of what he feels. On the contrary, he wants his sentiments to be clearly known, and this annual dinner and ball is his one opportunity in the year to do so before all the foreign representatives, though hitherto he has always waited until after dinner before letting himself go. As a colleague of mine, whose knowledge of the Gazi is next to that of the Soviet Ambassador, the longest and most intimate of all the foreigners in Turkey, has pointed out to me, the Gazi is fundamentally shy and his drinking is often, absurd though it may seem in a character of such proved strength, merely a means of getting over this inhibition. Unfortunately, the Gazi is sometimes too successful and does not keep entire control of his speech and actions, but he never loses control of his thoughts, and what he says when under the influence of drink, though it may be said with difficulty and incoherently, is the direct expression of what he thinks. This is my reason for reporting to you what would otherwise be a trivial record of the vapourings of a great man at a moment when he had succumbed to his besetting weakness.

I have, &c.  
GEORGE R. CLERK.

TIPKI BASIM 13'ün sonu



## REMARKS NOT IN TUNING

### "TANRI" INSTEAD OF "ALLAH"

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

CONSTANTINOPLE, Sunday.  
The chief of Musulman Kemal Pasha, the Minister, to emphasize from the Turkish Ministry and religion all use of Arabic names was played in front only to the members of the army, an army of some mosques in Asia Minor.

In accordance with the President's order to minimize Christianity public prayer in the Dohun Mosque began calling for unity of the prayer in Turkish instead of employing the conventional Arabic form of invocation. This involved the use of the word "Tanrı" in place of "Allah" for God.

A four day of some time from a room assembled outside the mosque, and, according to some reports, the museum was attacked and prevented from continuing its duty. A serious demonstration against the conference which had caused the order for the invocation followed. A detachment of gendarmes was called out, but before order was restored, a conflict with them had occurred. About sixty persons were arrested, including several priests.

The President immediately attacked the importance to the incident. He had just accompanied a visit to Ereğli, and had returned. But the moment he found in the suburbs he turned back in haste. He is now holding an investigation there.

The Daily Telegraph  
6. II. 1933

## ANGER AT MUSLIMS IN TUNING

### NOTING SPRING

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

CONSTANTINOPLE, Sunday.  
Anger at the head of some of the in Asia Minor, a result of the use of Arabic names in the invocation during the prayer of some.

During the spring of the military prayer, the use of Arabic names in public prayer in Turkish instead of Arabic there was a great opposition, and the question was made by Arabic. An example was made as an example.

The importance of the Turkish Government attaches to the incident, as it is a matter of religious freedom, proved by the use that the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Justice have left Angora for the cause of the trouble.

The Daily Telegraph  
7. II. 1933

TIPKI BASIM 14

The Daily Telegraph gazetesinin 6 ve 7 Şubat 1933 tarihli iki haberi. Gazete Türkçe ibadete karşı Bursa'da başkaldırı olduğunu haber veriyor.  
(Belge 173 ve 174'ün tipkbasımları)



## READING THE KORAN IN TURKISH

### PROTEST AT BRUSA

(From a Special Correspondent's Report)

BRUSA, (The Nation), July 6.  
The Government of the United States, which  
has been in the habit of sending the  
text of the Koran in Turkish to the  
British Legation in Constantinople, has  
been protesting against the  
reading of the Koran in Turkish in the  
mosques of the city. The protest was  
made after a number of arrests had been  
made.

The protest was made by the British  
Legation, which has been in the habit of  
sending the text of the Koran in Turkish  
to the British Legation in Constantinople.  
The protest was made after a number of  
arrests had been made.

*The Times, 7. II. 1933*

## READING THE KORAN IN TURKISH

### GOVERNMENT'S ORDERS

(From a Special Correspondent's Report)

CONSTANTINOPLE, July 7.

The Government has ordered that the  
text of the Koran in Turkish should not  
be read in the mosques of the city. The  
Government's investigation showed that  
the demonstration was not due to any  
religious movement, which  
of late was suspected owing to its  
connection with similar incidents at  
Smyrna and elsewhere, but to a desire of  
definite orders from the Department of  
Evkaf on the subject.

All the mosques here have now  
been ordered to use only the Turkish  
version of the Koran in from to-day,  
and it is expected that similar  
orders will be issued throughout Turkey.  
The incident at Bursa has, therefore,  
served an important purpose, inasmuch  
as it has enabled the Government to make  
a definite stand on the subject, whereas  
it had previously been reluctant to enforce  
the new regulations.

*The Times, 8. II. 1933*

### TIPKI BASIM 15

The Times gazetesinin 7 ve 8 Şubat 1933 tarih haberleri

Londra'da çıkan İngiliz gazetesi Türkiye ibadetin Bursa Ulucami'nde protesto edildiğini haber veriyor  
(Belge 175 ve 176 'nın tipkibasımı)

# GLAZIER'S EFFECT T. 30

MANY DISSEMINATED  
 AUGUST 1964

Mustard Seed Powder, and  
now have in the new  
"Mustard" and all kinds of  
Mustard seeds.

As most testing the failure of power plant and nuclear reactors is the testing of the material, it is obligatory in nuclear industry to apply throughout the life cycle

While meeting and discussing the situation in Bosnia, the EU has also been discussing the future of the Balkans. It is important to note that the EU is not a monolithic entity. It is a collection of member states, each with its own interests and priorities. The EU's position on the Balkans is therefore a result of a complex interplay of these interests and priorities. The EU's main concern is the stability and security of the Balkans. It is also concerned with the economic development of the region and the promotion of democracy and the rule of law. The EU's approach to the Balkans is therefore based on a combination of these concerns. It is a combination of political, economic, and security considerations. The EU's position on the Balkans is therefore a result of a complex interplay of these interests and priorities.

The company's 2014 revenue of \$1.5 billion is a 15% increase over 2013, and the company is looking for continued growth in 2015. The company's 2014 revenue was \$1.5 billion, up from \$1.3 billion in 2013. The company's 2014 revenue was \$1.5 billion, up from \$1.3 billion in 2013. The company's 2014 revenue was \$1.5 billion, up from \$1.3 billion in 2013.

On August 27, 1961, the following information was received from the Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.:

The Daily Telegraph  
8.11.1933

TIPKI HASIM 16

The Daily Telegraph gazetesinin 8 Şubat 1933 tarihli haberi

İngiliz Gazetesi Türkiye'de ezanın Türkçe okunmasını "Allah kolimesine savaş açıldı" diye bildiriyor.



|  |       |      |
|--|-------|------|
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| Reference  | 16984 | 1776 |
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| COPYRIGHT - NOT TO BE REPRODUCED PHOTOGRAPHICALLY WITHOUT PERMISSION |       |      |

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"matters, but submit to whatever order you may receive". The  
two messengers will, it is stated, be despatched to Prusa for  
trial.

I have etc. ....

(Signed) J.G.S. PALANGA.

TIPKI BASIM 17'nin Sonu

|  |       |      |
|--|-------|------|
| PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE  |       | 1776 |
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14984

(COPY)

No. 12.

Trebisond,

February 22, 1933.

Sir,

I have the honour to report, with reference to paragraph 3 of my despatch No. 10 of the 18th instant, that another ederrin, Halil Efendi, of the Ortahissar Mescit, was arrested here on the 19th instant. Halil Efendi is accused of having persisted in saying the prayers, Fatiha and Kemat, in Arabic, and of having conducted propaganda locally and in the surrounding villages against prayers in Turkish.

I have etc. ...

(Signed) J.D.E. PALANGA.

His Excellency  
The Right Honourable  
Sir George H. Clark, G.C.M.G., C.B.,  
etc., etc., etc.,  
ANZORA.

TIPKI BASIM 18

İngiliz Konsolosu Falanga, Trabzon'da ezanı Arapça okumak için direnen bir müezzinin daha tutuklandığını bildiriyor.  
(Belge 180'nin Tıpkıbasımı)

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE  
 F.O. 371 16984 1776  
 CONTAINED HEREIN IS INFORMATION PHOTOGRAPHICALLY REPRODUCED FROM THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENT

No. 81

341

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 No. 2.-ARCHIVES.

TURKEY.  
 CONFIDENTIAL.

March 21, 1933  
 Section 1.

[E 1274/224/48]

No. 1.

Sir C. Clerk to Sir John Simon. (Received March 22)

(No. 61)

Ankara, February 23, 1933.

Sir,  
 In continuation of my despatch No. 41 of the 17th instant regarding the recent religious demonstrations at Erzurum, I have the honor to report that I have received from His Majesty's Consul General at Erzurum a despatch in which he states that the Grand Vizier's visit to that town at the beginning of February evoked nothing more than a tolerable demonstration of popular interest, but a noisy gathering of the public on his arrival, and that, apart from visits to the local authorities, the main part of the President's projected activities in Erzurum was curtailed by his illness and a hurried departure at dead of night for the scene of the latest manifestation of popular exuberance.

2. Referring to the incident which took place at Erzurum, Mr. Grey reports that in the Erzurum district a questioning of Islamic religious sentiment was evoked by many observers during the recent month of November, and that there seems to be a tendency on the part of certain classes, notably the peasants, to interpret the unpropitious condition of the country as a violation attributable to the violation of religious tradition by the Government. Mr. Grey is of opinion that the existence of such a feeling, which is especially widespread and bitter among the Moslem elements of non-Turkish origin, must be considered as a factor in the political situation and may decide the Government to be sharp in resorting to capital punishment in the case of those responsible for the demonstration at Erzurum.

3. Mr. Grey adds that signs of official nervousness in the shape of Erzurum were manifest about the time of the events at Erzurum, and that a hoja of Turkish origin was arrested on the charge of having incited reactionary factions concerning the call to prayer in the Erzurum Mosque in Erzurum during November.

I am, Sir,  
 GEORGE H. CLERK.

TIPKI BASIM 19

İngiliz Büyükelçisi Clerk, Türkçe ezanın İzmir'de de hoşnutsuzluk yarattığını Tümüslü bir hocanın anlatıldığını ve Gazî'nin İzmir'den alıncaya ayrıldığını rapor ediyor.

(Belge 181'in Tıpkıbasımı)



|  |   |
|--|---|
| PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE   |   |
| R.O. 37/   | 16984   |
| 1776   |   |
| EXEMPTED FROM THE PROVISIONS OF THE ARCHIVES ACT WITHOUT FLEXIBILITY   |   |
| 3  | E   |
|  | E 1274  |
| <p>Muslim religion in Turkey.</p> <p>Refers to Aleppo Dispatch No. 11 of 17th February (E 1054/334/44).</p> <p>Report from Smyrna states that Cesi's visit in February evoked only lawless demonstration, and main part of his projected activities was curtailed by his hurried departure for cause of Hyrcia disturbances.</p> <p>Mr. Greig also reports quickening of Islamic religious sentiment at Smyrna during Ramadan, and tendency to ascribe impoverished state of country to visitation on account of violation of religious traditions by Government. There were signs of official nervousness at Smyrna at time of Hyrcia incident and a Raja was arrested on charge of having incited fanatical notions during call to prayer.</p> <p>[Initials]</p> |   |
| Last Paper.  |   |
| Ersk   |   |
| References.  |   |
|  | <p>again in front to C.C. and</p> <p>20. ref. E 1056.</p> <p>Mr. Greig. 19. 11/33</p> <p>A.K. 1911</p> <p>10. 3. 1911</p> <p>Handwritten notes and signatures follow.</p> |
| (Date completed)   | (Index)   |
| 1911/13  | 1911/13   |
| Next Paper.  |   |
| 2 (1911)   |   |

TIPKI BASIM 19'ın eki  
 Büyükelçi Clerk'in Türkçe ezan konusundaki yazısı üzerine Foreign Office'de yorum.  
 (Belge 181'in ekimin tipkibasımı)

[ W 3214/40,98 ]

No. 20.

*Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon,—(Received March 22.)*

(No. 10.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Angora, March 22, 1933.*

MY telegram No. 7.

I gather from various sources and from excited discussion in Foreign Affairs Committee in Grand National Assembly that Gazi and Government are annoyed because His Majesty's Government does not consider Turkey a European nation and disregards Turkey's new prestige and international importance. This refusal to acknowledge the changes wrought in this country by its victories and by the Gazi's policy of westernisation rankles. Resentment of this snub and slight to Turkey's *amour-propre* is solely directed against His Majesty's Government, from whom some explanation which may soothe ruffled susceptibilities is awaited. The disarmament proposals are for the moment of secondary importance to Turkey.

TIPKI BASIM 20

Büyükelçi Clerk Türkiye'nin Avrupa ülkesi sayılmasını Gazi'nin ve Türk hükümetinin ezmeye çalıştığını ve İngilizlerin suçlandığını telây eder.

(Belge 183'ün tıpkıbasımı)

Reference - PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

F.O. 37 16984 1776

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No 185

356

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No. 1.—ARCHIVES.

TURKEY.  
CONFIDENTIAL.

April 7, 1933.  
Section 1.

[R 1231/1034/43]

No. 1.

Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 187)

Sir,  
WITH reference to my despatch, No. 61 of the 17th February last, relative to the demonstration at Bursa against the use of Turkish in Moslem public worship, I have the honour to report that the trial of the "renouveau" has been proceeding at Çorum, whether the persons arrested at Bursa and elsewhere were arrested some 2 weeks ago. The press of the 28th March announced that five of their number, all clerics, had been condemned by the Criminal Court of Çorum to one year's imprisonment each.  
The official excitement about the "Bursa incident" died down almost as suddenly as it was created by the Gazi's ostentatious intervention, and it appears to have been realised in high places that such importance was attached to it at the time. The press has long since ceased to interest itself in the matter, and there would now seem to be no question of execution. Nevertheless, Turkish has replaced Arabic in the mosques throughout the country, an innovation which has on the whole been accepted with the same social resignation as the hat and the Latin alphabet.

I am, Sir,  
JAMES MORGAN.

[700 g-3]

TIPKI BASIM 21

İngiliz Maslahatgüzarı Morgan Türkçe ezanı tepkilerin sona erdiğini her yerde ortak ezanın ve ibadet'in  
Türkçe olduğunu bildiriyor.  
(Belge 185'in tipkibasımı)



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#### NONET DELEGATIONS ABSTRACT

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

[illegible]

The Institute of Social Studies, which has been established in cooperation with the University of Leiden, is devoted to the study of the social sciences. It is a unique institution, and its work is of great importance to the world. The Institute is located in The Hague, and its work is of great importance to the world. The Institute is located in The Hague, and its work is of great importance to the world.

I find the two journalists named as leaders of the cause thoughtful, as well as capable of the big things coming in the near future. In fact, taking an example from the suggestion by the second, we can quite well find his line of action. They are, after all, men who are in the line, leaders of the movement. In England, the two colleagues are in the forefront of the movement, and in the United States, as the other, high command in the line, they are the only two in the line. In the United States, the two colleagues are in the forefront of the movement, and in the United States, as the other, high command in the line, they are the only two in the line.

[illegible]

6677  
OCT 1955

TIPKI BASIM 22

The Times gazetesinin 27 Ekim 1933 tarihli haberi

İngiliz Gazetesi Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 10. yılını kutlamak için Sovyet Heyetinin Türkiye'ye geldiğini bildiriyor. Türkiye'de af çıkarıldığını 150'liklerin ise af dışında bırakıldığını yazıyor.

(Belge 215'in tekiyesi)





E

E 6E50

102

2. NO 1429

|                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
|                              | Position of Turkey in the Near East and the Balkans.   |
| : 1061/280/44.               | Turkey is poor financially and in its infancy as a modern State, but may be said to have become the leader of the Near East, looked up to in the Balkans and worthy of admiration and imitation in Arab countries.   |
| SECRET<br>[initials]         | Internally it seems to have ignored the loss of economies by keeping its money sound by decrees. Its foreign policy is a successful and skillful combination of bluff, barter and flattery. Turkish friendship with the Soviet Union is the main stroke of its policy. |
| (147/1/38)                   | In view of its strong arm and its ability to repel aggression Turkey considers it natural that its neighbours and States further afield should recognize its pre-eminence in the Near East.  |
| SEC. 1932.<br>and Nov. 1933. |  |
| :                            |  |
| : Turkey                     |  |

Test Paper.

[African]

The King  
Cabinet  
Deputies

## 2.2.2. Procedure

a brief but admirable review

of Kuleba's present position

DATE

A. K. Nelson

~~Nothing~~ Done

5. 11. 31

Yes, indeed

C. P. W. W. W.  
4/1

Yes, I am also 100% sure.

of Turkey's position held, &  
frequently expressed, by Sir  
G. Clerk. He has not been  
very friendly.

C. L. T. L. L.  
L. M. T. L.

*W. H. H. H.*

do. 7. No. 1

TIPKI BASIM 23'ün eki

Türkiye'nin bölgede lider durumuna gelmesinin Foreign Office'de yorumu.



## Levent ahverdi Ar ivi

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

5.3.371

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1716

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No. 8.—ARCHIVES.

TURKEY.

November 24, 1933.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Section 1.

[E 7105/130/44]

No. 1.

101

*Vicecount Chilston to Sir John Simon.*—(Received November 24)

[No. 629]

Moscow, November 18, 1933.

WITH reference to Mr. Strang's despatch No. 584 of the 24th October, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a translation (1) extracted from the *Moscow Daily News*, of telegrams sent by Kalinin to Mustafa Kemal and by Molotov to İsmet Paşa on the occasion of the return to Moscow of the delegation sent to Turkey by the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to take part in the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Turkish Republic.

2. The visit has aroused considerable enthusiasm in the Soviet press. In an article in the *Pravda* of the 14th November stress is laid upon the mutual interests of the two countries and the similarity of their recent development. The national elements of Turkey gained their victory against a backward, clerical and autocratic Administration, against the *Kaizars* and against Anglo-Greek intervention. They drew their strength from a legitimate hatred of two oppressors—monarchy and foreign imperialism. It was the October revolution that destroyed their ancient enemy, Russian imperialism. The Soviet delegation saw with their own eyes the results of ten years of labour in the new Turkey; but the first thing they saw was the immense prestige enjoyed by the Soviet Union among the toiling masses of Turkey. The hospitable welcome accorded to them proved how deeply friendship for the U.S.S.R. has permeated the mass of the Turkish people.

3. I beg leave to enclose herewith a translation of an article by Korkuthan upon Soviet-Turkish relations, which appeared in the *İstisat* on the 28th October, in which special stress is laid upon cultural relations between the two countries. (2)

4. In all Soviet papers current the fundamental differences between the Constitution of the Turkish Republic and that of the U.S.S.R. are calmly ignored, and it is probable that the ordinary uneducated Russian reader is under the impression that there is little, if any, difference between the two.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Ankara.

I have, &c.

CHILSTON.

(1) Not printed.

[979 aa—1]

TÜRKİ BASIM 25

İngiltere'nin Moskova Büyükelçisi Chilston Türk-Sovyet dostluk ilişkilerini rapor ediyor.

Mustafa Kemal ile Kalinin arasında mesaj teatisi olmuş

(Belge 253'ün tıpkıbasımı)

24:571

16939.

1786

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10.3

"Yonsey Daily News": 17th November, 1931.

### Katlein Sends Messages to Turkish Govt.

\* I. MALININ, Chairman of the Central Nominating Committee of the CPSU, has sent the following message to the President of the USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev:

"The Turkish People is Heroic of the American side in the Eastern European situation and the Council of Europe. Government of the United Nations for the purpose of the collection of the 1955 Agreement of the Turkish Republic. I am glad to accept my deep gratitude for the friendly reception and the heroic welcome which you personally, the Turkish Government and the Turkish people have accorded the Soviet Government Delegation."

"This visit to the Turkish Republic, during one of the most glorious moments in its youth, the Soviet delegation is an example of solidarity at a time when the two Great Powers of the Turkey is in the process of military, economic and cultural, promoted through the friendship of the Turkish people and great for their land."

"The winter season shows in the Soviet Government's Education which has been one of the year's best educational institutions and in the midst of a demonstration of a school's first day, the teachers are very well told about the school which they have been studying, and Turkey entered into the most recent stage of its development and development."

—The 1980-1981 session which the Latin American Delegation has just completed also took place in Turkey and was the first time that the traditional pact of friendship of the people of both continents has been so fully celebrated. It was a most interesting and profitable exchange of views and experiences, showing the solidarity and growing friendship between the two continents.

[illegible]

"These steps are just words and have value to the Tibetan people and to our country."

MICHAEL GALINS  
Chairman of the Soviet  
Executive Committee  
of the USSR

|| A similar telegram was sent by M. I. Kibin to Ilhami-Pasha, Chairman of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

Y. H. Khatib, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR sent a telegram to Umar Faruk, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Turkish Republic, as follows:

"Turkey stops my very strong desire for the nationalistic attitude and the deep desire to rid the nation of the yoke imposed by the Turkish Government in the person of myself, to the Soviet Government."

"In your interest I wish to provide a brief statement of New Turkey, the memory of whose visit to Moscow has left an indelible impression and fostered a wider understanding and cooperation between the governments of our two countries."

"I am convinced that the present system which has been established between the Soviet Government, Bulgaria and the Emperor of New Turkey, as well as the Soviet Government, Bulgaria's participation in the celebration of the 12th Anniversary of the Turkish Republic, will lead to the further development and strengthening of the friendship and cooperation existing between our two countries, in the attainment of which you, personally, have played a prominent part.

V. M. MELOTOV  
Chairman of the  
Council of People's  
Deputies.

JTPKI HASIM 26

Moscow Daily News gazetesi kesiti Kalinin'den Atatürk'e ve Molotov'dan İsmet Paşa'ya mesajlar.  
(Belge 253'ün eki)



## **Dr. BİLAL N. ŞİMŞİR**

Büyükelçi, Tarihçi Yazar

Dr. Bilal N. Şimşir, 1933 yılında Bulgaristan'da doğdu. 1957 yılında Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesinin Siyasal Şubesi'nden mezun oldu. Aynı fakültenin Diploması Tarihi Kürsüsünde üç yıl kadar asistanlık yaptıktan sonra Dışişleri Bakanlığına geçti. Bu Bakanlığın merkez ve dış teşkilatının bütün kademelerinde çalıştı. Mesleki yaşamını teşekkürname ve takdirnamelerle süsledi. Paris, Şam, Lahay, Londra, Roma, Viyana'da yıllarca hizmet verdi. Londra'da Başkonsolos; merkezde iki dönem genel müdür olarak görev yaptı. Büyükelçi olarak Arnavutluk'ta, Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nde, Avustralya'da ve Güney Pasifik ülkelerinde Türkiye'yi temsil etti. 41 yıllık devlet hizmetinden sonra 1998'de emekli oldu ve Ankara'ya yerleşti.

Dr. Şimşir, aynı zamanda tarihçi ve araştırmacı yazardır. 1976 yılında Türk Tarih Kurumu asli üyeliğine seçilmiştir. Eski Türk Dil Kurumu'nun da üyelerinden biri idi. Osmanlı - Türk diploması tarihi üzerinde uzmanlaşmıştır. Tarih araştırmalarında doğrudan arşiv kaynaklarına inen, Batı ve Slav dillerini bilen Şimşir, İngiliz, Fransız, Amerikan ve Osmanlı - Türk resmi arşivlerinden ve Rus, Slav kaynaklarından onbinlerce belge toplamış, kendi olanaklarıyla zengin bir mikrofilm arşivi ve özel bir ihtisas kitaplığı kurmuş ve üstüste eserler vermiştir. Şimşir'in Ermeniler üzerine 14 cilt, Balkanlar üzerine 12 cilt, Atatürk üzerine tam 33 cilt kitabı yayınlanmıştır. Bunlar arasında 4 ciltlik Atatürk ve Yabancı Devlet Başkanları ve 8 ciltlik İngiliz Belgelerinde Atatürk adlı yapıları bulunmaktadır. Bunların çoğu Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınıdır. Dr. Şimşir bugüne kadar toplam 78 cilt kitaba ve 200 kadar bilimsel makaleye imza atmıştır. Şimşir'in yayınlarının çoğu yabancı dillerdedir, bunlar dünya kitaplıklarında ve kataloglarında yer almıştır ve kaynak olarak kullanılmaktadır. Örneğin, Amerikan Kongre Kitaplığı katalogunda Şimşir'in 50 cilt kadar eseri yer almaktadır.

Yurt dışında da Dr. Şimşir'in şu ülkelerde kitapları ve makaleleri yayınlanmıştır: ABD, Fransa, İngiltere, Hollanda, Macaristan, Azerbaycan, Pakistan, Avustralya ve Tunus.

Dr. Şimşir, A.Ü. Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi'nde Diploması Tarihi dersi okumuş; çeşitli üniversitelerimizde konferanslar vermiş, panellere, sempozyumlara katılmış, bildiriler sunmuştur.

Şimşir'in *Türk Yazı Devrimi* adlı yapıtı *Afet İnan Tarih Ödülü'nü* kazanmıştır. Ankara Üniversitesi ve İzmir Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Şimşir'i fahri doktora payesiyle onurlandırmışlardır.

Şimşir'in yayınları, araştırma ve tez konusu da olmaktadır. Doktora öğrencisi Y. Furkan Şen, *71. Yaşında BİLÂL N. ŞİMŞİR BİBLİYOGRAFYASI Açıklamalı 71 Kitap ve 200 Makale* başlıklı kapsamlı bir kitap yayınlamıştır (Yargı Yayınevi, Ankara: 2004).

## DR. BİLÂL N. ŞİMŞİR'İN KİTAPLARI (Kronolojik sırayla)

1. *Contribution à l'Histoire des Populations Turques en Bulgarie (1876-1880)* (Bulgaristan Türkleri Tarihi Üzerine (1876-1880), Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları: 22, Seri 3, Sayı A6, Ankara: 1966, ikinci baskı 1986, 86 sayfa
2. *Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri. Belgeler. Cilt I. Doksanüç Muhacereti. 1877-1878.* Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları: 34, Seri: III - Sayı: A9, Ayyıldız Matbaası, Ankara: 1968, (2. Baskı Türk Tarih Kurumu 1989) 819 sayfa + metin dışında 26 sayfalık 39 fotoğraf.
3. *Kürtçülük Hareketleri. Belgeler.* 1967, (Ümit Pamir ile birlikte), Dışişleri Bakanlığı Yayını, Ankara: 1969. XLII+344 sayfa.
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6. *Fransız Belgelerine Göre Midhat Paşa'nın Sonu (1878-1884). Les Dernières Années de Midhat Pacha (d'après les documents français).* Ayyıldız Matbaası, Ankara: 1970, 180 sayfa, 5 adet fotoğraf.
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9. *İngiliz Belgelerinde Atatürk. (1919-1938). Cilt-2, Nisan-Aralık 1920 (British Documentson Atatürk.[1919-1938]. Volume-2, April-December 1920),* Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları, XVI. Dizi, Sa.15a, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara: 1975, 2000, CXXX+551 sayfa, metin dışında 18 sayfa ürkibasıın.
10. *İngiliz Belgeleriyle Türkiye'de "Kürt Sorunu" (1924-1938), Şeyh Sait, Ağrı ve Dersim Ayaklanmaları.* Dışişleri Bakanlığı Basımevi, Ankara: 1975, 1991, LIII+311 sayfa.



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15. *Dış Basında Atatürk ve Türk Devrimi. Cilt- I: 1922-1924. Bir Laik Cumhuriyet Doğuyor. (Presse Etrangère sur Atatürk et la Révolution Turque. Volume- I: 1922-1924. La Naissance d'une République Laïque)*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları. XXIII. Dizi-
16. *Homage to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Hero of the East. Documents From the Turkish Archives (With Additions From the Pakistani Archives).* (Doğu'nun Kahramanı Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'e Saygı) Institute of Islamic History, Culture and Civilization. Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan: 1401/1981, V+207 pages.
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36. Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri. Belgeler, Cilt III. (1880-1885) / Turkish Emigrations From the Balkans. Documents, Vol. III (1880-1885) / Türk Tarih Kurumu yayını, Seri XVI, Sa.50, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara: 1989, CXXXIII+715 sayfa
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42. Azerbaycan'da Türk Alfabeti. Tarihçe. Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları : 563, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara: 1991, 31 sayfa ve 12 sayfa upkubası. ISBN - 975 - 16 - 0344
43. Atatürk'ün Büyük Söyleyi Üzerine Belgeler, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, XVI. Dizi - Sa. 61, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara : 1991, XXVIII+181 sayfa + Metin içinde 25 upkubası.
44. Türk Yazı Devrimi, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, XVI. Dizi - Sa.60, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara: 1992, XX+486 sayfa ve metin dışında 87 sayfa upkubası.
45. Türkiye ile Türk Cumhuriyetleri Arasındaki Anlaşmalar (1990 - 1992). Cilt I : Azerbaycan, Kazakistan, TOBB Yayını, Ankara: 1993, XIX+351 sayfa.
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58. *Şehit Diplomatlarımız*, Cilt I, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara: 2000, Büyük Boy, 500 sayfa
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67. *AB, AKP ve KIBRIS*, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara: 2003, 590 sayfa, 16 fotoğraf ve metin içinde 27 karikatür
68. *Türk-İrak İlişkilerinde Türkmenler*, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara: 2004
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73. *Türkçe Kısaltmalar Sözlüğü*, Yargı Yayınevi, Ankara: 2005, 469 sayfa
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77. *Şair Diplomatlar*, Yargı Yayınevi, Ankara 2006 .
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